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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the Year 1805.

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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1805.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King William III.—Part II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE,

PICCADILLY.

1806.

PREFACE.

On this day, a twelvemonth past, was submitted to the Public the New Annual Register for the Year 1804, with a prefatory advertisement by the Editor, on behalf of himself and the Proprietor of the Work, Mr. Stockdale. It is unnecessary to state here through what circumstance, or owing to what higher occupation it has happened, that the Gentleman, who then addressed the Readers of the New Annual Register, is unconnected with the present details of British and Foreign History. It is enough to say, that however inferior in other respects, *in diligence* at least, the Editor of the Historical Department for the Year 1805 trusts that he shall not be considered as falling short of the labours of his predecessor. The present Editor is not aware that any very material difference of sentiment will be found between himself and those who have gone before him: though, as he has exercised his own judgment, he does not profess to have servilely followed in the track of others—that liberty which he has used will of course be also used by his successors: and he therefore gives this Volume to the Press, on that head, without fear. The transactions in the year relative to lord

Melville on many accounts seemed ill-fitted for direct historical narration; they will be found therefore in the Parliamentary Debates, with respect to which much care and attention have been exerted. Though no branch in the History of the year, it is hoped, will be found to have been neglected; yet, as when many objects are presented to the mind, one will necessarily appear prominent and of greater interest than the rest; so upon this occasion the Continental War has been deemed of most importance. Could the Editor venture to claim praise for any part of his performance, it would certainly be for his research, and the exactness of his narrative with respect to that extraordinary campaign. The chapters which treat of Continental Affairs have been placed for two reasons immediately after the domestic and parliamentary details: first, that the events of the war might stand as near as possible to the remarkable discussion in parliament upon the subject, which preceded by some months its commencement; and secondly, that the successes of the British arms, more especially those by sea, might last make their impression upon the Reader. From what Great Britain still does, whilst other European powers meet nothing but failure, we may be led to shape our hopes in future.

31st Dec. 1806.

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THE

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HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, AND TASTE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

DURING THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

PART II.

IN compliance with the engagement entered into by our predecessors, we shall proceed to give some further account of the state of literature, and the history of literary men, in the reign of William the Third. In the execution of this part of our duty, we shall, for obvious reasons, carefully abstain from any mention of those writers who have been usually classed under the succeeding reign,—a period which from the general refinement of taste, and from the constellation of talents with which it was adorned, has been frequently styled (whether justly or otherwise we shall not at present inquire) the Augustan age of English literature. The range therefore of our selection, though it will embrace some characters of eminence, and among the rest lord Somers, who belongs peculiarly to this period, and of which indeed he was one of the brightest ornaments, must be of course extremely confined. In our sketch of this illustrious person, we may, perhaps, be induced to exceed the usual limits; but for this we shall offer no apology: England owes him much; and nothing can be wholly uninteresting

teresting that relates to the history of so distinguished a patriot.

Lord Somers was the son of an attorney of Worcester, and was born in that city in the year 1652. He received his education at the free-school in the same place, and was afterwards admitted a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, where he was soon distinguished for his talents and attainments. He left Oxford, however, without taking a degree; and after passing some time under sir Francis Winnington he was entered of the society of the Middle Temple. It does not appear what were the motives which induced him to quit the university before the usual period; but it is probable that he was impatient to commence his studies in that profession for which his father's choice and his own inclination had alike destined him. He was early sensible, however, that the acquisition of mere technical knowledge would not alone be sufficient to qualify him for that rank in the profession which he was ambitious of attaining. Both his inclination, therefore, and his judgment prompted him to relieve his mind, at intervals, by the prosecution of his former studies; and he was led by a kindred feeling to associate himself with the most distinguished of the literary characters who flourished at that period. It was about this time that he undertook to assist in a translation of Ovid's Epistles and of the Lives of Plutarch. To the former he contributed the Epistles of Dido to Æneas, and Ariadne to Theseus; and to the latter the Life of Alcibiades. There is nothing, however, remarkable in these translations. When compared with similar productions of the same period, they will be found neither to claim particular commendation nor to call for any severity of criticism.

Mr. Somers early engaged with great zeal in the political contests by which the nation was so violently agitated towards the close of the reign of Charles the Second. His exertions were of importance to the popular party; for in the study of the law his mind had taken a wide and comprehensive

hensive range; and he was deeply versed in the great principles of the English constitution. The religious bigotry and intolerance of the duke of York, led the nation to contemplate with anxiety the prospect of his succession to the throne; and the country party, availing itself of the general apprehension, proposed the celebrated bill of exclusion. This measure was not only opposed as inexpedient and impolitic, but it was contended by some that the legislature possessed no authority to alter the succession of the crown. Upon this occasion Mr. Somers published his History of the Succession of the Crown of England, the object of which was to prove not only that such a power was necessary for the public safety;—that it must in fact be inherent in all governments; but that it had repeatedly been exercised at different periods of our history. This work, of great importance at that juncture, displays a considerable extent of reading, with much accuracy of research and solidity of judgment. In 1714, two years before the death of lord Somers, the same question was again revived and was agitated by the opposite parties with great earnestness and warmth. Upon this occasion the work was republished, with an addition to the title, and for the professed purpose of opposing, "the novel assertion of indefeasible hereditary right."

The History of the Succession of the Crown of England, like the rest of lord Somers's political writings, was published without the author's name. This has been attributed by his friends to the singular modesty of his character, and his indifference to popular praise. There are some, perhaps, who may be disposed to ascribe it to prudential considerations, and to a careful attention to his own security and advancement. It is remarkable, however, that he continued to adhere to the same practice when there was no longer any such motive for concealment.

Upon the dissolution of the parliament at Oxford, the king issued a declaration, "touching the causes and reasons that moved him to dissolve the two last parliaments." To

this declaration an answer was published by the popular party, entitled "A just and modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments." This answer was originally drawn up by Algernon Sydney; but it was afterwards new-modelled by Somers, with the assistance of Jones. It affirms that this extraordinary and violent measure on the part of the crown was adopted solely by the advice and through the influence of France: that it was never regularly debated in council; but that after the declaration was drawn and the project was ripe for execution, it was submitted to that body for its instant adoption: that the declaration itself appeared to have been originally written in the French language, for that it abounded with Gallicisms and one extraordinary expression, "it was a matter extremely *sensible* to us," is particularly noted: and in confirmation of the charge of French influence, it is among other circumstances asserted that the declaration was confidentially shown to a gentleman by Barillon the French ambassador three days before it was produced to the council. This publication contributed greatly to increase the influence and authority of Mr. Somers with the country party. He was also reputed to be the author of a pamphlet written in vindication of the grand jury who had thrown out the bill for high treason, which had been presented against the earl of Shaftesbury. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the disposition and views of that extraordinary person, it must be admitted that the evidence adduced in support of this charge of treason was, both from the nature of the facts and the character of the witnesses, utterly unworthy of credit.

In the year 1683, Mr. Somers was employed as one of the council for Pilkington and others, who were indicted for a riot in the city upon the election of sheriffs, and he distinguished himself greatly by his exertions upon that occasion. From this time his practice at the bar rapidly increased, and it is said to have amounted early in the reign of James II. to 700*l.* a year. In this, however, after making all the proper allowances for his period of life

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(he was only thirty-three years of age at the accession of king James), for the alteration in the value of money, and in the general habits and scale of living, there still will appear nothing very remarkable. Its effect, however, would naturally be to stimulate him (if a mind like his stood in need of such a stimulus) to increased activity and exertion. A more important occasion for the display of his abilities and legal knowledge soon occurred. He was employed as the junior counsel for the seven bishops upon their trial. Though preceded in the argument by men of the first reputation for learning and talent, he was universally acknowledged to have surpassed them all, as well in the elegance of his language and manner, as in the force, perspicuity and precision of his reasoning. It is observed by Swift that this trial first brought him into public notice; but it is evident that he was already in considerable practice; though undoubtedly a cause which so deeply engaged the attention and feelings of the nation must have greatly contributed to extend and establish his fame.

The increasing violence and the incurable and intolerant bigotry of James had excited in the minds of all ranks of persons the most serious anxiety and alarm. Even men of the soberest habits felt the necessity of adopting some decisive measure, for the preservation of the religion and constitution of the country. At this important juncture Somers accordingly concurred with the best and most eminent characters of the nation, in inviting the prince of Orange to come over to England for the purpose of settling the government. In the convention which was summoned after the arrival of the prince, he sat as a representative for his native city of Worcester, and was appointed one of the managers for the commons in the discussion which took place with the peers upon the word ABDICATED. A majority of the upper house was desirous of substituting the term *deserted*. It was contended, however, on the part of the commons, that this word did not necessarily import more than a temporary relinquishment of power; whereas the word abdicated was

employed to denote a complete renunciation, which might be made either in express terms, or by pursuing a system of conduct inconsistent with the tenure by which the supreme authority was held. It was shown by a reference to many passsages that this sense was affixed to the word abdicate both by the civilians* and the canonists; and though it was not a term known to the law of England, yet the same objection would equally apply to the word *deserted*. The reasoning or the influence of the commons prevailed; and it was at length agreed that the word *abdicate* should be retained.

Soon after the accession of William and Mary, Mr. Somers was appointed to the office of solicitor-general, and received, according to established custom, the honour of knighthood. He continued upon all occasions to support the new settlement with great earnestness and vigour. A bill was brought into parliament for recognising the acts of the convention; and in the debates upon that occasion, one of the tory party questioned the legality of the convention, because it was not summoned by writ. Somers took fire at this observation. "If that were not a legal parliament, it must follow," he observed, "that we who are now assembled, and have taken the oaths which that parliament prescribed, are guilty of high treason; the laws which it repealed are still in force, and we must therefore immediately return to our allegiance to king James: nay, further, all the money which has been levied, collected and paid under the authority of that parliament, will make every individual who was concerned in any of these acts highly criminal." "This," says Burnet, "he spoke with much zeal and with such an ascendent of authority, that none were prepared to answer it. So the bill passed without any further opposition."

*Among other passages, the following was cited from Grotius. Simile est quod superior concedens inferiori vel imperans id facere quod facere licite non potest nisi lege solvatur lege solvisse eum intelligitur. Venit enim hoc non ex jure civili sed ex jure naturali quo quisque suum potest abdicare, et ex naturali præsumtione, qua voluisse quis creditur quod sufficienter significavit. Lib. 2, c. 4. s. 4. 2.

In 1692 he was made attorney-general, and in the following year was appointed lord keeper of the great seal. He was in every respect eminently qualified for this high office. To a profound knowledge of the laws he added the utmost patience in the investigation of truth. He possessed great penetration and acuteness; he was distinguished for force and perspicuity in argument; and these eminent qualities derived an additional lustre from his urbanity of manner and singular mildness of deportment, which formed a striking contrast to the coarseness and overbearing insolence which so frequently disgraced the bench at that period.

He continued to advance in the esteem and confidence of William, who is said to have admired his capacity for business and his skill in the conduct of political affairs. His situation now enabled him to display with effect that regard for literature and talent which he had always entertained. Upon the death of archbishop Tillotson, in 1694, he procured an additional annuity for his widow; and some time afterwards he obtained from the king an allowance for Addison, in order to enable him to complete his education by making the tour of Italy. It is said by one of his biographers, that upon being informed that Bayle, who had just completed his Dictionary, laboured under great pecuniary difficulties, he sent to request his acceptance of a sum of money. This offer, however, was rejected. Bayle, it is added, was at that time indignant at the conduct of William, by whose authority he had been recently removed from his professorship at Rotterdam, on account of some suspicions which were entertained of his political principles.

Upon the discovery of the plot for the assassination of king William, in the year 1696, the parliament and the nation entered into a voluntary association in support of the government. It was considered as expedient, and was accordingly proposed in council, that all those justices of the peace who had refused or neglected to sign the association should be removed from the commission. This measure was accordingly carried into

effect

effect by lord Somers, by virtue of his office as lord keeper. Every individual case, however, was considered in the council, and he acted throughout by the authority of that body. This proceeding occasioned much discontent and excited great personal hostility against Somers; and afterwards, upon the prevalence of the tory party, it was made the ground of an attack against him in the house of commons.

In the year 1697 he was appointed lord high chancellor * of England, and was created a peer by the title of lord Somers, baron of Evesham. In order to enable him to support these honours with suitable dignity, the king made him a grant of the manors of Ryegate and Howlegh in Surry, besides an annuity of 2100*l.* payable out of the fee-farm rents. He was now considered as the head of the whigs, and was very active in supporting the interests and authority of his party. His influence in the borough of Ryegate was opposed by sir John Parsons, a wealthy brewer of London. Lord Somers endeavoured to strengthen himself by conveying a right of voting to several of his particular friends, and among the rest to Congreve and Tonson. After a contest which was carried on for a considerable time with great activity, lord Somers found it convenient to agree to a compromise with his competitor; and it was settled that in future they should each return one member.

The strength and influence of the tories gradually increased, and two successive attacks were made upon the chancellor in the house of commons. Upon both these occasions, however, he triumphed over his adversaries by a considerable majority. The king, who observed the declining popularity of the whigs, and who was desirous of tranquillity at home in order that he might pursue without interruption his schemes of foreign policy, was pursuaded to try the experi-

* The difference between the two offices of lord chancellor and lord keeper, consists merely in the title; the jurisdiction and authority are declared to be the same by a statute passed in the reign of Elizabeth.

ment of an administration formed from the opposite party, and lord Somers was accordingly removed from the office of chancellor. The seals were given to sir N. Wright, after having been successively refused both by Holt and Trevor. Soon afterwards an accusation was preferred in the house of commons against the leading members of the late administration, chiefly founded upon the conclusion of the treaty of partition. Lord Somers desired to be heard in defence of his conduct at the bar of the house, and this, after some opposition, was at length granted. He defended himself with great force and eloquence, and such, according to Burnet, was the impression which he created in his favour, that it was generally supposed, if the question had been immediately put, that the prosecution would have been abandoned. The debate, however, was dexterously protracted till a late hour; and at length the house determined, by a small majority of only seven or eight voices, in favour of the impeachment. This was followed by an address to the king, praying that his majesty would exclude lord Somers and the other accused ministers from his presence and councils for ever. A counter address was presented by the lords: but no answer was returned to either of these applications. It was easy for the house of commons to foresee, as well from the present disposition of the peers as from the nature and strength of the defence which had been urged by lord Somers, what must be the inevitable issue of the impeachment. The leaders therefore of the tories resolved to engage the two houses in a dispute, in order that they might be furnished with a decent pretence for abandoning the prosecution, and thus avoid the mortification and disgrace of a defeat. A day was at length appointed by the house of lords for the trial of lord Somers: the commons refused to appear, and upon the question being put, whether he ought to be acquitted of the impeachment, it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority.

After his removal from office, lord Somers, devoted much of his time to literary pursuits. He was deeply versed in the know-

knowledge of antiquities, to the study of which he had always been attached, and he is said to have possessed a very correct taste in the fine arts. It was during this interval that he was elected president of the Royal Society, of which institution he had been long a member. He still, however, continued to take a part upon all important questions in the debates of the house of peers; and he opposed with great earnestness and vigour the bill for preventing occasional conformity. No man was ever more deeply impressed with a sense of the duty which he owed to his country than lord Somers; and its prosperity was the great and constant object of his solicitude. Accordingly, while he was still out of office, he projected the great measure of the Union; and he was afterwards appointed one of the commissioners for conducting the negotiation upon the part of England. In the important debates which took place in the house of peers, when the treaty was proposed for the adoption of parliament, the eloquence and political wisdom of lord Somers shone forth with distinguished splendour; and he was acknowledged upon this occasion to have greatly surpassed all his competitors in that august assembly. In the year 1708, lord Somers again became a member of the administration, and was appointed to the honourable office of lord president of the council. In this situation he concurred in rejecting the proposals for peace which were offered by the French at Gertruydenberg. Upon the overthrow of the whigs, he was again removed from office, and was succeeded in his post of president of the council by the earl of Rochester.

Lord Somers never afterwards came into power; but he occasionally attended both at the council and in the house of peers. His constant and severe application to business had undermined his constitution; and a considerable time before his death the vigour of his understanding was sensibly impaired. He died of an apoplectic fit on the 26th of April, in the year 1716.—The character of lord Somers has been drawn by two writers of opposite political principles, Swift and Addison;—by the former in the History of the last four

Years

Years of the Reign of Queen Anne; by the latter in his Freeholder. The blemishes which have been exposed by the party hostility of Swift are for the most part too minute to impair in any sensible degree the general lustre of his reputation. They serve only to prove, if indeed such proof were necessary, that even in the best and brightest characters something will still be wanting to that perfection which may perhaps exist as an image in the mind, but cannot with more reason be expected in the actual combination of the intellectual faculties, than in the exterior lineaments and proportions of the person.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1805.

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CHAPTER I.

Meeting of Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Debate on the Address in the House of Lords—in the House of Commons—Amendment of the Insolvent Debtors' Act—Debate on the War with Spain in the House of Commons—in the House of Lords.

THE transactions of the year 1805 are of an important nature, alike calculated to impress the imagination and to exercise the judgment. Abroad, a continental war begun and ended: at home, an administration headed by a statesman, whose politics had swayed for more than twenty years the country, by the death of that statesman dissolved—without a struggle. Here, an individual of talents the most active, and once of greatest weight in the government, exposed to criminal accusation. There a hero, born in no elevated rank, closing a race of fame by a victory so glorious as scarcely to leave it within hope that in a life prolonged he could have achieved another equally complete. These are the events which historians will hereafter delight to deliver down to posterity. To ourselves, our annual task necessarily prescribes a comparatively limited toil. Some of the circumstances, which it will be our duty to narrate, at present are scarcely yet clearly enough understood, so as to warrant our venturing more than to speak popularly, and, to a certain degree, at random. We shall endeavour, however, in every case, to preserve that character of impartiality and integrity which hitherto it has been our good fortune generally to have ascribed to us; and in those instances in which we cannot hope to teach, we will strive at least not to deceive.

Parliament assembled on the 15th of January. In the speech with which the session opened, his majesty stated, that notwithstanding the preparations of the enemy

for the invasion of this kingdom had been continued with incessant activity, no attempt had been made to carry their menace into effect. From an enterprise so presumptuous and desperate, they had been deterred by the skill and intrepidity of the navy, the formidable state of the military force, and the general ardour manifested by all classes of his majesty's subjects. But although the spirit which animated the country was fully equal to protect it against the most powerful efforts of the enemy, yet his majesty observed, it should never be forgotten that our security can be preserved only by steady perseverance and unremitting activity. His majesty then directed the attention of parliament to the declaration of war against Spain, and to the pacific overtures which had been made by the French government. With respect to the former event, the king stated, that the court of Spain, which was evidently under the control of France, had compelled him to take prompt and decisive measures to guard against the effect of hostility. He had used every endeavour to prevent the necessity of a rupture, but, in consequence of the refusal of satisfactory explanation, had found it necessary to direct his minister to quit the court of Madrid. The manifesto issued upon this occasion, and such papers as were necessary to explain the discussions with Spain, his majesty said he had ordered to be laid before parliament; and he trusted that they would be convinced by them, that his forbearance had been carried to the utmost justifiable extent. Lamenting that Spain had been involved in hostilities contrary to her true interests, he relied with confidence upon receiving vigorous support in a contest which was to be attributed solely to the unfortunate prevalence of French counsels.

Notwithstanding the general conduct of the French government on the continent of Europe had been marked by the utmost violence and outrage, and by a wanton defiance of the established principles of the law of nations, his majesty said that he had recently received from France professions of a pacific disposition. In reply to these overtures he had expressed an earnest desire to embrace the first opportunity of restoring the blessings of peace, on grounds consistent with the permanent safety and interest of his dominions. But as these objects were ever closely connected with the general security of Europe, he had thought it right not to enter into any more particular explanation, without previously communicating with those powers on the continent with whom he was engaged in confidential intercourse and connection, and especially with the emperor of Russia, who had given the strongest proofs of the wise and dignified sentiments by which he was animated, and of the warmth of his interest in the safety and independence of Europe. These are the chief features of his majesty's speech.

In the house of lords, the address was moved by lord Elliot, and seconded by lord Gwydir. The motion for the address met the concurrent approbation of the house. Some remarks, however, which were made by lords Elliot and Gwydir, relative to the justice and necessity of the war with Spain, gave rise to a few general observations on the subject. But, as the papers on this important event were not then before the house, those noble

lords

lords who were disposed to doubt the justice and expediency of the Spanish war declined at that time to express themselves in decisive terms. Lord Grenville took occasion to deny that money supplies having been given by Spain to France, afforded in itself a satisfactory proof of the justice of the war; for, by the law of nations, a supply of succours by a neutral power to an enemy, to a limited extent, previously ascertained by a treaty concluded before the war, was not to be considered as an act of hostility, nor to be made the ground of a rupture. His lordship also declared his sincere satisfaction at the sentiment which had been so unequivocally expressed—that it was only in communion with the great powers of Europe that we could listen to any terms of pacification with the government of France. Uninformed as to the tenor and extent of the overture made by the French government; unacquainted with the basis, if any, which it proposed for a negotiation, or with the disposition and temper in which it was made; their lordships, he observed, could only join his majesty in a general declaration that peace was undoubtedly desirable, provided it could be obtained upon terms secure, honourable, and consistent with the general interests and tranquillity of Europe. Understanding by the speech, that his majesty thought it essential to the honour and security of this empire, not to enter into any negotiations until he shall have advised with those powers on the continent with whom he is engaged in confidential intercourse and connection, his lordship said he rejoiced in this declaration, and wished that in practice the principle might be carried on to a further extent. In his opinion, it was the wise policy of Great Britain, in the present state of Europe, to solicit communication with every power on this great and important object; and to endeavour by every means to obtain the co-operation of every power which has a community of interest, or a community of sentiment. Above all others, it was material to consult that great power who has been represented as sympathizing in our opinion, and who, by his position, interests, and capacity, is our natural ally in this great work.

In the house of commons, the address was moved by Mr. Dillon, and seconded by Mr. Charles Adams.

Without objecting to the motion, Mr. Fox rose to make a few observations upon two omissions in his majesty's speech, and one in the address. With respect to the omission in the address, he should first observe, that the house was made to pledge itself on a question upon which no further explanation was for the present required, to approve his majesty's 'determination not to give any further information until he shall have consulted with certain courts with which he was engaged in confidential intercourse and connection.' In the first view, it had not appeared to him that any explanation on the subject was necessary. When his majesty declared he was ready to enter into negotiations, and agree to such conditions for the restoration of peace as were consistent with the honour, security and welfare of his empire, that was all he was bound to express, or the house could with propriety require. But when his majesty, in stating this readiness, also declared that he

would not give any further explanation until he had consulted other powers, not stated to be in alliance, but on terms of confidential intercourse and connection with him, he was not prepared to agree in approving of this determination, until he should know what was the nature of this confidential connection.

It was possible that the reasons might be good for this determination. When he should be acquainted with those reasons, he might possibly consider them as strong as they thought them who had advised his majesty so to declare. But he would not advise the house of commons to sanction by its approbation such a determination, whilst totally uninformed of the reasons upon which it was founded.

With respect to the omissions in the speech, there was one which excited in him much surprise. He expected that, from the first, the advice to his majesty, of at least some of his present ministers, would be to recommend to his parliament the consideration of the catholic question; a measure so essential to give full effect to the union of the empire, without the adoption of which the union must fail to produce any of its boasted benefits. He had entertained a sanguine expectation that the measure would now be brought forward; but he was disappointed in finding there was not a single expression in the speech to show that it was the intention of ministers to take up the consideration of the subject: if it should not be taken into consideration, no honest man could be of opinion that the situation of the empire would be prosperous, or its tranquillity stable. He was ready to admit that the military and naval defence of Ireland should be placed on the most respectable footing; but the best defence of any country would be the complete union of the people who compose its inhabitants. Mr. Fox then proceeded to notice the other omission. It had been usual, he said, for his majesty, in his speech at the opening of the session, to pay some compliment to the efforts of parliament, by relating the success that had attended their measures. Though he was one of those who conceived that the compliment was not always deserved, yet, when he recollected the many long discussions on the measure for raising an additional force; when he called to mind that this was the first measure of a new administration, and the only one which distinguished it from a former administration, which had been stigmatized for its imbecility; when he reflected that it did not profess to be a measure for the improvement of discipline, but for the creation of a great disposable force; he had reason to think that some account of the success with which it had been accompanied would have been communicated in the speech from the throne. From all he had been able to observe, the measure had entirely failed; for, according to all that he could discover, it had not answered any one end proposed to be accomplished by it. On the subject of the transaction respecting which his majesty had given directions to lay certain papers before the house, Mr. Fox said, that as it was impossible to anticipate their contents, it would but prejudge the question to make any observation upon it at present; yet he could not but say, that the capture of the Spanish frigates appeared a measure unseemly to the honour of the nation. If that could

be

be done away by a statement of facts, he should rejoice in the circumstance; for there never had been a time when it was more necessary that the honour and integrity of the nation should be maintained pure and inviolate. In the speech, the outrages committed by the French government had been adverted to; and he was ready to admit that the outrages were undoubted, and such as could not fail to call forth the unqualified disapprobation of every one who placed any value upon the laws of nations and the established rights of civilized society. But, if we meant to stand up for right and moderation, we should take care to be clear of any imputation of violence; if we engage in a new war on a new ground, we should prove to the world, while we advocate the cause of justice and moderation, that we are ourselves just and moderate. He was confident that, when the question should be under discussion, they would come to its consideration without any partiality to our own government or the exclusive interests of our country, and without any prejudice against the cause of Spain; and that they would look upon themselves as bound to prove to the world, that in entering into this war we had acted under the influence of necessity, and in conformity with the strict and immutable principles of the laws of nations.

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted that it was impossible for the house, by its vote of that night, to pledge itself implicitly to any measure founded on the communication in his majesty's speech. But if his majesty expressed his confidence that the house would concur in every measure necessary for the security of the empire; if he particularly directed their attention to certain points arising out of the wise, noble, and magnanimous conduct of the emperor of Russia, which were important to the security and independence of Europe; he trusted that all those who were of opinion that the commanding situation of this country would have a considerable influence on the state of Europe, would agree as to the magnitude and importance of such considerations, and the necessity of communicating with that august monarch. Another occasion would present itself for inquiring into the grounds of his majesty's determination, when the documents would be regularly laid before the house. It would be obvious to every member, that there were certain periods in the connection between states, when it would be imprudent and impolitic to make them the subject of unreserved communication; and he trusted, that the explanation contained in the speech would for the present be deemed satisfactory.

Mr. Pitt then adverted to the situation of Ireland. It had been argued, he observed, that the measure of union would be of no advantage to Ireland, if the catholics were not to be emancipated. When he considered the time that had elapsed since the union act had passed; when he saw that no proposal had since been brought forward by the honourable gentleman for promoting the catholic measure, he was at a loss to know why he should feel surprised at its not being mentioned or recommended in his majesty's speech. What the grounds were on which he had acted, would appear when the subject should be under discussion; they were sufficiently known to the public, and he was confident he should acquit himself

to the country on the occasion.—In justification of the bill for raising an additional force, the chancellor of the exchequer said that he was conscious and confident he could urge satisfactory reasons in its defence: he was, however, ready to admit, that what it furnished as an accession to our disposable force was extremely small; but he was well convinced he could prove satisfactorily, that, under all the circumstances of the case, it was the most expedient measure that could have been adopted at the time. Our military situation, he asserted, had by other measures been much improved; and our disposable force was greatly beyond what it had been on any former occasion, when it was agreed on all hands that such a force was essentially necessary to the defence and security of the empire. He would not, however, deny that further measures were necessary to place that force on a level with the exigencies of the country, and calculated to uphold our rank as a great people amongst the nations of Europe.—On the question respecting the Spanish war, he entirely agreed with Mr. Fox, that it behoved this country at all times, and now more than ever, to give unequivocal proofs of its temper, justice, and moderation; and when the question should fairly come before the house for consideration, he flattered himself that he should prove, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the circumstance of the capture of the Spanish frigates, so far from being an act of violence or oppression, had been dictated by a spirit of moderation and forbearance; and that his majesty, when he might justly have resorted to and inforced the rights of war, had, from a benignant principle of forbearance, modified and restrained them to such prudential and temperate precautions as were calculated to prevent a concealed enemy from gathering fresh strength, to be employed against the welfare and security of his dominions.

Mr. Fox stated, in explanation, that the right hon. gentleman could not be surprised at his not having brought forward any motion on the subject of the catholic question, when he called to mind that, three or four years since, one of the greatest objections to it had been, that as a ministerial measure it would be a good one, but very unlikely to succeed if brought forward by any gentleman not connected with administration. Alluding to what was generally supposed to have been the ostensible motive for Mr. Pitt's resignation, he observed, that if Mr. Pitt reflected on what passed on a former occasion, and since, he would not be surprised either at his silence, or expectation to find the measure recommended in the speech.

Mr. Windham shortly adverted to the several points introduced into his majesty's speech, and gave a qualified assent to the motion for the address. In the course of his speech, he drew the attention of the house to the case of captain Wright. In his opinion, instances of the violation of the law of nations should never be lost sight of; he should therefore call the attention of the house to an instance of such violation, of which he would not suppose they had ever lost sight, but which he considered it right to keep ever alive in their remembrance. Capt. Wright, he stated, was still kept a close prisoner in the Temple, outraged by threats and treatment very different from that he ought to receive. He was unwilling

unwilling to press now for any disclosure of the steps ministers may have taken on this subject, as it may be submitted to future discussion; nor would he suppose that every thing that could or ought to be done was not done. He mentioned it only to show that the thing lived in the bosom of the country; and that the public sentiment would aid and support every endeavour for the deliverance of that gentleman, and the redress of the violation offered to the law of nations in his person. It was for this reason he mentioned the matter now a second time, after a long lapse of suffering on the part of that unfortunate gentleman; he did not know exactly how long, because the days and hours of absence were seldom so particularly noticed by those who were at home, as the days and hours of suffering were by meritorious officers in undeserved and unworthy imprisonment. He hoped what he had said would attract all due attention to the case, and that every effort would be made to obtain a remedy, even if we should be under the necessity, in the event of the failure of all other means, to recur to the extremity of making reprisals in this country, by confining the enemy's officers here, and subjecting them to similar hardships.—Mr. Windham, having already expressed a wish for the adoption of some measures calculated largely to improve the military force of the country, concluded by giving notice that he intended, at no distant day, to move for a committee to inquire into the present state of the defence of the country, with a view to its improvement.

The question was then put on the address, and passed with the unanimous concurrence of the house; and on the 17th of January his majesty was waited on with the address, to which he was pleased to return his gracious answer.

Before we proceed to exhibit a condensed statement of any of the great discussions which arose during the present session, we shall briefly notice a motion made by lord Ellenborough shortly after the meeting of parliament. His lordship's motion went to rectify an omission in the insolvent debtors' bill, which passed in the last sessions. The importance attached to the necessity of supplying this omission, may be regarded as a striking instance of the scrupulous fidelity with which the laws of the country are administered. Although the spirit of the bill introduced upon a former occasion by lord Ellenborough was so manifest as not to admit of the slightest ambiguity of construction; yet, as the literal construction was not in perfect unison with the evident intention of the act, the judges, after due deliberation upon the subject, deemed it beyond their powers to afford, under such circumstances, the relief which the legislature had clearly meant to provide. It should be recollected, that a rigid adherence to the same principle constitutes one of the greatest securities for the pure and steady administration of justice.

Lord Ellenborough stated, that in consequence of a misrepresentation of the nature and object of the bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, he found it necessary, both for the public information, and to prevent those unfortunate persons from being deceived who might wrongly suppose they were to be relieved by the bill, that the whole extent of the object he had in view, in submitting this bill to their lordships' con-

consideration, should be distinctly explained. The bill, then, was not meant to extend, in the most distant degree, the benefits of the act of the last session of parliament to any persons not expressly, and in the true spirit and meaning of the act, comprehended in the bill passed last session; in fact, the insertion of a single word, or rather of a single letter (*prisons* for *prison*), into that act, would have rendered the present bill unnecessary. It was evident from the whole tenor of the act, that its benefits were meant to be extended to all persons not otherwise disqualified, who had been in prison previous to the 1st of January 1804, and still continued there; yet by the wording of the oath required to be made by the jailors of the different prisons, along with the list of prisoners in their custody, it is narrowed in such a manner as to seem to apply merely to persons who, during the period specified in the act, have been in that individual prison of which the person making the return is jailor. To rectify this limited interpretation of the act, and to give it the full scope which its clauses imported that it was wished to convey, was the sole object of the present bill. In the court in which his lordship presided, numberless applications had been made by persons who had been in prison during the full period required by the act, praying for a *mandamus* against the keepers of different prisons, to rectify their lists according to the different circumstances of the cases which presented themselves. But, after the most deliberate consideration, and after a consultation of all the judges on the subject, it had been deemed beyond the powers of a court of justice to afford that relief which they were nevertheless convinced it had been in the contemplation of the legislature to bestow. Persons who had been in one prison previous to the 1st of January 1804, and had afterwards been removed by *habeas corpus* to another, it was obvious, from the whole tenor of the act of parliament, were not meant, merely in consequence of such removal, to be excluded from the benefit of the act. On the other hand, it was impossible for the keeper of any particular prison to swear, as was required by the act, that a person so removed had been in his custody during the whole of the period specified; nor could any court of justice so far annul an act of parliament as to dispense with so special an enactment. In this situation, he had thought it his duty to endeavour to procure the earliest possible relief to the unfortunate persons in the predicament which he had mentioned. His lordship said he had been applied to by gentlemen desirous of extending the benefits of the act to persons who at present were not comprehended under it; but, however much he might have been disposed to concur in any measure of the kind, he could not conceive it proper to clog with such burden the present bill, which was meant only to supply an omission, and to enable those persons to profit by the act, who were already clearly within its spirit and meaning, but were prevented by the wording of a particular clause from availing themselves of the privileges it gave. The bill went through a committee without any amendment, and was reported.

On the 11th of February, the great and important question relative to the war with Spain underwent a very long and ample discussion in both houses of parliament.

ment. In the house of lords, the subject was opened by lord Mulgrave. The chancellor of the exchequer began the discussion in the house of commons. The various papers necessary to afford very full information upon every part of the discussion with Spain, had been produced, in conformity to his majesty's directions, and in compliance with various motions made by Mr. Grey with a view to render the series of documents complete. It was, however, impossible entirely to accomplish this object; a few papers were still wanting, of which some were either lost or mislaid, and others it was deemed expedient to withhold, that no disclosure should be made from which the enemy might derive any advantage.

The chancellor of the exchequer took an extensive and masterly view of the question. He entered minutely into the negotiation with Spain, and the successive conduct of his majesty's ministers, from the earliest commencement of the discussions, down to the period when they terminated in a rupture, in order to demonstrate the justice and necessity of the war. He was anxious that the circumstances which led to hostilities should be fully and fairly investigated; and he thought it unlikely, that, after such an investigation, any doubts would be entertained as to the ultimate justice of the ground upon which the war had unfortunately taken place. He also expressed his anxiety to prove, that through the whole progress of the negotiation the conduct of his majesty's ministers had been exemplary, for moderation, temper, and forbearance, so far as such sentiments could be acted upon consistently with the honour, the interests, and the security of the empire; and that they had not been deficient in vigour and decision, when the relations of both countries rendered such measures necessary and unavoidable. The chancellor of the exchequer felt it of importance, in the first place, to call the attention of the house to the relative situation in which Spain was placed, by the treaty of Ildefonso, at the period of the rupture between this country and France: this treaty was concluded between Spain and France in the year 1796. The alliance concluded between these powers was offensive and defensive; each contracting party guarantied to the other the integrity of their respective possessions; the treaty contained a stipulation for a contingent auxiliary force of a large amount, fifteen ships of the line and twenty-four thousand men; a contingent falling little short of the whole amount of the disposable force of Spain, to be furnished by either party, in case the other should be engaged in war. The eighth article of the treaty expressly stipulates, that the single circumstance of the demand of that contingent, by either party, was of itself sufficient to prove the necessity of the occasion, and the obligation on the other to furnish the supply. In the event of the contingent succours proving insufficient, the eleventh article determines the right of the party at war to call for the greatest possible force the other can supply. It appeared to him to be of importance to state so much of the treaty in order to prove that it did not constitute, as had been asserted, and even insisted on by the Spanish minister in this country, a mere defensive alliance, but that the treaty is necessarily offensive and defensive: the stipulations, therefore,

therefore, of the treaty of Ildefonso, if not formally and distinctly disclaimed by Spain, would have justified this country in considering Spain, from the moment the rupture took place with France, as a principal in the war. This opinion was founded on the indisputable rights of nations, and supported by the most celebrated writers on the laws of nations. Whilst stipulations so directly hostile to the interests and security of this country remained in force, his majesty's government would have acted with pusillanimity if they had not required a clear, distinct, and explicit renumeration of the offensive articles: but the degraded and humiliating situation of Spain dictated a spirit of moderation and forbearance in the measures they adopted, with respect to a court of which, though an enemy, he was not disposed to speak with severity; yet he could not but admit, that, in its present state, it seemed to possess very little of that honourable spirit and those high-minded sentiments, by which the Spanish nation has been so long characterized. He stated this particularly, because it was, in the first instance, deemed expedient to gain time, and the Spanish court seemed as desirous to get rid of their engagements as we were to detach them from their ally. To have acted longer upon such a system, when circumstances were in every respect discouraging, would not have been to give way to the influence of generous sentiments or honourable feelings, but to have enabled Spain, under the dictation of France, to accumulate resources, and armies, and fleets, and arsenals, to be at the disposal of France. The chancellor of the exchequer then went into a consideration of the papers, from the earliest stages to the termination of the discussions. It had been asked, he said, whether instructions had been sent to our minister at Madrid, to prepare the Spanish court for the conduct which we were about to adopt with respect to that nation.

In the month of October 1802, instructions, with a view to a possible rupture with France, had been sent to Mr. Frere by lord Hawkesbury: the leading points in these instructions were to endeavour to separate Spain from France, in the event of a renewal of hostilities with France; or, if this should not succeed, to endeavour to secure its neutrality, for the purpose of deferring its hostility as long as possible, as a matter beneficial to the interests of Spain and Great Britain. These instructions he acted upon, until he received lord Hawkesbury's further instructions, dated the 2d of June, 1803. He had before been directed to demand a clear, formal, and explicit renunciation of the offensive treaty with France. In the dispatch of the 2d of June, he was instructed to renew this demand; the consideration of the limited succours was not brought into the discussion, because we were not bound to acquiesce in them, unless Spain should explicitly renounce every other stipulation of the treaty with France. But while his majesty's ministers acted thus prudently in reserving to themselves the decision of the question relative to contingent supplies, they directed our minister, if the Spanish court should furnish more than the stipulated succours, to quit Madrid;—thus leaving the question of peace or war to be decided by the fact of increased assistance to the enemy. Mr. Pitt mentioned this as an instance of moderation and forbearance on the part of his

majesty's government, when they were entitled to require an absolute and unconditional renunciation of the treaty, or have made the refusal a just ground of war.

Although a disposition had been manifested on the part of the court of Madrid, to elude or delay any explanation relative to the course Spain would take, and to the treaty of St. Ildefonso; yet, as late as the 6th of July, the date of Mr. Frere's answer to lord Hawkesbury's instructions conveyed in his lordship's dispatch of the 2d of June, the conduct pursued by Spain bore evidence of an inclination to comply with the wishes of his majesty's ministers. Through the whole of August, no demand had been made by France for the stipulated contingent; but after the 12th of September, Mr. Frere foresaw the probability that Spain would be forced to depart from her pacific system; for it was in the early part of this month that the requisition of the French government was made; when a disposition was shown by Spain to evade it. The Spanish government was required, in lieu of the contingent, to advance twenty-four millions of reals per month, about 240,000*l.* sterling, or three millions per annum; a real being about the one hundredth part of a pound sterling. It was of importance to remember that this was the amount of the very sum which, after the ceremony of repeated demand on the part of France, and frequent remonstrances on the part of Spain, was ultimately settled, and afterward increased. Mr. Pitt said, he was prepared to admit that Spain only wished to give a fair equivalent for the limited succours. The Spanish government, indeed, had declared it better to supply the contingent in kind, with a nominal declaration of war against Great Britain; in which case they hoped to continue their relations with us, notwithstanding such nominal declaration. He conceived it unnecessary to show how far it would be unlikely that this government could accede to such an arrangement, or abstain from acting against Spain after such a declaration. It appears, however, from Mr. Frere's dispatch of the 9th of October, that the Prince of Peace had distinctly admitted that he had agreed to the payment of 600,000 livres monthly: but it was afterwards stated by him that the other demands of France were inadmissible. Here then was clear evidence that Spain had agreed to pay the three millions per annum; and that further articles existed which were not communicated to us, and which, notwithstanding a formal demand of explanation, were never, up to the period of the rupture with Spain, communicated to his majesty's government. The grounds on which the rupture ensued were consequently placed in a clear and distinct point of view. Mr. Pitt then went into a calculation to prove that the amount of these pecuniary supplies very far exceeded an equivalent for the stipulated contingent; and stated to the house, that Mr. Frere had given to the Spanish government a full and distinct notion, that we could only abstain from entering upon actual warfare, on the supposition that it was merely a temporary expedient, and that, if persevered in, it must necessarily lead to hostilities.

The chancellor of the exchequer then adverted to the various remonstrances which had been made to the Spanish government on the subject of the armaments at Ferrol. Assurances, however, were given that

that no actual armaments were in contemplation. But Mr. Frere still found it necessary to continue his remonstrances. On the 22d of March 1804, he received an answer, in which an unsatisfactory attempt was made to show that the subsidy to France was not incompatible with the observance of neutrality, if the succours granted to France were granted in kind; and that neither should it be so if the treaty granted it in money which was merely an equivalent. The British minister then addressed himself to the Prince of Peace, from whom he expected a more full and satisfactory explanation; but the Spanish minister refused to give any, and referred him to the secretary of state. With that minister he was to have had a conference, particularly on the terms of the treaty: but no conference ever took place. It cannot be doubted that it was prevented by the influence of Bournonville, the French minister at the court of Spain. New remonstrances were made against the hostile influence of Bournonville, the armaments in the Spanish ports, and the refusal to give any satisfactory insight into the nature of the convention between Spain and France; but the system of connivance and forbearance was still adhered to, for reasons of policy, which, in his opinion, it was not necessary to explain. After the unworthy treatment which our minister had experienced from the Prince of Peace, he thought it proper to withdraw from the court of Madrid, under pretence of leave of absence; and it was understood that he was to be succeeded by an ambassador, who was to resume the discussions of the points in dispute.

Such was the state of things, when a person every way qualified to succeed Mr. Frere was to have been sent to the Spanish court; but, in the interval, all hopes of an accommodation nearly vanished, upon receiving advices from admiral Cochrane, of the more active continuance of the armaments in the ports of Spain, in defiance of professions of neutrality, and often repeated assurances of a determination to observe them. Several sail of the line were equipped in one of their ports; and French and Spanish sailors were sent to man them, while French and Dutch ships were likewise equipping in the same port, and preparing to act in concert against this country. The Spanish packets were armed as in time of war, and every thing indicated a hostile spirit and warlike preparations. What idea, Mr. Pitt asked, could be entertained of our spirit, or vigour, or resolution, if any further delay had suspended our precautions; if we had allowed the joint force of the French, Spaniards, and Dutch to act together, and perhaps facilitate the safe return of the remaining Spanish treasure ships; thus enabling the enemy to replenish his coffers, to pay his forces, and to re-equip his fleets? If his majesty's ministers had not guarded against such dangers, in what manner would they have been able to defend themselves against so strong a charge of criminal neglect and degrading pusillanimity? No satisfactory explanation had ever been given of the destination of their armaments. M. d'Anduaga, without receiving any explanation from his court, stated, on the authority of an Irish gentleman in the Spanish service, who had received letters from Spain, that the armaments were destined to quell an insurrection in Biscay. This ex-

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cuse or explanation never occurred to the governor of Gallicia, or to Mr. Cevallos, till they had time to learn it from M. d'Anduaga. Mr. Cevallos, when pressed for explanation by Mr. Frere, hesitated, and said not a word to prove that Biscay was the destination of the armament. If the troops were urgently wanted, why, the chancellor of the exchequer demanded, were they to be sent by sea, and not by land? If the real object in view had been the conveyance of the troops to quell an insurgent province, smaller craft, or ships armed *en flute*, might have been more conveniently employed. It was also to be observed, that French and Dutch ships were prepared to sail at the same time. Besides, it was not to be believed, that, for the mere purpose of quelling an inconsiderable rebellion, ships of war would have been ventured on a passage to the most strong sea at the most strong season of the year. He admitted that, in consequence of the representations made by Mr. Frere, an order was issued to disarm, but it was executed in a manner which would allow the ships to be again rigged and manned in twenty-four hours. While M. d'Anduaga asserted that the armament was intended for Biscay, the governor of Gallicia ingenuously confessed that it was destined for a secret expedition. If the necessity for sending a powerful maritime force against the insurgents in the province of Biscay had been genuine, the contrary of which he had proved, no delay would have occurred; days and weeks would not have elapsed before the order was executed. Such evident symptoms of hostility, and such paltry attempts to conceal them, could not, he was convinced, impose on the most inattentive or credulous observer. It was under such circumstances, and in consequence of the intelligence relative to the state of the armaments in the ports of Spain requiring to be acted upon without delay, that the order was issued for the detention of their treasure ships.

In concluding his able and eloquent justification of the measures which had been adopted by his majesty's ministers, the chancellor of the exchequer declared that they had done no more than what the necessity of the case required. It would now be for them, and for the house, to prosecute the war against Spain with a vigour, a spirit, and an energy, equal to the mildness and moderation which had been employed to prevent it. The same lenient spirit which had marked the whole of our proceedings would, since the war was rendered inevitable by a breach of the conditions upon which it might have been avoided, still incline us to keep open a door to enable Spain to tread back her hostile steps, and to restore us to friendship and peace with a country, the inhabitants of which we have always esteemed. With the spirit infused by that sentiment, we acted towards them even at the commencement of the war, and we have only prevented an accumulation of naval strength, which would have been employed against us by the malignity and ambition of an enemy who seeks his own aggrandizement at the expense of his supposed friends, as well as of his declared enemies. The chancellor of the exchequer concluded by submitting the following motion to the house:

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to acquaint his majesty that we have

taken into our most serious consideration the papers which have been laid before us by his majesty's command, relative to the discussions with the court of Spain.

"That we observe with the greatest satisfaction, that, through the whole of the transaction, his majesty has carried his moderation and forbearance to the utmost extent, consistent with a due regard to the honour of his crown and the interests of his dominions.

"That while we fully concur in the propriety and necessity of those prompt and vigorous measures of precaution which his majesty found himself compelled to adopt, in consequence of the naval armament fitted out by Spain, we see at the same time a fresh proof of his majesty's earnest desire to avert, if possible, the extremity of war, in the fresh opportunity which he even then offered to the court of Spain to enter on pacific negotiation.

"And that, impressed with these sentiments, and fully convinced of the justice of the war, which the conduct of the court of Spain (evidently under the influence and control of France) has rendered unavoidable, we shall not fail to afford his majesty our most zealous and candid support in every measure which may be necessary for prosecuting the war with vigour, and for bringing it to a safe and honourable termination."

Mr. Grey arose in reply. He professed himself most decidedly of opinion, that it was the true policy of this country to have remained on good terms with Spain; and from the incomplete mass of documents which had been laid before the house, it appeared to him to have been the original wish of the British government. We might have acquiesced in the subsidy with perfect safety and propriety, if the other points, on which he allowed we were entitled to satisfaction, had been explained in a manner calculated to remove all uneasiness on our part. Endeavouring to follow the line of argument pursued by Mr. Pitt, he proceeded to animadvert upon lord Hawkesbury's dispatch to Mr. Frere, of the 2d of June 1803, communicating to him instructions by which his conduct to the court of Spain was to be regulated. Antecedently to this period, it did not appear that any instructions had been transmitted to Mr. Frere; and it was equally strange, and seemed to him most highly culpable, that at the time when hostilities commenced between this country and France, and when our government must have been fully acquainted with the connection that subsisted between France and Spain, no attempts were made to ascertain the real disposition of Spain, and to endeavour to fix her in a determination of neutrality. When he first read the title of lord Hawkesbury's memorable dispatch of the 2d of June, he expected that the line of conduct which Mr. Frere should have adopted, would have been laid down with precision. Some positive points having been stated in it with regard to the assistance demanded by France from Spain, lord Hawkesbury says, "If the Spanish government should state to you that they conceive themselves to be under the obligation to furnish to France the number of troops and ships which are stipulated in the treaty of St. Ildefonso, but that their co-operation will extend no further, you will refrain from giving any opinion on this measure; but will content yourself with signifying that

you

you will transmit the information of it to your court." Here, said Mr. Grey, is a foreseen case, in which the circumstances that must influence a judgment are distinctly pointed out; and yet, notwithstanding the dispatch commences with professing to inform our minister how to act, in its continuation he is directed again to refer to his own court. Nothing unforeseen had arisen, in which case an opinion might have been directed to be withheld. Such a commencement of a negotiation he regarded as very inauspicious.

Although our government was sufficiently apprised, by Mr. Frere's dispatches of the 5th and 15th of August 1803, of the urgent demands made by France on Spain, to furnish either the stipulated contingent of troops and vessels, or pecuniary succours in lieu of it; and notwithstanding it was incumbent on them to enter seriously into the discussion of this most important question, and to communicate to Mr. Frere the result of this consultation, that he might know directly how to act, not a single instruction was sent to him from the 2d of June to the 24th of November; but he was left to conduct himself entirely at his own discretion. In that time he might unadvisedly have committed the country in the most serious and irrevocable manner. There appeared to Mr. Grey, in this interval, the most unpardonable remissness in the minister for the foreign department, a remissness which, in his mind, no explanation could extenuate. On the great importance of lord Hawkesbury's dispatch to Mr. Frere, dated 24th of November 1803, Mr. Grey dwelt with peculiar emphasis. This dispatch, it appears, was occasioned by Mr. Frere's letters of the 9th and 11th of October, in which the treaty between France and Spain is stated to be in a course of negotiation. Lord Hawkesbury, in consequence, instructed Mr. Frere to observe, (when the question should recur, how far his majesty would consent that the Spanish government should purchase their neutrality by an advance of pecuniary succours to France,) that this must be considered as in some degree depending on the amount of the succours so to be advanced, and likewise on the determination of the Spanish government to maintain their neutrality in all other respects; for, although his majesty might be disposed to disregard any small or temporary advance of money, if essential for the attainment of such an object, it would be impossible for him to consider a permanent advance to the extent stated by Mr. Frere, in any other light than as a subsidy to the French government, and as possibly the most effectual assistance which the Spanish government could afford them for the prosecution of the war. Lord Hawkesbury further stated to Mr. Frere, that his majesty could only be induced to abstain from immediate hostilities in consequence of such a measure, upon the consideration of its being a temporary expedient, from which the Spanish government was determined to extricate itself as soon as possible; and that his majesty must be at liberty to consider a perseverance in the system of furnishing pecuniary succours to France, at any future period when circumstances may render it necessary, a just cause of war. Mr. Grey contended that the admission of the principle contained in this dispatch would at once put an end to all

public faith and national security: this principle went so far as to maintain, that, having once a justifiable cause of war, explanations may be suspended, and a right reserved to go to war whenever convenience may require the assertion of this right. But if a cause of complaint be suspended, and not made a ground of immediate war, common justice and the law and practice of nations required, that before any declaration of war the subject of complaint should be again brought under discussion. Lord Hawkesbury's instructions produced a new negotiation between Mr. Frere and M. Cevallos. In an account of a conference with the Spanish minister, as related in the dispatch of the 27th of December, it appears that, in answer to a demand, whether the affording pecuniary succours to France would be considered as a ground of war, and whether he was authorised to declare so? Mr. Frere replied "that he was so authorised, and that war would be the infallible consequence." Mr. Grey denied that Mr. Frere was authorised to speak in this decisive tone; for his instructions limited him to a protest. In spite of the sophistry of the right honourable gentleman, who had endeavoured to show that there was no agreement between Great Britain and Spain, in which the neutrality of the latter power was recognised, Mr. Grey argued, that, if in discussion certain conditions are stated as essential to an agreement, it is surely implied that if those conditions are not violated the compact is formed. In the conference which lord Hawkesbury had with M. d'Anduaga, this was precisely the case; for no objection had been made to an equivalent in pecuniary succours being furnished by Spain to France in lieu of the contingent stipulated by treaty.

Having commented upon the various stages of the negotiation during the whole of the period that lord Hawkesbury was minister for the foreign department, and having attributed to the remissness of his lordship and of Mr. Frere, the war in which we were plunged and the dishonour by which our national character was stained, Mr. Grey proceeded to examine the progress of the negotiation with Spain during the administration of lord Harrowby. He admitted that, upon receiving intelligence that the Spanish fleet was arming in the port of Ferrol, the order issued by lord Harrowby to admiral Cochrane to blockade that port was perfectly justifiable. He then animadverted upon the conduct of Mr. Frere after he had received lord Harrowby's two dispatches of the 29th of September, one containing ostensible, the other private instructions, to terminate the negotiation with Spain, and quit Madrid, if his demands for the disarming the Spanish ships were not complied with. In conformity to these instructions, Mr. Frere addressed a note to the Spanish government on the subject of armaments which in reality no longer existed. The reply utterly disclaimed all armament injurious to Great Britain, and stated the improbability of such a thing after the agreement by which the neutrality of Spain had been acknowledged by Great Britain. Mr. Frere then for the first time denies the existence of any such agreement, although he had before alluded to it in a letter to lord Harrowby; and he asserts the monstrous proposition, that Great Britain has a right to declare war on the ground of an armament, for whatever

whatever purpose Spain might think proper to make it. He then required that the Spanish ships should be placed on the same footing on which they were before the convention; and that on no account any addition should afterwards be made to them. On the refusal of Spain to comply, he demanded his passports. The honourable gentleman asserted that Mr. Frere must have exceeded the limits of his instructions, since there was no occasion for so abrupt a proceeding, unless in the interim he had received advice of the seizure of the Spanish frigates; an event doubly unfortunate, in the loss of so many innocent human beings, and in the indelible stain on British good faith and honour. At length passports were granted to Mr. Frere's urgent and repeated requests, and thus the negotiation ended. After reprobating, in terms of severity, the issuing of the orders for the seizure of the frigates, justifying the preparations at Ferrol upon the ground of their being intended for Biscay, and recapitulating his principal arguments, Mr. Grey concluded by moving a very long amendment to the original address. As this amendment contains the substance of the most material arguments which were urged against the justice and expediency of the war with Spain, we shall insert it at length. It will render it unnecessary for us to enter into a *detailed* statement of the arguments employed by those who opposed the original motion. The following is the amendment moved by Mr. Grey to the original address:

"To return his majesty the thanks of this house for the communications made to us relative to the rupture with Spain.

"To express our entire conviction that the existence of an offensive treaty between France and Spain would have entitled his majesty to consider Spain as a principal in the present war, unless the obligations of that treaty were renounced, or their execution disclaimed; and to assure his majesty that we shall at all times be ready to support him, in giving effect, so far as the interest of his dominions may require, to this just and undisputed principle.

"That we observe, however, that his majesty was advised to waive the exercise of this right, in order to negotiate with Spain for the maintenance of her neutrality; and that, without taking upon ourselves at the present moment to decide a question of policy depending so much on circumstances of which we are still uninformed, we acknowledge with gratitude this proof of his majesty's paternal desire to have prevented the further extension of the calamities of war.

"But, that we beg leave humbly to represent to his majesty, that the execution of these his benevolent wishes indispensably required from his ministers the adoption of some just, intelligible, and uniform principle of negotiation, declared in the outset with frankness and steadily pursued to its conclusion; followed up by an unremitting attention to every new circumstance arising in the progress of so important a discussion, and accompanied by the most scrupulous care, that all engagements resulting from it, should on the part of Great Britain be defined with precision and performed with unquestionable good faith, moderation, and integrity.—That we have, on the contrary, seen with regret, in the whole conduct of this transaction, the clashing effects of unde-

cided, equivocal, and contradictory policy. That the wishes for peace professed in the outset by his majesty's ministers, have uniformly been counteracted by their studious endeavours to keep alive both the cause and menace of war; a purpose equally inconsistent with justice and with wisdom, destructive of all confidence on the part of the power with whom they treated, and incompatible with the object for which they were negotiating. That during the whole course of those discussions, while they were continually soliciting from Spain unreserved communications on points of neutral interest, their own indecision prevented them from returning a distinct statement of the terms on which Great Britain would consent to recognise the neutrality of that power. That their ground of negotiation was repeatedly shifted, their demands varied, and their concessions undefined; and that although some agreement appears at last to have been concluded, neither its date nor its conditions were ascertained with precision. Yet both are repeatedly referred to by the British as well as the Spanish ministers; and the breach of those very conditions is alleged as the motive on the part of Great Britain for her actual commencement of hostilities.

"That the omissions and defects which distinguish that transaction, as well as the fatal consequences to which it has led, can only be ascribed to the erroneous principle on which it was grounded, and to the criminal and almost incredible negligence with which it has been conducted. That it is particularly our duty to represent to his majesty, that in a negotiation for peace or war between Great Britain and Spain, carried on principally at Madrid, no instructions were sent to his majesty's minister at that court from the 2d of June to the 24th of November, in the year 1803; from thence to the 21st of January in the year following; nor again from that date to the 29th of September. That in the first of these intervals, being little short of six months, the negotiation for a treaty of neutrality between France and Spain was begun, continued, and concluded: yet not the smallest information was, in that long time, given to Mr. Frere of the light in which that negotiation was viewed here, of the language it was proper for him to hold, or of the measures it might be necessary for him to take; although frequent communications were made to him on the subject by the Spanish government, who appear to have been disposed to pay great attention, in this instance, to any representation from Great Britain.

"That during the last of the above-mentioned periods, the same minister, though left again for many months without any instructions whatever, negotiated and concluded with Spain some agreement on this most important subject, of which agreement no opinion was ever expressed to him from hence, either before or after its conclusion; nor does it even now appear, from any official documents, whether the same was meant to be allowed or disallowed, ratified or rejected, by the British government.

"That we feel ourselves compelled to express to his majesty, that, in the further progress of these transactions, the indecision and neglect of his government were succeeded by precipitate resolutions and acts of violence, equally injurious to the honour and interest of his kingdom.

"That

"That we should have applauded any endeavour, by firm and temperate representation, to extricate our relations with Spain from the confusion in which they were involved, and to bring them to a distinct issue of acknowledged neutrality or decided war; but that we find no trace of any such attempt. And that in the middle of September, on the first intimation of supposed movements in the Spanish ports, acts of hostility were decided on by his majesty's government, previous to all complaint, and executed without notice during a period of amicable negotiation.

"That the dispositions of Spain appear, from the information of his majesty's minister at Madrid, to have continued up to that moment friendly to Great Britain; and that the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in having, under such circumstances, anticipated all explanation by concealed orders for an attack on Spanish ships, property, and subjects, cannot be justified on any ground of public law, much less reconciled to those principles of moderation and liberality which belong to the British character, and which in the present situation of Europe it is peculiarly the duty of this country to preserve inviolate.

"That on reviewing the discussions which immediately preceded the present war, we cannot but represent to his majesty the essential difference between the conduct of the person left in charge of his majesty's affairs at Madrid, and the tenor of the only instructions under which he appears to have acted. That the explanations given to that gentleman by the Spanish government, though not in all points adequate to the just expectations of this country, were yet such as ought manifestly (according to those instructions) to have determined him to wait at Madrid for the arrival of an accredited minister, authorised by his majesty to arrange with that court all points of difference. And that we have therefore seen, with equal surprise and indignation, the final decision of his majesty's ministers, not only to adopt the inconsiderate resolution taken by the king's representative to withdraw himself from Madrid, but also to treat with utter disregard the subsequent offer from the Spanish minister at this court to pursue the same discussions here; an offer which, if accepted, might probably have led to a satisfactory conclusion on matters upon which the two courts were so nearly agreed. That while we have thus thought it our duty to represent to his majesty the errors of his ministers in the conduct of this important transaction, and the fatal consequences which have resulted from them, we beg leave to repeat our humble assurance, that we are ready to support his majesty to the utmost in every measure necessary to assert the rights and vindicate the honour of his crown; objects which can never be successfully pursued by negligent and undecided counsels, nor attained by the violation of engagements on which those with whom we treat have rested their security."

Mr. Grey was succeeded by lord Castlereagh. His lordship said, he was happy to perceive that the hon. gentleman agreed with government on the construction to be put on the treaty of St. Ildefonso; but he was surprised that while he agreed to the policy of keeping Spain neutral, he could think it expedient to press for an explana-

tion which must have driven her into a war, either with this country or with France. In reply to the intimation, that in the conferences which lord Hawkesbury had held with M. d'Anduaga, a kind of agreement was tacitly allowed, with regard to the conditions of neutrality, lord Castlereagh asserted that this idea had originated in the misapprehension of the Spanish ambassador, with respect to the substitution of pecuniary succours for a contingent of troops and vessels. He could by no means admit that a nation which had covenanted with another to afford moderate succours, was at liberty to convert those succours into money, without the consent of the power against whom they were to be employed. By converting this aid into money, we should have been deprived of those means of attacking and seizing it, which we might successfully employ if it were applied in the shape of ships and men. His lordship contended, that if Mr. Frere had done any thing at Madrid amounting to an agreement to the neutrality of Spain, he must have done so in direct violation of his instructions. On the contrary, he had constantly kept in view this part of his instructions; and had always considered it as a most essential point, to give no pledge or engagement which would bind his majesty to respect what he always regarded as an uncertain and unsubstantial neutrality. In his note to M. Cevallos, in which he used the word convention, he expressly denied that the neutrality of Spain had ever been agreed upon, or ever mentioned in any of the communications from his majesty's minister, so as to give reason to expect it would be recognised. All that had been proposed, on our part, amounted to nothing more than the statement of the conditions on which we would consent to a forbearance from war, for the present, and to enter into negotiation on other points. Lord Castlereagh affirmed that every care had been taken on our side to prevent the effusion of blood; and if notice was not given of the intention to detain the treasure ships, it was, as lord Harrowby had very properly said, because the communication would be useless to Spain if it did not reach that country in time, and the design would be rendered abortive if it did. On the conduct of Spain he proceeded to observe, that while M. d'Anduaga promised here a strict and faithful neutrality, British ships were seized in the Spanish ports, and a declaration of war published at Madrid. Whatever reasoning, indeed, was contained in M. d'Anduaga's note, war was declared by Spain solely on the ground of her alliance with France. The substance of her convention with the latter power was, that she should put the government of that country in possession of half of her resources. No greater proof need be required how much Spain was under the dominion of France, than the apprehension which she had of the danger of disclosing the terms of the convention. He therefore thought himself fully borne out, when he sat down in the full conviction, that the influence of France was the cause of the war, which this country had most studiously and perseveringly endeavoured to avoid.

Lord Temple supported the amendment, and replied to several observations which had fallen from lord Castlereagh. The advocate-general (sir John Nicholl) then rose, and entered into a discussion of

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the merits of the case on the part of our government, as their conduct appeared to him to be countenanced and authorised by the established usage or law of nations. This law, however, was not to be found in any official document, which was universally agreed upon or enacted for that purpose. Our opinions on this subject, he said, were to be guided by the following criterions: 1st, the sound deduction of natural reason; 2dly, the authority of the most eminent men; and 3dly, the general practice observed by civilized nations when placed in similar circumstances. In a plain reasonable view of the subject, it was admitted that the treaty of St. Ildefonso was in itself a just and sufficient cause of war. The advocate-general then proceeded to state, that the great extent of the pecuniary aid to be furnished by Spain to France, and the very high degree of certainty that the French and Spanish ships were intended to act together, entitled us to seize on that description of property which otherwise would most probably have been sent to replenish the coffers of our enemy. In this we did not exceed the bound prescribed by the most eminent writers on the law of nations. All writers, from Vattel to Martyn, who is one of the most modern on the subject, have agreed, that if an injury be received, or an injustice done, and that explanation is demanded on the one side, and refused on the other; if there is a notice given to the power so refusing, that, if such conduct is persisted in, it will be considered as a sufficient cause of war; if after this solemn warning, as the writers on this subject observe, that power shall continue those acts which are deemed acts of aggression, and shall still withhold all explanation on the subject, hostilities against her will then be founded in the principles of justice. Every publicist of eminence, he observed, has declared, that we have a right to make use of the principle of fear, to compel other nations to accede to our just demands: if this should not succeed, there was no alternative but that of having recourse to arms. He quoted a number of precedents to show that such a line of conduct might, pending a negotiation, be adopted and acted upon, when all the other circumstances already mentioned were connected with it, without violating the practice of civilized nations.

Upon the motion of Mr. Windham, after some slight opposition, the house adjourned to the following day.

The debate was renewed by Mr. Raine, who presented himself to the house at the same instant with Mr. Windham and Dr. Lawrence. He apologised for making use of the preference allowed to him by the Speaker, on the ground of his being more likely to gain attention in an early than in an advanced stage of the discussion, when the house would be necessarily eager to know the sentiments of gentlemen of greater experience than his own. The subject appeared to him to present itself in two points of view: first, as to the good policy of a war with Spain; and secondly, as to whether the manner of commencing hostilities could be justified. He should confine himself chiefly, he said, to the latter point, as more in the line of his profession (Mr. Raine is a lawyer). He admitted that a formal declaration of war was not always necessary previous to the commencement of

hostilities; but neither Bynkershook nor Vattel meant to say that in no case was it necessary. On the contrary, the latter expressly states that it *is* necessary, and in a case very analogous to the present. To defend the conduct of ministers with success, it would be necessary to show that pending a negotiation you may commence a war without any previous declaration. He reminded the house of the shameful attack upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet in the time of Charles the Second. The pecuniary succours paid by Spain to France could not be considered as voluntary; nor could England well urge that circumstance as a ground of war, who herself connived at the same payment made by the Hanse-towns, and by Portugal our ally. He supported the amendment of Mr. Grey.

Mr. Bankes and Mr. Hiley Addington spoke in favour of the original motion: the latter gentleman complained of the special pleading of Mr. Raine. Mr. Johnstone strongly condemned the war; and Dr. Lawrence, expressing the same sentiment, replied with considerable learning to the arguments of sir J. Nicholls. The master of the rolls passed by those points upon which so much had been said by his learned friend with respect to particular precepts of the law of nations, because whatever decision might be made by the house, with respect to them, appeared to him immaterial to the question before them. The inquiry ought to be, how Spain had conducted herself towards this country; and what had been the proceedings which our government had adopted; particularly, whether they had a fair and politic ground for engaging in direct hostility. The remote cause of the war was the treaty of St. Ildefonso; the proximate cause, the armament which had taken place in the Spanish ports, and the refusal of the Spanish government to explain to us certain points respecting which we had a right to demand a full and satisfactory explanation. It was universally admitted that the treaty of St. Ildefonso furnished an unquestionable ground of war. To ascertain whether that ground had been affected by any thing that had occurred since, it became necessary to inquire, whether it had been weakened or abandoned by any mark of approbation, or acquiescence on our part in the terms of that treaty; 2dly, whether any agreement had taken place to suspend the exercise of our right to go to war, and what were the conditions of that agreement; 3dly, if such agreement existed, whether its conditions had been violated; and if so, what was the explanation required and received in consequence of such violation.

Although the treaty of St. Ildefonso was as unambiguously as words could express an offensive treaty, yet there was a difference between a cause of war, and a resolution to go to war; and to this we had attended. We did not wish to go to war with Spain; we did not feel a Spanish war to be desirable: therefore, although we felt great doubts of the possibility that Spain could preserve a complete neutrality with us, while we were engaged in a war with France, yet we determined to make the experiment. This experiment manifested the benevolence of our government, even though the prospect of success to be derived from experience of the former conduct of Spain was not at all encouraging. Nothing, in his opinion, could be more unfounded than the observation,

servation, that instructions sufficiently distinct and decisive had not been sent to Mr. Frere. Our minister had been instructed to ask the Spanish government to what extent they meant to execute the obligations of the treaty of St. Ildefonso. The answer he should receive he was to transmit to this court, without delivering any opinion upon it. Nothing, he contended, was more common than to prescribe such a conduct to ambassadors. In 1761, the instructions sent to our ambassador at Madrid were precisely similar to those forwarded to Mr. Frere. When that ambassador was directed to apply to the court of Spain for an explanation of the family compact, his order was, to make no comment on the explanation he might receive, but to transmit it immediately to his court; and yet lord Egremont, who gave those orders, was never pronounced an inefficient or unwise statesman. The answer received by Mr. Frere was, that an application had been made by the French government to Spain for pecuniary succours, in lieu of the shipping and troops stipulated for in the treaty of Ildefonso. Upon this, an intimation was made to the Spanish government, that the concurrence of our government must depend on the amount of the proposed succours. From the subsequent connivance of this country in the payment of a certain succour to France, an argument, he observed, was drawn, which seemed to imply, that if a nation at any time declined to assert a right, it was tantamount to the abandonment of such right. This would be a most dangerous doctrine; for it would go to this, that a nation should in no case take advantage of the operation of chances; that it should not delay for any considerations of policy the assertion of a right, but at the risk of losing the right altogether. Our connivance as to the payment of the subsidy to France, rested upon the performance of certain conditions on the part of Spain; namely, cessation of all armaments in the Spanish ports, and the prohibition of the march of any French troops through the Spanish territory. In case of a strict compliance with these conditions, the Spaniards were to enjoy what had been termed by M. Cevallos a treaty or convention of neutrality; or, what had been denominated by Mr. Frere, a proposition of forbearance; but what he (the master of the rolls) would call a suspension of hostilities;—still bearing in mind that we never gave up our original right of war, if those conditions should not be fulfilled. As to the principles of national honour and good faith, upon which so much had been insisted in the course of the debate, and which had been represented to have been outraged by the manner of commencing the war with Spain, no man was more anxious than himself to maintain those principles inviolate. He would even contend that there was not the slightest violation of those principles in the conduct of ministers; but, on the contrary, that they were religiously observed. To put a stop to all armaments in the Spanish ports was necessary to our security; and Spain consented to do so, as part of the conditions of our forbearance from hostility. But these armaments, notwithstanding the most positive engagement to the contrary, it was notorious, were in preparation at the time we proceeded to that act, which it was said we should not have attempted without giving previous notice.

notice. That notice, however, Spain was not entitled to look for, because, from the treaty of St. Ildefonso, the character of a neutral power did not belong to Spain; and because her preparation of any armament, without previous explanation to this court as to the amount and object of such armament, was an act of absolute hostility on her part. The order to detain the Spanish frigates was, therefore, perfectly justifiable. It had been said, that the object of that armament was not hostile to this country: but if not, and it was merely meant for the conveyance of troops to Biscay, as was pretended, why was not the purpose of it explained to this country before the preparation of it was commenced? This was required by the terms of the agreement. The fact was, that notwithstanding the pretences alleged, there was something particularly mysterious in that armament; something which even to that hour had not been satisfactorily explained. From all appearances, and the information which our government had received, it was an armament that he thought could not have been made without a hostile purpose. The learned gentleman concluded by observing, that there were two distinct grounds for the commencement of the war; the violation of the conditions entered into by the Spanish government as the price of our forbearance; and the refusal of that government to afford us an explanation upon points respecting which we were entitled to demand that explanation. The violation of the conditions of our forbearance he thought quite sufficient to form the justification of ministers; and that any person who fairly considered all the circumstances of that violation, could not state that the character of this country was stigmatized by the order which had been issued for the capture of the Spanish frigates; an order which struck his mind to be not merely warrantable, but to be such that, had they declined to issue it, ministers would have been guilty of a most criminal desertion of duty. Conscientiously, therefore, he considered their conduct to be as wise and just as their motives were humane and honourable.

Mr. Fox declared that the speech of his hon. friend who had moved the amendment to the address had remained entirely unanswered; and it appeared to have been considered unanswerable by the learned gentleman who had spoken last, since he had prudently abstained from offering any thing in answer to it. When he heard of a distinction between an engagement of suspension of hostilities, and an engagement of neutrality, and when he heard of that distinction as a thing that put us in a better condition, and Spain in a worse,—that to him was the language of fraud, and there was nothing large or liberal in it. But when it was an instruction from lord Hawkesbury, that the ambassador should preserve the right of war amidst all the negotiations, it was the most monstrous proceeding that ever had been known. The learned gentleman who spoke last did not deny that there was an agreement between this country and Spain. He did not hear from him the distinction laid down the preceding day,—that we were not to be supposed to acquiesce in what we had passed over in silence. He did not hear from him those expressions which were characteristic of a duplicity which, he was sorry to say, was

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the most conspicuous feature in the whole of those transactions. The hon. and learned gentleman, he was happy to find, placed the question on a different footing. He laid down a remote and a proximate cause of the steps recently taken: the remote cause was the treaty of Saint Ildefonso. The proximate causes were two: first, the armament; and secondly, the insufficiency of the explanation. With regard to the remote cause, he was one of those who agreed that the treaty of St. Ildefonso was an offensive treaty, and that, unless it was renounced, it was a just cause of war; but the question of policy mingled in this instance with the consideration of humanity: he perfectly concurred in the opinion that it was the policy of this country to avoid a war with Spain.

It had been argued (by Mr. Bankes) that, in this negotiation, Spain was bound to evince candour, and that Britain was bound to show vigilance, jealousy, suspicion and reserve. This was altogether new; for, if there was any one thing peculiarly qualified to produce its like, it was candour. If one party was to be frank, and the other ambiguous, there could be no reciprocity. When frankness was asked, it was but natural also to give it. This was not the law of nations, nor the law of England, but the law of our being, which could not be extinguished or altered but by the annihilation of our existence. Lord Hawkesbury directed Mr. Frere to demand an unreserved communication from Spain; a communication which he could not obtain, as Mr. Frere gave no explicit explanation to Spain. Until such an explanation was given, it was vain to expect any freedom of communication. It was not till he had read the papers on the table that he thought any person could expect confidence without manifesting sincerity.

As to the conduct which his majesty's government had to pursue, there appeared to him but one of two lines to follow: the first was simple, and was merely a peremptory declaration of war, unless the treaty of Ildefonso should be formally renounced. The second was more complex, but not less likely to advance the interests of this country. Spain showed evidently a disposition to continue with us upon terms of amity; and surely it should have been our part to prevent her being thrown into the scale against us: it was not, and could not be, the interest of Spain to afford France any succours which she could avoid. But when five months were suffered to elapse without any step being taken to avert hostilities, within which five months France had compelled Spain to commute the stipulated succours for a subsidy; when information was given of this purposed commutation by Mr. Frere to his court, and yet no instruction was given to him in return; what could be said too strongly of the negligence of ministers? If it was thought that a subsidy would be more injurious to this country than the stipulated succours, why was not that feeling intimated to Spain? She took what she looked upon to be the course least injurious to us, and, in his judgment, put that construction upon the conduct of Mr. Frere which she had a right to do. What he most complained of was, that his majesty's ministers had not explained their wishes or intentions to the Spanish cabinet. If they had seen that the predominant influence, or rather, according to his own opinion,

nion, the predominant power of France in Spain was likely to give a direction to its measures, they ought to have come to some determination, whether it was better to continue the neutrality, or, as they term it, their forbearance, or to declare war at once. Allowing the situation of Spain to have been difficult, some effort ought to have been made to assist her; yet had she been left to herself till the time when she might by circumstances be enabled to disengage herself from the difficulties in which she was placed? He noticed the allusion made to the situation and conduct of Spain towards the close of the American war. The influence which France had then over Spain was an influence of its government over the government of Spain, to induce it to do what it desired; but quite different from the influence which France at present possessed over Spain, for directing the whole of its power and resources to the promotion of its own objects. He would ask, whether it was not justifiable to connive at the subsidy extorted from Portugal; and whether, where there was no evidence of the *malus animus*, the weakness of the smaller powers should be made their crime? Vengeance should be directed against the great offender; the little bark might be suffered to escape. He condemned the principle of waiving the right of war till it should be convenient to act upon it. He asserted that the two notes of Mr. Frere amounted to an agreement; and that, if M. Cevallos had fallen into any misconception of them, his error should have been explained. Mr. Fox contended further, that whoever fairly considered the situation of Spain, and afterwards seriously believed that she laboured to equip armaments to annoy this country, such a person could not be exceeded in credulity by the simplest of dupes. Could sending three ships from the basin into the mole, and these three ships only half manned, be seriously looked upon as an indication of such hostile armament? Neither was it absurd to send troops in such ships; we ourselves have often done it.

Mr. Frere's brother, who had been his secretary, and consequently a party to the disputes with the Spanish ministry, ought not to have been the person selected to replace him. The detention of the frigates is said to be not an act of war, but of precaution; but it is not so, it is a direct measure of war. It cannot be assimilated to the detention of merchantmen, not in the open seas, but in our harbours. It is not to dishonour the character of our country to canvass this: to pass it over without examination would be to dishonour us, and it is the duty of the house of commons to make the examination.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose to reply. He denied that there was any inconsistency between his own opinion and that of his friend the master of the rolls. Our forbearance was all along attended with a cautionary condition: if Spain but one day departed from that condition, our right of war was to be enforced. Were we to wait till the armaments were complete, or were we to attack the enemy at once? Surely the latter. The passion of fear is often as strong as that of love; and Spain was driven to assist France through fear; from that motive she now aids the ambitious projects of France. It is said, if Spain paid the money she did not furnish the

contingent. Might not France require both, if the granting of them served any immediate purpose, and thus be enabled to strike a given blow in a few days; perhaps acquire a temporary superiority over our squadron, put to sea, and secure the arrival of the treasure ships? That, as it *was*, had nearly happened. Had we waited for further explanation, in what posture should we now have stood? We now, thank God, are conscious of being placed in a different situation, and in that consciousness ministers do not hesitate to solicit the opinion of the house upon their conduct.

For Mr. Grey's amendment the votes were 106—against it 313—majority 207.

The debate on this subject in the house of lords was begun, as we have already noticed, by lord Mulgrave; who, upon the grounds of the treaty of St. Ildefonso being a treaty of an offensive nature, and of our having, notwithstanding our moderation, at no time given up the right to make war, as its consequence, asked of the house to vote an address to his majesty, similar to that moved in the house of commons. He was succeeded by earl Spencer, who proposed an amendment. Lord Sidmouth was not disposed to detain their lordships long, but could not avoid saying, that that forbearance which earl Spencer seemed to consider as the result of indecision, was, in his judgment, a measure of good policy and of wisdom. In justification of the ultimate rupture, the noble lord stated that not one of the objects to which importance attached, had been obtained from Spain, except that of stopping the sale of prizes. We had required that foreign troops should not march through Spain; and the French fleet at Ferrol had notwithstanding been recruited by that very means. We had pledged ourselves to this country, to Spain, and to Europe, that if they did so we should declare war. A commencement, therefore, of hostilities, in those circumstances, ought not to have been unexpected, and was nothing more than acting upon a former declaration. The lords King and Darnley supported the amendment.

The earl of Westmorland gave his vote for the address. The house then divided on the question, "That the amendment stand part of the motion." Contents 36—Non contents 114.

His royal highness the prince of Wales gave the proxy of earl Moira for the amendment.

Upon the resumption of the original question, and upon lord Hawkesbury's expressing his intention to oppose an adjournment, lord Grenville rose, and entered into an examination of the papers on the table, and of the conduct of ministers in the negotiation. As the outline of his lordship's opposition was similar to that adopted in the lower house, it is, perhaps, unnecessary to detail his observations at length. He expatiated on the indecision and weakness displayed in the few instructions which appeared in the long space of time that elapsed previous to the declaration of war; instructions which he described as "*rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*" He inveighed against the inattention paid to the three letters of the Spanish minister at this court, who could neither obtain access to the secretary of state, nor an answer from him to his repeated official communications. Such was the treatment shown to a high-

a high-minded and gallant nation, which plumed itself upon the observance of etiquette, and whose pride was wounded by the slightest appearance of neglect. Such was the style of negotiation which ministers boasted of as free from reproach.—The Spanish government had declared that the sole object of the apparent equipment of three ships of the line in the port of Ferrol, was to transport troops to the bay of Biscay, where a rebellion had broken out; and at the same time the governor of Ferrol had assured admiral Cochrane that the men should be put on shore and sent round by land, however inconvenient. Admiral Cochrane, not content with this, insisted on receiving a detailed account of their being dismantled. Lord Grenville begged their lordships to make this case their own, and say what their feelings would be if such language were used to a British admiral commanding at Portsmouth, because he had chosen to send troops round the coast in a few ships of the line. He sincerely believed that no object was in view but really to quell the tumult in Biscay; yet, upon ground like this we proceeded to the violence of assaulting their ships on the high seas. This had been assimilated to an embargo. Was there no difference? Was there no difference between delaying merchant ships which might be delivered back, and assaulting ships on the high seas? Stop the ships of a merchant, and they may be delivered up; take his property, and he might be indemnified; imprison seamen, and they might be discharged: but, burn, sink and blow up ship and crew, and who can restore the innocent blood that is spilt? The laws of civilized war permitted no such act. The French branded us with the name of a mercantile people ever thirsting after gold; they would therefore impute this violence to our eagerness for the dollars. Better that all these and ten times more were paid, so it could wash away the stain which had been brought upon our arms. The seizure of the treasure ships had no resemblance to the stoppage of the Dutch ships, nor to the measure recommended by the earl of Chatham in 1761. He denied this war to be popular. If the stories that were floating were true, of desperate, mad, and romantic expeditions against Spanish America, he prophesied that it would be a most calamitous war for Great Britain: a more perilous and a more calamitous adventure for the sake of mere plunder could not be undertaken than such an expedition, either for the country that gave it birth, or for humanity in general. Lord Hawkesbury replied; when the question on the original motion was called for, and carried in the affirmative without a division.

CHAPTER II.

Retrospective View of Military Affairs—Debate in the House of Peers upon Lord Darnley's Motion for the Repeal of the Additional Defence Bill—Incidental Discussion upon Lord Grenville's Coalition with Mr. Fox—Debate in the House of Commons upon Mr. Windham's Motion for the Appointment of a Committee of Military Inquiry—Debate on Mr. Sheridan's Motion for the Repeal of the Additional Defence Bill—Debate upon the Suspension of the Irish Habeas Corpus Act.

FROM the re-commencement of hostilities with France, the attention of government had been actively directed to the establishment of a powerful military force for the defence of the empire. Under the administration of Mr. Addington, the volunteers had been formed and embodied. The origin, however, of this measure must be referred rather to the anxiety and the spirit of the people, than to any regular determination or previous concert on the part of government. The zeal of the country outran the expectations and even the wishes of ministers. They were alarmed at the extent and magnitude of the system. Instead of being called upon to awaken the ardour of the nation, their whole attention was anxiously employed to temper and restrain it. A mighty engine had been set in motion; and though intended for the defence of the country, they appeared to apprehend that it might ultimately be employed for its destruction. In this situation of affairs, the active and inquiring spirit of the nation was industriously directed to military subjects. It was of course soon understood, and very generally acknowledged, that a force of this description could not be relied upon as a substitute for troops of the line. It was necessary, therefore, that the regular army should be immediately and greatly augmented; and several expedients were resorted to for that purpose. The progress, however, was slow and inconsiderable, and the nation began to be dissatisfied with the measures of government. The integrity of ministers, and their attachment to the laws and constitution of the country, were generally admitted; but they were not endowed with that energy and talent, with any of those great and commanding qualities, which were so necessary to the arduous situation in which they were placed. Upon their retirement from office, much was expected from the military plans of the new administration. Mr. Pitt had for a considerable time directed his attention to the means of augmenting the army, and providing for the general defence of the country. Accordingly, the first act of his administration was to introduce a bill for the attainment of these important objects. It met with considerable opposition, but was finally adopted by a great majority of the legislature. There appeared, however, to be many inherent defects in the very principle of the measure, and these were pointed out, and pressed with great force, by many members of both houses, who were most conversant with military affairs. The event at once verified their predictions, and disappointed the sanguine

guine expectations of the minister and his supporters. In some of the largest and most populous counties of the island, not a single man had been supplied under the provisions of the bill. Several months had now elapsed since the measure had come into operation, and the opposition earnestly pressed for the repeal of the act, on the ground of its total failure.

In the house of peers, the motion was introduced on the 15th of February by lord Darnley. The number of men which it was the object of the bill to raise, was stated at 16,000; but if their lordships would refer to the papers upon the table, and to the numbers which the several counties had supplied, they would be convinced of the inefficacy of the measure, and the absurdity of persevering in a system the failure of which was so fully established. The individual who had framed and introduced this bill had very confidently arraigned the weakness and incapacity of his predecessors. This measure was the first fruits of his own energy and talents. It was said to be the result of great meditation, and of the most extensive and diligent inquiry. But what, after all, has been the issue of these pompous professions? what the event of these great and extraordinary exertions? A failure more complete than even the most determined adversaries of ministers could have ventured to predict. It was impossible, then, without some feelings of indignation, to advert to their former language, and to consider it in conjunction with their subsequent achievements. They declaim against the imbecility of their predecessors; they supplant them in the administration of the government; they delude the country with the most magnificent promises; and in the event it is proved that their own measures are beyond comparison more feeble and inefficacious than those which they had so loudly arraigned.

One of the arguments which had been repeatedly urged in support of the bill, was founded upon the influence of local dependence and connexion. But how did that observation agree with the event? It was natural to suppose that such influence would be more successfully exerted by the framer of the bill within the sphere of his own peculiar authority, than by any other person. And yet, on referring to the papers upon the table, it would be found that only one man had yet been provided out of the 500 which were allotted to the district of the Cinque Ports. It was not in England only that the measure had failed of success; it had proved equally inoperative in Ireland: and on the ground, therefore, of the total inefficacy of the bill he should move for its repeal.

Earl Camden rose in reply. He observed that, when the measure was originally introduced, great prejudice had been excited against it both in and out of parliament; and this, among other circumstances, had materially affected the operation of the bill. The act for the establishment of the army of reserve had produced a considerable augmentation of our force within a short period of time; but it was attended with one very serious inconvenience. The high bounties which it had contributed to introduce, had proved extremely injurious to the recruiting service. It was necessary to put a stop to the evil; and for this, among other purposes, the additional

tional force bill had been framed. If the bill were now to be repealed, it would be necessary again to have recourse to the high bounties, and also to the system of ballot, which was allowed to be alike impolitic and oppressive. Adverting to the state of our military force, his lordship observed, that during the last year it had been increased by 28,000 men, of which 18,000 were engaged for general service. It ought not to be a subject of surprise that some difficulty should exist in procuring recruits, when, besides those who were employed in the pursuits of civil life, it was recollected what a large proportion of our active population was already engaged in the naval and military service of the empire. The earl of Suffolk and lord King spoke in favour of the repeal.

It was observed by the latter nobleman, that the fines for deficiencies incurred in the county of Surry amounted to upwards of 21,000*l.* If this sum were levied in the manner proposed by the bill, it would be to impose a tax of nearly one shilling and six-pence in the pound upon the whole landed interest of the county. This was a burthen heavier even than that of the property tax; it was partial in its operation, and could not be levied without great injustice and oppression. Much had been expected from local influence and individual exertion. But it was not a little remarkable, that in the county of Kent, where something might have been hoped from the influence of the noble lord, only eleven men had been procured; and in the north riding of Yorkshire, with which another noble lord was closely connected, not even a single man had been raised by the operation of the bill.

The earl of Westmorland opposed the repeal. The ground upon which the motion had been supported was the supposed inefficacy of the measure. But noble lords seemed not to be aware of the true reasons why so inconsiderable a number of men had yet been procured. It was necessary, in the first instance, that the deficiencies in the militia and the army of reserve should be ascertained, before the bill could be brought into full activity and effect. In this preliminary arrangement much time was necessarily consumed. These impediments, however, were now removed; and, in referring to the returns, it would be found that in the last two weeks 600 recruits had been obtained; a number much beyond the returns of any two preceding weeks. There was every reason to hope that in the further prosecution of the measure the same result would occur, and the annual augmentation of our regular army from this source alone would amount to 15,000 men. But, said the noble earl, if this bill were to be repealed, are noble lords prepared to substitute any other measure in its place? At least till something else is proposed, let us not, without a sufficient trial, abandon a system which is only just coming into operation, and which promises, when fairly estimated, to produce the most beneficial effects.

Earl Spencer observed, that all the objections which he had formerly urged against the bill were now completely confirmed. It was therefore reasonable and natural for him to support the motion of the noble lord. It was difficult, however, to discover how the noble lord opposite, and some of his colleagues, who had originally opposed the

bill, could, with any pretension to consistency, object to the repeal. They were formerly adverse to the measure because they thought and foretold it would be inefficacious. Upon what principle then could they now oppose the repeal, when experience had so abundantly established the propriety of their former opinion? It had been asked, whether those who supported the motion of the noble lord had any thing to propose as a substitute for this bill? To such a question the answer was extremely obvious. The country expected, and was entitled to require, some more efficient measure from those persons who were at the head of his majesty's councils. As far as related to raising men, the bill was useless and inoperative. It could only then be considered as a bill for raising money. Regarded in this light, it was in the extremest degree unjust and oppressive. The penalties were to be levied exclusively upon land and houses: but to impose a burthen of this nature upon only one description of property alone, was repugnant to every fair principle of taxation. There was also another material objection to the bill: it afforded scope for the exercise of the most unjust partialities. The officers had the power of apportioning the recruits to the different districts, according to their own discretion. They might send those of doubtful and suspicious character to one place, and those in whom they could repose more confidence to another. In case of desertion, the district in which the recruit was stationed was to be called upon to supply the deficiency. In this respect, then, the unequal operation of the bill formed another strong argument in favour of the repeal. It was said that 600 men had been procured within the last fortnight by the operation of the act. But the truth was, that these recruits were not obtained by the bill, but by the usual system of recruiting. Those who had opposed the motion of the noble lord contended for a further trial of the effects of the bill. This appeared to him extraordinary. One of the principles upon which the measure had been originally supported, and which had been insisted upon as its strongest recommendation, was the immediate effect with which it would be attended. The rapidity of its operation was to form a striking contrast to the slow and feeble measures of the late ministers. But this position was now abandoned; there was no longer any hope that it would suddenly supply the deficiencies in our military force; and the utmost that the patrons of this measure could venture to promise was, that, if we waited its operation with patience, it might ultimately produce some men to the service.

Lord Sidmouth vindicated himself against the charge of inconsistency which the noble earl had by anticipation preferred against him. The opinion which he originally entertained of the measure was not only unchanged, but was confirmed and strengthened by every thing which had occurred since the passing of the bill. He had thought that the object of the bill might have been obtained by better and more unexceptionable means. Still, however, if it could be obtained by this measure, the object itself was of such serious importance to the country, that that consideration alone would, in his judgment, outweigh every objection which had been made to the

particular provisions of the bill. He was satisfied, then, that the act ought not to be repealed until this point was ascertained; until a sufficient opportunity was afforded to form an accurate judgment of its effects. It was true, that the number of men proposed had not yet been raised; but the real question to be considered was, whether it had failed to such an extent as to justify parliament in proceeding to an immediate repeal. He had always regretted that the legislature had consented to adopt that part of the measure by which burthensome penalties were imposed upon the country. Still, however, without some compulsory power, it was evident that the object could not be obtained. If the penalty should be incurred, and before it were actually levied the man should be provided, three-fourths of the penalty would be remitted. It was evident, therefore, that until it should be understood that the penalties would be levied, no accurate judgment could be formed of the effect of the bill. He could not, therefore, assent to the motion of the noble lord. His lordship added, that the measure did not interfere with the general recruiting service. He observed, that in consequence of the system which had been adopted by the late ministers, a very considerable augmentation had already taken place in the regular army. This augmentation was composed of additions to the German legion, and to the black troops in the West Indies, and of four out of the eight new battalions which it had been proposed to raise.

The duke of Clarence concurred with the noble viscount in the sentiments he had expressed with respect to this bill. His royal highness entered into much detail upon the state of our military force, and referred, in support of his statements, to various documents which he had obtained from the public offices relative to this most interesting subject. In contrasting the estimated with the actual amount of our force in all parts of the empire, it appeared, he said, that there was a total deficiency to the extent of 86,360 men.

Lord Mulgrave declined entering into any discussion upon those facts which had been referred to by the illustrious personage who had immediately preceded him in the debate. The documents were not regularly before the house, and no parliamentary conclusion could be formed upon any unauthenticated report. In considering the merits of the present bill, he thought the best course he could pursue, would be to compare it with other measures which had been adopted for the attainment of the same object. The penalty under the former act was to be paid by the individual, and the operation of the law in this respect was, in many instances, attended with extreme oppression. But under the milder enactments of the present bill, these penalties were to be levied upon the parishes, and the burthen would of course be more equally diffused. Circumstances might occur in which parliament would be justified in resorting to compulsory service. These circumstances, however, did not at present exist; and, in the actual state of the country, his lordship was of opinion, that no measure could be adopted for the augmentation of our military force, less liable to objection than the bill which the noble lord had moved to repeal. Two other modes had

been suggested: the one to adopt the system of raising men for rank; and the other to enlist for a limited term. His experience in the service led him to be decidedly adverse to both these methods. The latter was particularly objectionable. The effect of it was to confer a lavish proportion of rank, and to produce but a meagre contribution of men. His lordship concluded by observing, that sufficient opportunity had not yet been afforded to enable parliament to form a correct estimate of the effect of the measure, and he should therefore vote against the motion of the noble lord.

Lord Grenville was unwilling to enlarge upon the inconsistency of the noble viscount, because, in the discussion of public measures, he had always felt disposed to reason rather from the principle and effect of the measures themselves, than from the conduct of individuals by whom they might be either supported or opposed. In adverting, however, to the bill, his lordship could not forbear observing that, when originally introduced, it had been actively assailed by some noble lords who professed that they had formed and matured a very different system; a system which they asserted would be found, upon comparison, superior both in principle and detail to the measure then under discussion. How then were we to account for the present conduct of those noble lords? Had the change which had recently taken place in their situation produced a correspondent change in their opinions upon this subject? or, if they really supposed that the system to which they referred would be more beneficial to the country, how could they justify themselves in withholding it from the consideration of parliament? It was impossible to justify their acquiescence by any appeal to recent events; on the contrary, the circumstances which had occurred since the passing of this bill, and the total failure of the measure, could have tended only to confirm their former opinion. Eight months had now elapsed since the bill had received the royal assent; ample scope had been afforded for its operation; and yet, by the confession of all parties, and even of the noble viscount himself, it had hitherto been almost entirely unproductive. The original project was, indeed, sufficiently magnificent. Sixty new battalions were to be raised as a perpetual nursery for the regular army; but though the measure had produced comparatively nothing, though the predictions of the noble viscount and his friends had been completely verified; yet, when it was proposed to repeal the bill, he was urgent in persuading the house to retain it. Their conduct, in appearance, was surely strange, and seemed to him to require explanation; but he should not therefore charge the noble viscount with a dereliction of principle, or a wilful abandonment of duty. There was another extraordinary inconsistency in the language and conduct of the noble viscount. It was impossible, he said, to ascertain, with any precision, the effect of the measure until the penalties were levied: and yet the noble viscount had declared that he disapproved of the penalties. He seemed to think that the penalties ought not to be enforced, and yet for that very purpose, a purpose which he condemned, the bill was to be continued. His lordship was not minutely acquainted with all the

particulars

particulars of the plan which was said to have been in the contemplation of the noble viscount. There was one part of it, however, that which related to the augmentation of the black corps, in the propriety of which he entirely concurred. But there was another part of the same system to which he could not assent. He alluded to the practice of raising men for rank. This system had been acted upon while he had the honour of holding a responsible situation in his majesty's councils. But experience had satisfied him of the pernicious tendency of the principle, and he should ever regret that it had met with his concurrence. He had entertained hopes, from the general union of sentiment upon this subject, that the practice would have been entirely abandoned; but he was sorry to find from the papers upon the table, that, to a certain degree at least, it was still in force. Some efficient system was necessary for recruiting the regular military force of the country. But while ministers cherished this bill with so much zeal and affection, it was impossible to hope that they would be prevailed upon to adopt any more efficacious system. His lordship had upon a former occasion suggested the expediency, in recruiting for general service, to enlist for a limited term of years. Ministers had appeared not to disapprove of the suggestion, and yet no steps had been taken to carry it into effect. It was observed indeed by some noble lords, that it had been tried, and had failed of success. But his lordship contended that it had never been fairly tried. It must be acted upon uniformly throughout the country; it must be understood, by the whole population of the state, to be the general and settled system of the service. The consequence would inevitably be, that a more favourable disposition towards the service would exist among the great mass of the people. Some time would of course elapse before this could be accomplished; but the ultimate effect would be powerful and certain. It would not be necessary to resort for assistance to any other system; and all the awkward and complicated machinery which had of late years been introduced, with so much inconvenience both to the service and the country, might at once be abandoned.

Many of the facts and arguments which had been before urged by the noble lords who opposed the motion, were again insisted upon and pressed with considerable force by lord Melville and lord Hawkesbury, who replied to the speech of the noble baron. It was contended that the system had not been fairly tried; that much prejudice had been excited against it both in and out of parliament; and that, from this and other causes, a considerable check had been put to the operation of the bill. That instead of eight, the experience of only three months had yet been obtained. That the measure was intended to be of a permanent nature, and to afford a regular and constant supply of men in aid of the recruiting service. This was confessedly a great and important object, and they were persuaded that it would be ultimately attained by an adherence to the present measure. The motion was also opposed by the earl of Buckinghamshire and the lord chancellor. Upon a division, the number in favour of lord Darnley's motion was 45, and against it 113.

In the course of this debate a

subject of considerable interest was incidentally agitated. Lord Darnley had adverted in terms of marked disapprobation to the union which had taken place between ministers and the friends of lord Sidmouth. The charge was retorted with some warmth upon the opposition; and the coalition between lord Grenville and Mr. Fox became in its turn a subject of animadversion and censure. The language of lord Grenville upon this occasion was manly and dignified, and constitutional. It will be read with approbation by every man of enlarged views and a liberal spirit; by all those who have formed an accurate estimate of the difficulties of our situation, and of the practical operation and effects of our peculiar system of government. 'I am accused,' said his lordship, 'if I understand the accusation, of having passed my life in terms of intimate friendship with a person of high rank, and eminently distinguished for his splendid talents; of having acted for many years in concurrence with him, against an opposition comprehending persons of great ability, and deserved consideration in the country; and of having now united myself, though for the attainment of the most important national objects, with those very persons whom I had before so constantly and systematically opposed. To this accusation I plead guilty. I have lived from my earliest years in habits of the warmest friendship with the right honourable gentleman alluded to, and I do not think there is any thing in the present situation of affairs that is likely, either on his part or mine, to dissolve that friendship. This opinion is founded upon a conviction of the integrity of my right honourable friend's character and views, and a firm persuasion that he holds a similar sentiment with respect to the character and views of any man whom he deems worthy to be his friend. I cannot suffer myself to suppose that he can entertain such an injurious and insulting opinion of his friends, as to expect that they should sacrifice their conscience, and abandon their principles, to follow any line of public conduct which he may think it right to pursue. As to that part of my noble friend's accusation which refers to my present concurrence with persons from whom I formerly differed upon some points which are now at rest; is there any one so little acquainted with human affairs, and with the parliamentary history of this country in particular, as to suppose it a fair subject of censure for a man to avail himself of the co-operation of any individual, from whom he can derive honourable support in the prosecution of objects which he fairly considers of importance to the general interests of the country? If this principle required illustration, to whom should I look with more confidence than to the example of that very person to whom my noble friend referred? It was his fate to act in opposition for many years to several distinguished persons with whom, upon the arrival of a great crisis, the commencement of the last French war, he did not scruple to form a coalition; and one of those persons to this hour retains a seat in his majesty's cabinet. Nay more: has not my right honourable friend sought to establish a co-operation in the government of the country with that very party, or rather that individual, upon my present connexion with whom I have been this evening congratulated?

lated? When the country had been brought to the brink of ruin by that weak, incapable, and inefficient administration, the continuance of which my noble friend, and my right honourable friend also, so justly deplored, it was the wish of all good men that an administration should be formed, comprehending every thing of ability and influence which the country could furnish, in order to preserve the state from the great perils with which it was menaced, and which in my judgment are still far from being removed. Upon this subject there seemed to be a perfect concurrence among all honest and independent men in parliament; and it was notoriously the expectation of nine tenths of the people out of parliament. No one more cordially embraced the opinion than my right honourable friend; and if I am accused of an intimate connexion with the honourable person alluded to, what is to be thought of my right honourable friend the chancellor of the exchequer, who did all in his power (and I do sincerely believe that he did) to introduce the same person into his majesty's cabinet? My right honourable friend's conduct in this particular has been thought deserving of praise: how then can it be considered inconsistent or improper in me, to act in conjunction with that distinguished person upon points in which we entirely agree? Let not my noble friend indulge the idle hope, that such a delusion can ever be imposed upon parliament or the country. Were it even practicable, it would be extremely impolitic, and worse than impolitic, at present to attempt it. The crisis which so imperiously called for a vigorous and cordial union is not yet passed. No man who loves his country should endeavour under such circumstances to promote discord. Rather to conciliate unanimity than to inflame differences, rather to bury than to revive the recollection of former animosities, is at present peculiarly the duty of every honest man. What opinion then is to be entertained of those, who at such a period would cherish the principle of discord; who, indifferent to the general wish of the country, would desire to see a cabinet formed upon the principle of personal exclusion? This is a principle, my lords, of which I never can approve; because, independently of its operation to prevent parliament and the people from enjoying the administration they desired, and which it was their particular interest to have, it tends to establish a dangerous precedent, which would afford too much opportunity for the operation of private pique against the public interest. I therefore, for one, refused to connect myself with any arrangement which should sanction that principle; for, in my opinion, every man who accepts an office in any administration is, according to the letter and spirit of the constitution, responsible for its character and construction, and for the principle upon which it is founded.

Lord Melville said, that he was by no means inclined to think that those who differed in opinion upon particular occasions should never afterwards unite in support of a common cause. His sentiments were indeed directly the reverse; especially when it proved, as in the late reunion of his friends, that no fundamental principle was violated. They had lived in habits of the strictest friendship from their earliest years; they had never differed

upon principles, but only upon the practical application of those principles in some particular instances. It followed of course that there was no formidable obstacle to the reconciliation which had been effected. If others had acted upon different principles, it was to him a subject of regret; but he thought it would be more dignified and prudent to abstain as much as possible from subjects of this nature; for if, by such mutual accusations, the country were led to suppose that in forming their political connexions they were actuated rather by party and selfish motives than a sense of public duty, the consequence would be neither favourable to the individuals, nor advantageous to the cause of the state. The same line of observation was pursued by lord Hawkesbury. If those, he said, who for many years had been in constant hostility and opposition to each other upon all public questions, who had differed upon the most essential principles of the constitution, who had opposed each other with no common acrimony upon questions supposed to be connected with the very existence of the state, did happen to form a political coalition, such an union, he thought, would be more liable to suspicion than a reunion of those who had seldom thought differently, and never upon fundamental points. When he saw an union formed among those who had never agreed upon constitutional doctrines; who had entertained such opposite sentiments upon the question of peace or war; when those who had formed the coalition, too, equally disagreed in their views of domestic as of foreign policy; the one considering those precautions as deadly attacks upon the liberties of the country, which the other had supported as essential to its preservation; such an union between such men was calculated, he thought, not only to excite astonishment, but to awaken the strongest feelings of indignation. The beauty and true excellence of our government consist in the just distribution and balance of power among the different authorities of the state; but a confederacy of powerful men to dictate to the crown in the choice of an administration would in effect annihilate king, lords, and commons, and constitute an aristocratical usurpation destructive of the balance of the constitution.

The debates upon the state of our military force, and upon the means which had been adopted for its extension, were not confined to the house of peers. Two successive motions upon the same subject were made in the lower house of parliament, by Mr. Windham and Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Sheridan's motion was directed merely to the repeal of the additional defence bill, and was similar in its terms to that which had been proposed in the house of peers by lord Darnley. The motion introduced by Mr. Windham, and of which he had given notice upon the first day of the session, was of a much more general and extensive nature. He proposed that it should be referred to a committee to revise the several acts passed during the two last sessions of parliament for the defence of the country, and to consider of such other measures as might be necessary to make that defence more complete and permanent.

The debate upon this question took place on the 21st of February. Mr. Windham, in supporting his motion, observed, that many gentlemen on the other side of the house

house had in the last session of parliament declared it to be necessary for the security of the country, that a review should be taken of our system of defence. If such a review were necessary at that period, he would ask whether it was not equally requisite at present. In what respect had the balance been changed? It was true that some addition had been made to our force; but the increase was very inconsiderable, and could not be supposed to affect in any material degree the relative strength of the two countries. He admitted that this was a mere *argumentum ad homines*, and therefore did not think himself entitled on this ground alone to expect support. Men should always be determined by the evidence before them. He was ready to allow that experience had evinced the propriety of some of the measures which had been then instituted; but others had been as decidedly condemned by their failure.

He thought the question might be stated in a very simple and conclusive manner. It was admitted that the state of the country, considered with reference not merely to the present moment, but to a period as extensive as the foresight of man could comprehend, was, in the extremest degree, perilous and alarming. Our situation was like that of the feudal times, when a man was obliged to sleep with his sword beneath his pillow, and to keep his armour by his side even while he followed the plough. Every thing that we saw around us, both at home and abroad, proved that a great and permanent military force was necessary to the very existence of the empire. This was the first point; and the next was, whether we possessed, or were soon likely to possess, such an army as was requisite to answer an immediate exigency. The third question would be, whether our military system was commodious and well-constructed, so as to answer the public exigencies in the best manner; so as to yield the best possible force, or at least a force in some measure adequate to the expense and exertions of the country: and fourthly, supposing it answered all the requisites, whether it possessed that facility with respect to recruiting, by which, without any new or extraordinary aid, its continuance could be insured. Unless these questions could be answered in the affirmative, unless complete and entire satisfaction could be given upon all these points, there was a positive and undiminished necessity for the inquiry.

We were told of the force of the volunteers, of the militia, the army of reserve, and the regulars. His first objection to this army was its variety. Variety was a perfection in nature, but it was not so in the constitution of an army. If one of these descriptions of force was good, why was not the whole of that description? The answer usually given was, that a part of our army was required for foreign service; and that, as to the militia, that was intended for domestic defence. This reminded him of a person who cut in his door a large hole for his cat to pass through, and a smaller one for his kittens; for it seemed to be forgotten, that those who were liable to serve abroad could likewise be employed effectually at home. Before he proceeded further, he thought it right to examine the constitution of these four different armies, and to inquire how far they were

were consistent with economy; how far they gave the greatest and best force; how far they interfered with each other; how far they counteracted the general means of recruiting; and lastly, how far they could be considered as the basis of a permanent force.

The volunteer system, whether regarded in a political, civil, or military view, was liable to many serious objections. In a political view, enough was already known to show the danger which might result from an attempt to give them a forced character and a prolonged existence. The effect which this system would produce upon the relations of civil life, and upon the general manners and habits of the country, was sufficiently obvious. Its tendency was to degrade the high and to exalt the low. He was far from wishing for a proud and overbearing aristocracy; but extreme distinctions were not the vice of the present times. When committees of volunteers had the power of passing votes of praise and censure upon persons of the highest rank in the country, he thought that much injury might arise to society from a quarter whence it was least apprehended. Considered in a military view, he was of opinion that the objections to the system were still greater. It was said that many of the battalions were equal to regular soldiers; but if others were not so, how would it be possible to ascertain the degree of confidence which might be reposed in them? It was like some of those books of travels, in which truth and falsehood were so blended that they were perfectly useless for every purpose of information. Neither could the force be relied upon in point of permanence. It was founded upon zeal alone, and was therefore as temporary as the principle upon which it was built. It was like a fine theatrical position, which could not be maintained beyond a certain moment, and if the curtain did not drop, still the arms must fall.

Mr. Windham next adverted to the militia; tracing its history from the period of its original institution. It was considered as a cheap force, which would lie by in time of peace and go to grass till it was wanted. It was a force of a mixed description; and therefore lost the advantages of both those between which it was intended as a mean. It was absurd to make a distinction between a foreign and a domestic force. Our foreign power and our home defence could not be separated; for, when the country ceased to be great, it would cease to be at all. The gradual increase of bounties might easily be traced. The ballot was not acted upon till the year 1774. There were consequently, before that period, no bounties arising out of the system of substitution. Government was the only bidder, and the recruit adopted the condition of a soldier upon receiving a guinea to make it a real bargain. From 1774 the increase of bounties commenced. Substitutes were to be provided in a limited time, and within a particular district. The price was of course raised by the restriction and the competition; and the effect was soon felt by the government. The bounties were gradually increased during the American war to ten guineas. Another measure which arose out of the evil of high bounties, and which tended still further to aggravate it, was the pernicious system of raising men for rank, by

which

which the bounties were pushed to an enormous excess. The inconvenience was severely felt, and ministers devised new projects in order to meet the exigences of the moment. It was under these circumstances that the supplementary militia had been established, and afterwards the provisional cavalry. The last measure was of such short duration, that it had at first escaped his memory; but it had left effects which were not to be forgotten. It passed over the country like a blight. It was like a hustle at a fair, which a man got through in a moment, and did not think of afterwards till he found that he had lost his watch. It was a pleasant conceit to make every man ride another man's horse, till at length, when the men and horses were all brought together, no man knew how to mount, and so they all separated.

From these various proceedings, the bounty was raised to 70 and 80 guineas; and, after all, there was no security for an adequate and permanent supply. The next measure was the formation of the army of reserve, which was founded upon the system of ballot. This system was pushed to its utmost extent; it produced a certain number of men, and then came completely to a stand. It was, however, now given up. It was like Harlequin's horse, which had but one fault, and that was, that it was dead. The last grand scheme was the additional force act, the favourite offspring of the right honourable gentleman's industry and skill. The most sudden and extraordinary effects were expected from this measure. The whole military system of the country was to be in a state of immediate activity. At length the scheme was tried; but all was still and tranquil, not a sound was heard; it was *altum silentium*. Instead of creating armies it had scarcely produced a regiment. Two thousand three hundred men were all that had been procured, and of these only 613 had been raised by the parish officers. Such was the effect of that system, which was not only to relieve us from our present difficulties, but to afford a full and continued supply to sixty battalions. He considered the experiment, therefore, as having completely failed. As the means of improving our military system, it was wholly abortive. Something more, then, than the present measures was necessary to supply the vast vacancy that at present existed in the army. Deducting the troops employed upon colonial service, it would be found that only 47,000 of British infantry remained for the purposes of internal defence and for continental operations. He thought it absolutely necessary, therefore, both for the reputation and the security of the country, to resort, upon this subject, to the wisdom of parliament.

Mr. Windham then proceeded to advert to some of the points which he should think it his duty to submit to the consideration of the committee. He was of opinion, upon general reasoning, that as many men as were necessary might be obtained. If it were made an object with men to enter into the profession, enough would be induced to join it. There was no want of men to engage even in the most unwholesome and dangerous trades; to sink into the mines of Lancashire, or of Cornwall. Under a proper system, then, there would be no difficulty, though some of our foreign stations were unwhole-

unwholesome, in procuring a sufficient supply of men for the army. There should be an end to all competition in recruiting, and to that profusion of military honours which tended to lessen the respectability of the profession. He would also recommend that enlistments should be for a term of years, instead of for life; that the situation of the subaltern officers should be rendered in a pecuniary view more easy and comfortable; and that the drafting for the West India service should be entirely abandoned. He thought that a native force, with a proportion of black troops, and a moderate number of Europeans, who might be employed first at Bermuda, then in the Bahamas, and thus gradually seasoned to the climate, giving them also the benefit of rotation, would constitute the most judicious system of defence for the West India islands. He was of opinion that all degrading punishments for trivial offences should be abolished, but that capital punishments for crimes of the deepest dye might be continued. He thought the present pay of the soldier sufficient; he would not therefore recommend any increase, because that would only tend to impair the discipline of the army: but if a part of his bounty were retained till the period of his discharge, he thought that his character as a soldier would be improved by the prospect it would afford of a provision at the termination of his service. These were the principal points which he should recommend to the consideration of the committee. It was absolutely necessary that some change should be made in our military system, unless we were disposed to abandon our former pretensions; unless we were to hire the powers of Europe to fight our battles, and remain shut up in our island like a tortoise in his shell.

Mr. Canning, in reply to Mr. Windham, observed, that he was not inclined to dispute the propriety of a parliamentary inquiry, if the case existed which he had supposed, either that government had not done any thing, or had done very little, for the defence of the country, and the improvement of its military means. In opposition to the opinion of his right honourable friend, he was prepared to vindicate the bill of the last session, although he should not contend that it had succeeded to the full extent of the expectation which had been previously formed. The bill was directed to two objects; it was intended to raise a large present force, and to become the source of a permanent supply to the army. The latter, which was by far the most important object, had not yet been tried, and it could not therefore be fairly determined that the measure had failed. The situation too of the country was such, exhausted as it had been of men by the army of reserve and the establishment of the supplementary militia, that there was no just ground to be surprised that the measure had not been attended with immediate and complete success. It was still further affected by the opposition which had been made to it during the last session, and by a report which had been very generally circulated, that every endeavour would be made to procure its repeal. His right honourable friend did not deny that this measure was at least attended with one very important effect. It had reduced the high bounties, which were so injurious to the recruiting service, and the mischievous

chievous consequences of which his right honourable friend had so accurately and forcibly described.

His right honourable friend, among other objections to the bill, appeared averse to the nature of the force which it was intended to raise. He confessed that he felt very differently upon this subject. At the conclusion of the war, it would be necessary to reduce our army to the peace establishment. If hostilities then should recommence, how could we expect in a short time to raise such a force as might not only ensure our own safety, but enable us effectually to annoy the enemy, unless by some measure similar in principle to the present bill? A large standing army would be opposed, as dangerous to the liberties of the country. It would be necessary, therefore, to establish a military force that might exist without exciting any jealousies of this nature. Of such a force there were two descriptions; the militia, which was sanctioned by the experience of half a century; or a force that might be limited in service like the militia, but, being commanded by regular officers, should approach more nearly to troops of the line, and at the same time become a nursery for the supply of the army.

His right honourable friend had fairly and candidly stated the alterations which he wished to see introduced into our military system. His principal objection to the present establishment was the variety which existed in its composition. But was there any thing absurd in employing men at home whose occupations prevented them from engaging in the disposable force of the empire; and thus liberating a proportionate part of our regular army for foreign service? It was also objected, that in the first instance the men were raised for limited service, and were afterwards allowed to enter into the line. For himself, however, he could not discover the absurdity or impropriety of such a system. He thought that many who might not be disposed at once to enter into the regulars would be willing to engage for limited service; and afterwards, by the effect of acquired habits, the influence of example, or attachment to their officers, might be induced to take the second step. His right honourable friend was himself of opinion, that a limitation of the time of service would operate beneficially upon the recruiting service; why then was it unreasonable to suppose that the limitation of place would be attended with similar advantages?

The alterations proposed by his right honourable friend in our military system, particularly as to the general limitation of the time of service, would require much serious and attentive consideration. The opinions of the best informed men in the country were divided upon the subject; and to undertake so great a change during the continuance of the war, would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. He approved of the proposal for the formation of a colonial army, and even for the establishment of black corps. But this army must of necessity be recruited at home. Neither, in the terms of enlistment for the regular army, would it be prudent to exclude the West India service: for, if a sudden and formidable attack were made upon any of our islands, we might in that case, though with a powerful army on foot, be left without the means of resistance. The right honourable member then

entered

entered into some detail upon the actual state of our military force, and, contrasting it with the returns up to the 1st January 1804, contended that the increase in the disposable part of the army amounted nearly to 20,000 men. Again adverting to the measure which appeared to be the principal object of his right honourable friend's motion, he insisted that it could not be said to have failed, as no experience of its operation had yet been obtained, with regard to the more important object to which it was directed. To abandon a plan which had not been tried, would be disgraceful to our councils, and justly subject them to the reproach of fluctuation and uncertainty. After a few words from sir W. Young, the house divided, and Mr. Windham's motion was negatived by a great majority, the numbers being 96 and 242.

A similar effort was made by lord King in the house of peers on the 8th of March. It occasioned a debate of considerable length; but it is unnecessary to detain the reader with a particular account of it, as the course of observation was nearly the same with that which was pursued in the commons. Upon a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of 75. The contents were 52.

On the 6th of March, Mr. Sheridan moved, in the house of commons, for the repeal of the additional defence act. He began his speech upon this occasion, by adverting to the feelings of surprise and disapprobation which had been manifested by ministers, when upon a former night he had given notice of the present motion. He found it difficult, he said, to account for this surprise. Perhaps, however, ministers had imagined that their opponents would have been silenced and overawed by the wonderful exertion of reasoning and eloquence which had been displayed in reply to his right honourable friend Mr. Windham. They might suppose that opposition would have been stunned by the blow; and that some time must elapse before they would recover spirit to renew the contest. As to the marks of disapprobation which had been shown, they undoubtedly proceeded from an opinion that the present motion was in the highest degree disrespectful to the chancellor of the exchequer; that it was a criminal inattention to the feelings of the right honourable gentleman, to press upon the house the consideration of a subject, in the discussion of which he appeared so unwilling to engage. But, whatever disposition he might possess to consult the feelings of the right honourable gentleman, he could not, from any personal considerations of this nature, abstain from directing the attention of the house to the present question; because he considered it to be intimately connected with the interests and the honour of the country.

Notwithstanding the masterly review, which on a former night had been taken of the general state of our military defence by his right hon. friend Mr. Windham, he conceived himself called upon to submit to the house the present motion, because this act, which he regarded as a disgrace to the statute-book, had upon that occasion been only incidentally considered. Gentlemen upon the other side were accustomed to regard it as a matter of triumph, that in some material points he differed from his right honourable friend. But they will not find, he said, in that difference

ference any just ground for exultation. I know the solidity of his understanding, and the acuteness of his observation; and I have therefore always been disposed to treat his opinions, though in some particulars differing widely from my own, with the utmost deference and respect. Yet upon some important questions I never could persuade myself to concur in his judgment. The volunteers I have ever thought, and do still think, entitled to the praise and to the gratitude of the country. I do sincerely believe that their numbers, and the spirit by which they were animated, had more influence upon the mind of the enemy, more effect in leading him to shrink from his menaced attack, than all our other descriptions of force. I differ also from my honourable friend upon another important point: I still retain the opinion which I have so frequently expressed, that the military establishment of the country ought to be varied, and that great advantages result from our different descriptions of force. I consider the system as essential to the preservation of our liberties. For, whatever confidence we may be disposed to place in the character and peculiar dispositions of our own army, the history of mankind clearly establishes it as a political maxim, that no country can for any considerable time maintain its freedom, that depends entirely upon the efforts of a numerous hired army for its protection.

But to advert more particularly to the question before the house. It has been observed, I understand, by some gentlemen, that it would be imprudent to adopt this motion, because the repeal of the act would have a tendency to damp the spirit of the country. If the effect of the bill could be concealed, this observation might be entitled to some attention. But, as this is notoriously not the case, I am firmly persuaded that the nation would rejoice in the repeal of a law which is universally felt to be useless and oppressive; and that they would hail such a step with peculiar satisfaction, because they would consider it as preparatory to the establishment of a system of more efficacy and vigour. To talk of concealing the failure from the country, is absolute nonsense: the people are behind the scenes, they are under the *apron* of this puppet-show, and they are not to be deluded by the paltry tricks and ridiculous grimaces of ministers.

The great points to be considered by the house in relation to the present motion are these: 1st, Has the bill failed in the object which it was intended to accomplish? 2dly, If it has failed, is it likely by its future operation to atone for that failure? and if not, then, 3dly, Would the repeal of it be attended with any danger? Now, as to the first point, it is admitted that the act has completely failed. But if it were doubted, it would only be necessary, in order to render evident the inefficacy of the right honourable gentleman's military system, to look at the returns, as well of the general state of the army, as under this additional defence act in particular.

It will be seen from these returns, not only that the army under the administration of the right hon. gentleman has not been increased, but that it has sustained a material diminution.

In

In Jan. 1804, the whole of our army amounted to	191,099
In Jan. 1805, to -	143,651
Diminution	47,448
In Jan. 1804, the militia	109,947
In Jan. 1805, -	85,519
Diminution	24,428
Total of army and militia in Jan. 1804	301,046
Do. in Jan. 1805	229,170
Diminution	71,876
The cavalry in Jan. 1804	17,177
Do. in Jan. 1805 -	21,223
Increase	4,046
The artillery in Jan. 1804	7,661
Do. in Jan. 1805 -	8,517
Increase	856
The foreign troops in 1804	13,710
Do. 1805 .	21,028
Increase	7,318

The addition to our military force in 1804, which has been made a subject of such triumph, is to be ascribed entirely to the late administration, to that very administration whose measures it had been so much the fashion with some of the gentlemen opposite to stigmatize. The increase of cavalry arose from the reprobrated plan of raising men for rank. As to the formation of the German legion, and the augmentation of the artillery, they were confessedly the work of the late minister.

From the returns now upon the table, the bill appears to have been unproductive even to a ludicrous extent. From the 5th of July to the 5th of February, this redoubted measure had produced, in England and Wales, only 1295 men, and of these 266 had either deserted or been discharged, leaving of effective men only 1029. Such was the wonderful effect of that "local knowledge and sympathetic feeling," upon which the right honourable gentleman had placed so much reliance. To raise this feeble band of recruits, all the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants, and bailiffs and overseers, and constables and parish-officers, to the amount of little less than 40,000 persons, have been set in motion; and the whole island, through all its subdivisions, from the Land's end to the Orkneys, from the Irish channel to the German ocean, has been thrown into a state of agitation and confusion. But out of this number only 323 have inlisted for general service; which will be found upon calculation scarcely to exceed the proportion of four men for each county. But even from this scanty supply a further reduction must be made; for of the 323 which I have just mentioned, and of which 88 were raised for the parishes by the regular recruiting officers, 30 have deserted, and 33 have been discharged as unfit for service. In Ireland the returns under this act amount to 1031 men. Of these, however, not one has yet inlisted for general service. The further this detail is pursued, the more inefficacious and absurd the measure will appear. Of the number raised by parish-officers, 52 were from Lancashire, and of these half have already deserted. But let us advert to that county in which the right honourable gentleman may be supposed to possess a considerable share of personal

personal influence. I mean, sir, the county of Kent. What then are the returns from that county? Kent has supplied only 11 men, *all* of whom have deserted. If we approach still nearer to the sphere of the right honourable gentleman's particular authority; if we refer to the district of the cinque ports, with which he is so peculiarly connected, where he possesses so much weight both in his civil and military capacity, we shall find that it has produced only *one* man. Doubtless, if we could see him, he would appear an extraordinary man, a Hercules, or a Milo at least, and equivalent in himself to the numerous produce of other districts. So in the fable of the lioness and the sow, the former, addressing the latter, observed, "You boast of your numerous litter. I indeed bring forth only one at a birth, *sed ille leo est.*" I have heard, sir, that after a bloody engagement, some persons anxiously inquired for lord Donegall's regiment. One soldier appeared, and exclaimed, "I am lord Donegall's regiment." Perhaps, sir, this hero from the cinque ports will be found *ipse agmen*; and, like a celebrated Prussian commander, may alone count for 10,000 men! One of the great objects of this bill was expedition; but when we complain of its failure, we are told to wait; that it will still effect what it was intended to accomplish. The honourable gentleman then adverted to the state of the navy, in reply to some assertions which had been made on a former night by the minister and his supporters. Returning again to the bill, the confidence, he said, expressed in every clause of it is characteristic of the mind of its framer. It begins by stating that "whereas it is necessary to raise 85,000 men;" and it then proceeds to propose that that number shall be raised within the year. It then proposes in the next year to supply the deficiencies which may be occasioned by enlistments for general service; but, afterwards becoming more moderate, it promises to supply substitutes only for 9000 men in each year.

Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to comment upon the formation of the new cabinet, and the disappointment which had been felt by the nation in the system which had been adopted. The right honourable gentleman went into office alone; but apprehensive, as it appeared, lest the government should be too full of vigour, he had tempered it by a due infusion of the weakness of the former administration. He seemed to regard it as spirits above proof, which required to be diluted; as gold of too pure a standard, and unfit for use without a certain mixture of alloy. He was apprehensive that the administration would be too brilliant, that it would dazzle and overpower the senses of the house, unless it were in some degree shadowed and overcast by the mist and the fog of the late cabinet. The right honourable gentleman is disposed to place great stress upon his own personal accession to the government. But he is grossly deceived if he imagines that he has returned to office with the same estimation and character which he formerly enjoyed. Mr. Sheridan, after commenting with much humour upon the character and talents of several of the other leading members of the cabinet, adverted to lord Melville. "But then I am told," he said, "there is the first lord of the admiralty. What! do you forget the great catamaran

projector? Surely, in the department of the navy at least, there is a most important and beneficial change!" I confess, sir, for myself, I am yet to learn the noble lord's qualifications for this particular service. But in what other department would you employ the talents of the noble lord? Would you again appoint him to the situation of war minister? Oh, no, sir, by no means! The country has had sufficient experience of his abilities in military affairs. But it will be said (for we have sometimes been accustomed to a very whimsical style of reasoning from the gentlemen opposite), If his talents are suited neither to the direction of naval nor military affairs, to what are they adapted? I have heard, sir, a story told respecting Mr. Garrick and a strange eccentric Scotchman, a good-humoured fellow, who was called honest Johnny M'Cree. Johnny wrote four acts of a tragedy; he showed his production to Mr. Garrick, who dissuaded him from finishing it, observing that his talents did not lie in that way. Johnny took the hint; he abandoned his tragedy, and immediately set about writing a comedy. When this was finished he showed it to Mr. Garrick, who found it still worse than the tragedy, and could not be persuaded to bring it on the stage. Poor Johnny was surprised at this, and he remonstrated. "Nay, now, David," said Johnny, "did you not tell me that my talents did not lie in tragedy?" "Yes," replied Garrick, "but I did not tell you that they lay in comedy." "Then," exclaimed Johnny, "gin they dinna lie there, whare the de'il do they lie, mon?" Mr. Sheridan called upon the members of the late administration, who had originally opposed this measure, to vote with him upon the present occasion. He appealed to the country gentlemen for their support. It was admitted that the bill could only operate as a money bill. In this view it was a measure most inequitable in its principle, as the pressure would fall exclusively upon the landed interest. Upon a question of so much importance to the country, gentlemen should raise themselves above all party considerations; and if they were satisfied that the measure had proved wholly inefficacious, and that no reasonable hope could be entertained that its future operation would be more favourable, they must vote in support of his motion. Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving the repeal of the additional force act.

The chancellor of the exchequer, after observing upon the general character of the honourable gentleman's speech, to its various digressions and multiplied observations, adverted to the surprise which was supposed to have been felt by ministers when notice was given of the present motion. He denied that any surprise had been expressed or felt upon the occasion. The first intimation of the motion had been received with satisfaction; the formal renewal of it within the walls of the house was welcomed with exultation and triumph. It was easy to understand the motives by which the honourable gentleman and his friends were influenced in again directing the attention of the house to this subject. They were evidently dissatisfied with the manner in which the former discussion had terminated. Many of them, and in particular the honourable gentleman himself, were desirous of delivering

livering their opinions upon this most fruitful subject. But the question was loudly called for; it was impossible to withstand the declared sense and feelings of the house; and they were compelled, however reluctantly, to come to a division. It was necessary, therefore, to revive the contest; and the desire of again adverting to this subject was the stronger, as the friends of the honourable gentleman felt that his view of it would be much more popular than that which had been previously taken by the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Windham. "Many compliments have been judiciously paid to the eloquence and the talents of the right honourable gentleman; but surely these compliments will hardly be sufficient to lull that jealousy which he must feel at the attack made upon his most favoured principles and prejudices. The very foundations of his military system have been assailed, and it would have been impossible to have selected topics more calculated to mark the strong contrariety of opinion which subsists between these gentlemen, than those which have been recently adduced. The honourable gentleman approves of the variety in our military force; while on the other hand the right honourable gentleman wishes to establish a uniform system, and considers this very variety as destructive to the service. The honourable gentleman is the advocate and panegyrist of the volunteers; the right honourable gentleman is of opinion that they ought to be instantly disbanded. But surely the honourable gentleman, in expressing this difference of opinion, need not have used so much delicacy and caution, since the right honourable gentleman's difference from himself is equally marked and striking. His opinions upon most of the points to which he adverted in the former debate have undergone within a few years a complete revolution. The augmentation of the militia; the plan of raising the provisional cavalry; the measure of obtaining men for rank; as well as the call upon the parishes for their quotas; all of which measures the right honourable gentleman now so strongly censures, were measures adopted when he himself was not only a member of the cabinet, but at the same time actually secretary at war. The right honourable gentleman not only assented to these measures, but cordially co-operated with me in bringing them forward, and willingly took his full share of the responsibility which was attached to the system, either in this house or the country. He was as far as possible the parliamentary author, and yet he now considers himself entitled to condemn them in terms of the utmost severity."

Mr. Pitt, in proceeding to consider the merits of the question, protested against that view of the subject which had been taken by the hon. gentleman. "The house (he said) is not called upon to consider whether the object of the bill has been accomplished in its full extent, but whether it has to a certain degree been attained; whether, from the experience we have had of its past effects, it would be prudent to give it a further trial, or to proceed immediately to its repeal. The only test by which the measure should be tried, is its tendency to increase the numbers of the regular army. It may indeed, from the culpable negligence of the parishes, operate in some instances

as a tax, but that is not the object of the measure. The object, the sole object is to provide men; and the penalties in this, as in other cases, are imposed only for the purpose of impelling individuals to the performance of their duty. There is the less reason too to complain of these penalties, as they are substituted for the much more grievous and burthensome penalties of the army of reserve. In speaking of the effect of this bill, the hon. gentleman has forgotten to advert to the period when it first came into action. From whatever cause it arose, the orders for general recruiting to supply deficiencies were not issued till the 14th of November. In estimating, therefore, the effects of this bill, we must confine our view to its operation subsequently to that period. Looking then to the returns of the last three months, it will be found that upon an average they amount to nearly two hundred for each week. Calculating then upon this basis, the annual supply may be estimated at nine or ten thousand men. Can we then, with this statement before us, listen to the hon. gentleman's proposition for the repeal of this bill at the very moment when we are beginning to experience its effects? The number which it appears probable that the bill will produce, amounts nearly to the whole supply which is provided by the regular recruiting service; and yet we are to be told that its effect is contemptible, and that the measure should instantly be abandoned. Upon this simple ground, then, he might safely rest his opposition to the motion of the honourable gentleman. If the house would consider under what circumstances the bill had hitherto operated, they would be satisfied that he had not formed an unreasonable opinion with regard to its future effect. Before war was actually declared, the militia was to be raised, and afterwards the supplementary militia and the army of reserve. Nearly a hundred thousand men were thus to be procured by ballot. This excessive drain of men, together with the recollection of the high bounties to which it had given rise, would of course materially retard the operation of the bill. If then, under such circumstances, it had produced the effects which he had described, what would be the success of the measure when these impediments were removed? But it had to encounter another difficulty. The supposed failure of the bill was industriously circulated throughout the country; and having been originally carried by a small majority, it was confidently asserted that it would be repealed upon the meeting of parliament. These opinions and prejudices will now be dissipated; and when it is known that government intends to persevere in the measure, and if requisite to enforce the penalties, the bill will have a fair trial; and I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction that the result will correspond with the expectations of its most zealous supporters.

"But I am accused of disappointing the house and the country, by holding out, through the medium of this bill, the prospect of a most rapid and extensive increase of our regular force. To this I have to answer, that I never encouraged such an expectation, that I never gave any such pledge. The bill itself will sufficiently show that no very sudden addition to our military force was expected from its operation; for only 9000 men

were

were to be raised in the first instance for Great Britain. From the observations indeed of the honourable gentleman, I should be led to suppose that he had never taken the trouble to consult the bill; for, if he had examined it with the least care, he could never have entertained the extravagant supposition that it was intended to raise in one year the enormous number of eighty-five thousand men. The real object of the measure was to provide a permanent force by a gradual operation; nor was it expected to produce its full effect in less than six or seven years.

"Another and a very leading object of the bill was to remove an evil of a very serious nature, and which had been the subject of general complaint. The excessive bounties which had been given under the former system, had almost put an end to the regular recruiting service. This mischief has been entirely removed by the effect of the present measure; and the recruiting is now conducted with fresh activity and spirit. This then is another and most important benefit resulting from that measure, which the honourable gentleman would persuade the house so suddenly to repeal."

Referring to Mr. Sheridan's observations relative to the state of the regular army, Mr. Pitt said that it was not only unsupported by the papers upon the table, but completely inconsistent with the facts which those papers contained. "During the last year 20,000 men, in infantry, cavalry, and artillery, had been added to the disposable force of the country. Of these eleven thousand eight hundred and eighty-two have been added since the month of June, a period of less than seven months; while the whole addition for the preceding year did not exceed twelve thousand men. Judging from experience, and the facts which have been stated, it is reasonable to presume that eight or nine thousand will be obtained from the present measure in the course of the year; and adding to this number the supplies from the regular recruiting service, estimated according to the average of the last seven months, together with those who may be inclined to volunteer from limited to unlimited service, we cannot fairly state the probable aggregate augmentation of our regular army in the present year at less than twenty-six thousand men. This, then, is the result of that military system which the honourable gentleman describes as completely inefficacious. The more the subject is investigated and considered, the more I am persuaded will the house be surprised at the tone which has been assumed, and the confident and lofty language which has been used upon this occasion. I am at a loss to conceive by what principles the honourable gentleman is governed, and how he can venture to stand up and indulge in such assertions, when every fact concurs so decidedly to evince their fallacy. Of late, indeed, he has seldom condescended to favour the house with a display of the powers of his imagination, and the wonderful activity of his fancy: but to make amends, when he does resolve to come forward, we are always prepared to expect a grand performance. Nothing, however remote from the question before the house, comes amiss to him. All that his fancy suggests at the instant, all that he can utter in the ebullition of the moment, every thing that he has slept upon and matured, whatever his com-

mon-place book can furnish, or his stores of anecdote supply, is upon these occasions collected and brought forth for our amusement. We have at once, all that imagination and fancy, passion and jest, gravity and satire, virulence of abuse and strength of assertion can produce, so blended and diversified, but at the same time so discordant, so utterly incongruous, that our greatest wonder is how they were ever combined. All that the right honourable gentleman has been treasuring up for days and for weeks and for months, is sure to make its appearance at these grand exhibitions. And thus it is that with his usual felicity he finds a new argument for the repeal of this bill, because, as he chooses to assert, the present ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the country." After some further observations upon several of the topics which had been incidentally introduced into this discussion, the chancellor of the exchequer concluded by giving to the motion his decided negative.

Mr. Windham observed, that the chancellor of the exchequer had displayed an unusual degree of facility in deviating from the question before the house, and indulging in excursions to other topics totally unconnected with his honourable friend's motion. Some difference of opinion did certainly exist between himself and his honourable friend relative to the general constitution of our military force. This diversity of sentiment, which, after all, was not so great as some persons were inclined to imagine, was avowed with openness and candour. And yet, from the tone and language used upon this occasion, it might be supposed that some pains had been taken to conceal it, and that the right honourable gentleman had made a great and wonderful discovery.

But, even admitting all that might be fairly deduced from this contrariety of opinion, in what respect did it affect the question now before the house? Gentlemen might like or dislike the volunteer system; but whatever sentiments they entertained upon that subject, it could surely have no reference to the propriety of appointing a committee for the purpose of ascertaining what might still be done to provide more effectually for the defence of the country. It was too much to contend that, because gentlemen differed upon some particular points, they were not entitled to think in unison upon any others which might be connected with the same subject. As to the charge of inconsistency, which had been preferred against him by the right honourable gentleman, he should only declare that his opinions upon grand constitutional questions had never varied. He had adhered to his opinions;—the right honourable gentleman had deserted his; nor could he suppose that he (Mr. Windham) had forgotten what had passed when he was a member of the same cabinet with the right honourable gentleman. He was not more responsible than the house for the plans which had been then adopted: but, allowing that he had approved of the particular measures referred to, it would be subversive of all moral principle and feeling to establish it as a maxim, that though he should afterwards have perceived the inadequacy or the mischievous tendency of the system, he should for ever be precluded from declaring his change of opinion. But the right honourable gentleman, in a climax of triumph, had attempted

to fix his responsibility by stating that when these measures were adopted he was even secretary at war. He confessed that he had a considerable share in conducting the military arrangements out of doors; but he declared that he had no more concern with the bills alluded to than if he had been secretary to the board of agriculture.

These charges proceeding from the right honourable gentleman were not only extremely unfair, but singularly impolitic. For, what had been the conduct and system which he had himself pursued? It was known that the imprudent extension of the ballot had proceeded solely from his suggestion and authority; it was universally understood, that the enormous bounties which had lately been common, had necessarily followed from measures recommended by the right honourable gentleman himself. But he had at length profited from experience, and he had sufficient opportunity of doing so from the errors of his own administration.

His principal objection to the bill was, the harshness and severity with which it would be inevitably attended. Judging from observation and experience, he was satisfied that nothing could be expected from parish officers but the most improper and cruel methods of accomplishing their object; and whatever success had attended the measure, this alone would have determined him to support the repeal. But, with all its objectionable internal features, it had failed of effecting its object. The right honourable gentleman himself admitted this failure; but, amusing himself with calculations from the rule of three, conjectured what it might produce, if allowed a further trial. But the house would not consent to be put off with experiment after experiment, merely to gratify the projector. The right honourable gentleman had stated it as a matter of triumph, that his plan had been equally successful with the old system of recruiting. But the facts from which this conclusion was drawn confirmed his original objections to the bill, and convinced him that it had tended materially to impede the recruiting service.

General Norton, Mr. Langham, and colonel Stewart, were of opinion that the motion was premature, and that from various causes it was impossible, at present, correctly to ascertain the effect of the bill.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the right honourable gentleman had abandoned the principal and indeed the sole ground upon which he had formerly relied for the success of the measure. Not a word was now said of those sympathies and of that enthusiasm which was expected to produce such important and wonderful effects. In three months after the passing of the act, it was to have raised 18,000 men; but it was soon discovered that these hopes were illusory; the machine was too complicated to perform its movements; and upon the sole authority of the secretary of state, its operation was suspended till the 15th of November. The assessment of the penalties was postponed; and it was not till the 18th of February that orders were issued to levy them. It was evident, he said, that the whole tendency and object of the bill was changed. It was originally designed to raise men: that purpose had entirely failed; and it was now to be converted into a measure of supply.

Mr. Bragge Bathurst declared

that he should vote in opposition to the motion, because he was of opinion that the bill had not been fairly tried. Unless the fines were enforced, it was impossible to form a correct estimate of the effect of the measure. It had been repeatedly observed, that it would become a mere money bill. But the right honourable gentleman had assured the house, that when the bill should operate only as a financial measure, he would immediately abandon it. The real intention of the motion was sufficiently apparent. The merits of the present bill, and the state of our military defence, were very subordinate objects. To procure a change of ministers was the evident purpose to which it was directed. He contended, however, that those of whom the present government consisted, were much more likely to co-operate cordially together than the gentlemen opposite, who were agreed neither upon the present, nor, indeed, upon any other subject.

Mr. Fox said that he should detain the house with but very few observations. It had been supposed that he and his friends had sustained much disappointment at the result of the motion which had been made upon a former night. He was not conscious, however, of any such feeling; although it would not have been surprising if some degree of chagrin had been experienced. He last year had the honour of submitting to the house a motion similar to the present. It had been supported by upwards of two hundred members, and also by the right honourable gentleman himself. No material change had since taken place in the situation of affairs. The adoption of the present bill was indeed the only measure that had been since accomplished. But the right honourable gentleman, it seemed, had changed his view of the subject, and now opposed that very step, the policy of which he had before so actively supported. It would not be extraordinary, then, if, upon such an occasion, he should feel some degree of mortification and surprise. Frequent allusion had been made, in the course of the debate, to the union of parties. But, said Mr. Fox, "upon what principle is the right honourable gentleman entitled to throw out taunts upon this subject? When he acted in conjunction with us the last year, did he then condemn this union? Is it not, indeed, to this very circumstance, to that coalition which he now reprobates, that he is indebted for his present situation? For myself, I have always thought, that unless public men can be persuaded to lay aside their animosities upon past transactions, when new and different circumstances arise, it would be impossible that this government could subsist, at least according to the principles upon which it was established at the revolution." But if the mere circumstance of uniting with those from whom he had formerly differed, was a well-grounded subject of censure, what, in this respect, was to be thought of the conduct of the right honourable gentleman himself? Had he not publicly branded his predecessors for their weakness and incapacity? Had he not insinuated that they were as devoid of honour as of understanding? And had he not restored those very persons, with all their weakness and incapacity, to the administration?—But to come to the bill itself.

The object of the measure was to raise "forthwith" a considerable

rable number of men. About 18,000 men was the amount of the deficiency to be supplied in the army of reserve act, and 9000 more were to be added before the month of October; forming an aggregate of 27,000 men. But, what in reality had been effected? From the papers upon the table it appeared, that in England, according to the ratio of the men hitherto raised, not more than 4,700 would be obtained. If the right honourable gentleman did not specifically promise to raise 27,000 men within the above period, yet the whole tenor of his speeches, his charges of imbecility against his predecessors, and his declarations of the necessity of an immediate addition to our force, clearly proved that a prompt and effectual increase was the object of the bill; and that object had entirely failed. It was said, in excuse for this failure, that the bill was carried by a small majority, and that it had to encounter the effect of that opposition. He certainly did not believe that any obstacle arising from this cause had been opposed to the bill.

The right honourable gentleman had disclaimed the intention of continuing the bill as a measure of supply. But if the menace of a pecuniary fine did not produce the men, what was the effect of the penalty but a grievous, a monstrous, species of taxation? The bill, however, had assisted in recruiting the army. In what manner had it done so? Was it not merely by the negative part of it, by suspending the competition and the high bounties? That was a principle before recommended by his right honourable friend Mr. Windham, and by himself; and yet that which is now insisted upon as one of the chief merits of the bill, was then ridiculed as a wild and absurd imagination. Such are the shifts to which the advocates of the bill are reduced in attempting its defence. It was clear, that hitherto it had effected nothing; and it was no less apparent that it never could prove of any utility. In truth, whatever efficient force existed in the country, was to be ascribed solely to the measures of the former incapable administration. The right honourable gentleman, therefore, was in fairness bound to recant and abjure those opprobrious charges which he had so confidently urged against the late ministers, his present colleagues. He was called upon, by a regard to his own reputation and honour, to furnish some better proof than the present bill, of his superior claims to the confidence of the nation. For it never could be imagined that a measure so feeble and impotent was the offspring of an efficient minister, or of great and powerful talents. After a few observations from lord Castlereagh, and a short reply from Mr. Sheridan, the house divided, when the motion was negatived by a majority of 140. The numbers were 127 and 267.

We have been induced, as well from the general interest of the subject as from its particular importance at the present period, to state with some degree of minuteness the facts and arguments adduced by both parties in the course of these debates. It will not be difficult to determine upon which side the scale preponderates. It cannot afford just matter of surprise that some difficulty should have been found in procuring recruits, when it is considered that the government at this period had upwards of 400,000 men exclusively employed

employed in arms; and this from a population of 15 millions, and in a country distinguished for its uninterrupted prosperity in manufactures and commerce. The difficulty, however, was greatly increased by the very measures which were suggested for removing it. The most plausible and delusive schemes were successively projected; but uniform experience proved that nothing was gained by the mere multiplication of machinery; what was acquired in one way was constantly lost in another; and all observing men were at length satisfied of the necessity of abandoning this cumbrous system, and of resorting to the old and simple method of recruiting. As to the additional defence bill, it was admitted even by ministers themselves to have been up to the period of these debates almost wholly unsuccessful; but a further trial was contended for, and a more favourable event was confidently predicted. That trial has since been made; the result has been still the same, and has tended only to confirm the opinions of those by whom the measure was originally opposed.

CHAPTER III.

Observations upon the National Debt and Expenditure—Army Estimates—Ordnance—Seamen—Debates upon the Budget—Debates upon the Salt Tax—upon the Tax on Husbandry Horses—upon the Legacy Bill—Supplementary Budget—Composition with the Holders of the Loyalty Loan.

WE are now to direct the attention of our readers to the financial statements and measures of the year. They afford materials for much curious and interesting inquiry; but our limits, and the object of the present work, will not permit us to indulge in speculations of this nature. A debt of six hundred millions, and an annual expenditure of nearly eighty millions, are certainly calculated, upon a first impression, to alarm even the most sanguine. But there are several considerations, which, upon a nearer view, would present themselves to diminish our anxiety. It was supposed, at the termination of the American war, that the public credit of the country was pushed to its utmost limit, and that we had arrived almost at the end of our resources. Since that period, the amount of the debt has been more than doubled: but notwithstanding this increase in its nominal amount, such has been the rapid depreciation of money, that the ratio of its real and substantial augmentation has been much less considerable. This is easily understood; and it would not be difficult to show, if the nature of our present design would permit it, that this decline in the value of money is principally to be ascribed to the extension of the debt. The evil has therefore in some degree provided its own remedy; for the gradual depreciation of money has of course been followed by a gradual diminution of the pressure of the previous debt. The country has thus been enabled to sustain those burthens under which it might otherwise

otherwise have sunk; and to this diminution in the value of money, which was viewed by many with so much alarm, and considered as the greatest public calamity, the nation has been indebted not merely for its prosperity, but even for its preservation. It is true, that if this depreciation were confined to Great Britain alone, it would operate as a bounty upon the industry of our rivals. But no injurious consequence has hitherto resulted from this cause; on the contrary, during the whole period of its operation, the manufactures and commerce of the country have been uniformly and rapidly extended. The inconvenience has been more than counterbalanced by habits of regular industry, by superior skill, the effect of long observation and experience, by the variety of machinery, an immense extent of capital, and by the disturbed situation of Europe, and the wars in which, during the last fifteen years, it has been perpetually engaged. But it is not true that this diminution in the value of money is confined entirely to Great Britain. A similar alteration, though in an inferior degree, has taken place in all the states of Europe. The cause of this may perhaps be traced, at least as to a part of it, to the vast commercial ascendency of Great Britain: she has now for a period of several years directed and controlled the commerce of the globe; and it appears therefore impossible, that any material alteration could have taken place in the value of her medium of exchange, without extending its influence in some degree to every country which her transactions embraced.

In adverting to the supplies, the estimates for the army and the barrack department first occur. On the 4th of February the house resolved itself into a committee, upon the motion of the secretary at war, for the purpose of taking these estimates into consideration. After a minute explanation of some subordinate particulars, he concluded in the usual form, with proposing for the adoption of the house the following statement of expenditure for the military service of the current year.

	£.
Guards and garrisons for Great Britain and Ireland, 135,000 men	4,635,000
Forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Ceylon, and New South Wales	1,424,000
Pay, &c., of certain troops of dragoons, and certain infantry, employed in recruiting for the East Indies	25,410
General and staff officers' pay	288,000
Militia of Great Britain and Ireland	2,176,000
Militia contingencies	65,692
For ditto for clothing	198,793
For full pay to supernumerary officers	34,469
For officers, &c.	191,838
Allowance to innkeepers for subsistence of soldiers, &c.	476,699
Half pay and military allowances	175,623
For ditto to militia officers	56,565
Half pay to reduced officers of the regulars	50,000
Officers of the Scoth brigade	1,000
In and out pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals	249,397

Pensions

	£.
Pensions to the widows of officers, &c.	29,237
For foreign corps	851,350
Hospital expenses for Ireland	20,522
Royal military college	13,315
Royal military asylum	23,458
For the barrack department of Great Britain and Ireland*	1,782,128

These charges were successively moved by the secretary at war, and adopted without any considerable opposition by the house. Mr. Calcraft observed upon the article which related to the staff officers, the charge for which appeared to him enormous. In England alone there were 136 general officers, in Scotland 17, and 57 in Ireland, making a total of 210, exclusive of those who were stationed in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. The number he thought excessive; and he could not forbear also observing that the volunteer establishment had been attended with much unnecessary expense, from the appointment of general officers to instruct the corps in military discipline. These observations were supported by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Kinnaird; they in particular condemned the appointment of brigadier generals to the volunteer establishment. The inspecting officers alone were fully sufficient for the instruction and discipline of the corps. Even admitting that the appointment of brigadier generals might in the first instance have been advisable; yet, as the reasons upon which this part of the establishment was originally adopted had for some time ceased, it ought certainly to be discontinued. The expense from the increase in the number of staff officers, when considered with reference to our general system, was certainly not very great. It was stated by ministers at only 33,000*l.* But even this sum ought to be saved to the nation, unless it could be shown that the increased establishment was of benefit to the service. The chancellor of the exchequer vindicated the appointment of the brigadier generals. It might have been necessary, upon a very short notice, to have assembled a large force at a particular point, for the purpose of providing for the defence of the country; and it was well known that this could not be effected without the assistance of brigadier generals. He stated, that from the latest returns it appeared that the volunteers amounted to more than 325,000 effective men; of that number 240,000 had been inspected, and were reported by the proper officers to be fit for immediate service. He was confident that the house would not, from an ill-judged parsimony, adopt any measure which might tend to check the improvement, or diminish the efficiency, of this important part of our defensive force.

The estimates for the ordnance were on the same day moved by Mr. W. Pole.

	£.
Ordnance for the land service for Great Britain	3,163,416
Services performed in the office of ordnance	190,344
Service of the office of ordnance unprovided for in 1804	503,234

* A reduction of 120,000*l.* in this estimate was made upon a subsequent day, upon the motion of the secretary at war.

	£.
To replace sums advanced by the Irish exchequer for the use of the ordnance in Ireland	139,230
The ordnance service in Ireland	470,769

The number of men voted for the naval service of the year amounted, inclusive of marines, to 120,000.

Upon a subsequent day the following sums for the extraordinaries of the navy were voted, upon the motion of sir Evan Nepean:

For the ordinaries of the navy, for 1805	1,004,940
For extraordinary expenses of building and repairing ships, &c.	1,553,690
The hire of transport ships	975,000
The maintenance of prisoners of war, in health	525,000
For sick prisoners of war	57,000

The same day the following sums for miscellaneous services, and for the British Museum, were voted upon the motion of Mr. Huskisson:

For the payment of claims of the United States of America	415,000
For the claims of American loyalists, &c.	135,721
For the expense of convicts at home	53,719
Law charges	20,000
Public office, Bow-street	12,000
Printing, &c., for both houses of parliament	29,000
Allowances to protestant dissenting ministers in England and Ireland	10,476
The civil establishment of New South Wales	20,000
Foreign and home secret service	175,000
The offices for the superintendance of aliens	7,620
The repairs of military roads	5,000
The civil establishment of Canada	8,371
Ditto Nova Scotia	7,165
Ditto New Brunswick	4,650
Ditto Island of St. John's	3,153
Ditto Cape Breton	2,040
Ditto Newfoundland	2,130
Ditto Bahamas	4,438
Ditto Bermuda	580
Ditto Dominica	600
For buildings, &c., for the British Museum	11,000

Upon the 18th of February the house resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration the ways and means proposed for raising the supplies. The estimates for those branches of public service, which, according to established custom, had been already submitted to the house, were referred to the committee. Adverting to these documents, Mr. Pitt stated the amount of the several charges in the following order:

The navy, exclusive of the sum of 390,000*l.* for ordnance, 14,645,630*l.*

The army for England, 14,778,391*l.* Of this sum the expenses of the volunteer corps were estimated at 1,100,000*l.* and the extraordinaries at 3,660,000*l.*

The army for Ireland, 3,838,506*l.* including 500,000*l.* for the volunteer corps of that part

of

of the kingdom. *The ordnance for England*, 4,246,994*l.* *For Ireland*, 600,000*l.* *Miscellaneous services for England*, comprehending the sum already voted under this head, 800,000*l.* *For Ireland*, inclusive of the permanent grants in consequence of the union, 680,000*l.* Of these several items of expenditure, the aggregate amount was 39,559,521*l.* Having enumerated these usual heads of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer observed that there still remained one article to which he was anxious to direct the attention of the house; it was connected with a subject of the greatest moment, not only to our own country, but to the general interests of Europe. It was known that his majesty's ministers had been engaged in a continental intercourse, relative to objects of great magnitude and importance. He rejoiced to find that it was now the firm conviction of that house, that the ultimate security of Great Britain was intimately connected and interwoven with the general security of Europe. It must be the wish, therefore, of every man who heard him, that the intercourse to which he had referred, should be so prosecuted as to restore peace upon grounds calculated to establish that security which was the object of all our wishes and of all our exertions. But looking around us, and judging from those facts which are known to us all, it would be rash and presumptuous in the extreme, to expect that without further sacrifice on our part that great object could be attained. He would not at that time enter into any details on the subject; they would be introduced with more propriety upon a future discussion. To have postponed the supply for the service of the year, would have been attended with inconvenience to the public. He considered it therefore to be his duty, to make such an addition to it as might enable his majesty to afford with effect such assistance as the interests of the country might require. He proposed, therefore, that for this purpose there should be granted to his majesty a further sum of *five millions*: with this addition, the total amount of the supply for Great Britain and Ireland would be 44,559,521*l.* But two seventeenths of this sum were by the terms of the union to be paid by Ireland, together with the same proportion of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated fund, not relating to the public debt. The two seventeenths of the whole supply amounted to 5,242,296*l.* and the proportion of the civil list, and the charges on the consolidated fund, to the sum of 160,806*l.* making an aggregate of 5,403,102*l.* This then being deducted from 44,559,521*l.* the total amount of the supply, would leave the sum of 39,156,419*l.* to be provided by Great Britain. But there were some separate articles of charge which it would be necessary to add to this amount. The first was the sum of one million, which he proposed that the house should vote towards the discharge of the debt due to the East India company. There was also the sum of 320,000*l.* on account of the deficiency of the malt duty in the year 1803, and 414,000*l.* to complete the payment of the American claims. But another very important article still remained. The surplus of the consolidated fund for the last year had been estimated at five millions; it had produced, however, only 2,200,000*l.* leaving a deficiency to be supplied of 2,800,000*l.* This

surplus

surplus had been calculated upon the high and almost unexampled receipts of the former year; but if the actual produce be compared with the average of the last three years, the diminution would not appear very considerable. This deficiency, together with the other articles of separate charge, amounted to the sum of 4,534,000*l.* and this added to the former sum of 39,156,419*l.* would constitute a total of supply for Great Britain, of 43,690,419*l.*

		£.
Navy, exclusive of 390,000*l.* for ordnance for the naval service		14,645,630
Army, England	14,778,391	
Army, Ireland	3,838,506	18,616,897
Miscellaneous, England	800,000	
Miscellaneous, Ireland	650,000	1,450,000
		39,559,521
Further extraordinary expenses		5,000,000
Joint charge for England and Ireland		44,559,521
Deduct on account of Ireland, as below		5,403,102
		39,156,419

Separate charges for England to be added:

East India company	1,000,000	
Deficiency of malt duty, 1803	320,000	
American claims	414,000	4,534,000
Deficiency of the consolidated fund	2,800,000	
		43,690,419

Particulars of the above deduction, on account

of Ireland 2-17ths of 44,559,521*l.*	5,242,296
2-17ths of 1,366,851*l.* the amount of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated fund	160,806
	5,403,102

The chancellor of the exchequer then proceeded to state the ways and means for raising the supplies. The first article was the duty upon malt, and the personal estate duty, amounting together to 2,750,000*l.* The surplus of the ways and means of the preceding year, 1,192,115*l.* formed the next article. The third consisted of the surplus of the consolidated fund, to the 5th of April 1805. In estimating the amount of this surplus, the average of the permanent taxes for three years, exclusive of 1803 and 1804, in which additions were made to them, was taken, and from this sum the permanent charges were deducted. This average was stated, after making the proper deductions, at 28,199,000*l.* The duties imposed in 1803 and 1804 produced 1,315,000*l.* which of course increased the average to 29,514,000*l.* But there was an addition to the consolidated fund of 1,381,000*l.* from Ireland, for that part of the debt with which she was charged, and there were also two other

other articles, making the whole sum to be added 2,866,000*l.* The whole amount then of the average would be 32,330,000*l.* On the other hand, the amount of the permanent charge for Great Britain was 28,032,000*l.* Of this sum 26,692,200*l.* arose from the interest of the debt, and the charges of management, &c. The amount of the civil list was 960,000*l.* and the further sum of 380,000*l.* arose from charges added to the consolidated fund. The sum then of 28,032,000*l.* being deducted from 32,381,000*l.* the average amount of the permanent taxes, would leave a sum of 4,349,000*l.* for the probable surplus of the consolidated fund. He did not, however, take credit for the whole of this sum, but stated the probable surplus to the 5th April 1806 at only four millions. The next article in the list of ways and means consisted of the war taxes. Mr. Pitt observed that these were taken the last year at 9,000,000*l.* he should, however, not state them at more than 8,300,000*l.* It must be a source, he said, of real satisfaction to the country, to perceive that the war taxes were likely to produce a sum so nearly equal to that at which they had been originally estimated. The property tax came next in order; it produced last year the sum of 4,600,000*l.* but a considerable part had not yet been received; and upon a careful estimate, he thought the entire amount might be taken at 6,300,000*l.* The benefits resulting from this system had been so sensibly experienced, that he felt it to be his duty, in addition to the provision for the interest of the loan, to propose a further addition of one fourth to the existing rate. He calculated that this measure would produce the sum of 1,150,000*l.* To these articles there was further to be added, a sum of 300,000*l.* from the lottery, and a loan of 20,000,000*l.* on the separate acccount of Great Britain. The recapitulation was as follows:

	£.	£.
Malt and personal estate duties - - -		2,750,000
War taxes - - - -	8,300,000	
New war taxes - - -	1,150,000	
Property tax - - - -	6,300,000	
		15,750,000
Surplus of the consolidated fund to April 5th 1806 -		4,000,000
Lottery - - - - - -		300,000
Surplus of the ways and means of 1804 - -		1,192,115
Loan - - - - - -		20,000,000
Total of ways and means - - - -		43,992,115
Total supplies - - - - -		43,690,419
Surplus of ways and means above the supplies -		301,696

A further sum would be requisite for the service of Ireland, of which one million would be raised in that country, and two millions and a half in Great Britain. The interest of the whole, however, would of course be provided by Ireland.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proceeded to state to the committee the terms upon which the loan had been negotiated. The subscribers for every 100*l.* were to receive 150*l.* three per cent. and 22*l.* reduced. The money, therefore, was borrowed at the moderate

rate

rate interest of 5*l*. 3*s*. 2*d*. per cent. He observed that the terms of the contract were much more advantageous to the country than those which had been entered into the last year. This he ascribed to the increasing prosperity of the empire, to the firmness of parliament in raising so large a portion of the supplies within the year, and above all, to the progress of the sinking fund, which had already begun to make ample returns for the foresight and constancy of the country.

Mr. Pitt then stated to the committee the additional charges occasioned by the loan, and by the fund created for the payment of the holders of the loyalty loan. These charges, together with the sum appropriated to the liquidation of the loan by the sinking fund, amounted to 1,537,192*l*. He would state the new taxes, which, upon a careful inquiry, he thought it most advisable to establish, in order to meet this increased charge. They consisted first of an augmentation of the duty upon letters; one penny upon every single letter, two-pence upon double letters, and three-pence upon treble letters, sent by the general post. He should propose also an addition of one penny upon letters carried by the two-penny post to the vicinity of London; and a further addition of two-pence upon every foreign letter. The estimated produce of this tax amounted to 230,000*l*. The next article of taxation which he had selected was salt: he proposed that the existing duty of ten shillings the bushel should be increased to fifteen, and that six-pence the bushel should be added to the duty upon exportation. The produce of the former of these taxes was calculated at 490,000*l*.; of the latter, at 80,000*l*. As a third resource, he proposed that an addition should be made to the tax upon horses kept for pleasure, and for the purposes of husbandry; one fifth he thought might be added to the tax upon the former description of horses, and the 12*s*. 6*d*. paid upon horses kept for husbandry might be extended to one pound: upon those horses which were charged with the duty of 2*s*. 6*d*. no addition would be imposed. In estimating the produce of this tax, he stated that the increase upon the first class of horses would amount to 110,000*l*. and upon the second, to 320,000*l*. The last of the new taxes was an augmentation of the duties upon legacies. He proposed in the first place, that one per cent. should be paid upon those legacies which were at present exempted from taxation; that is, upon legacies to persons in a direct line of descent from the testator. It was difficult very accurately to ascertain the amount of this tax, but he calculated that it would produce about 200,000*l*. He proposed also, that the duty should be extended to legacies charged upon land; from an accidental omission in the former act, legacies of this description were exempted from the payment of duty. This amendment would produce 100,000*l*. and a further sum of 30,000*l*. might be raised by increasing the tax from eight to ten per cent. in the case of legacies bequeathed to strangers in blood. The recapitulation was as follows:

	£.
Total amount of the interest on the loan, &c., as above -	1,537,192
New taxes proposed to meet the above charges:	
Post office - - - -	230,000
Salt - - - - -	490,000
Ditto on exportation to Europe - -	80,000
Pleasure horses - - - -	110,000
Husbandry ditto - - -	320,000
Direct legacies - - - -	200,000
Legacies charged upon land - -	100,000
Ditto to strangers in blood - -	30,000
	1,560,000
Surplus produce above the charge - - -	22,808

It appeared, therefore, that the estimated produce of the new taxes exceeded by upwards of 20,000*l.* the sum required. The chancellor of the exchequer concluded his detail by congratulating the house upon the general prosperity of the country, and by expressing his firm conviction that the resources and the vigour of the nation would be proportionate to the emergencies of its situation.

Mr. Fox observed, that, as a general proposition, he was certainly disposed to admit the policy of connecting ourselves with some of the leading powers of the continent; but he did not consider that he was necessarily bound, by this admission, to assent to the expediency of granting any subsidy for the purpose of procuring continental assistance; that was a point upon which he would not at present offer any opinion. The mode of proceeding, however, which the chancellor of the exchequer had proposed for the adoption of the house was novel and extraordinary. It was usual, and certainly much more regular, for parliament to decide upon the policy of granting a particular subsidy, and to determine also upon its amount, before any specific sum was voted for that purpose. He would not object, however, to the course that was now recommended; though he wished it to be understood that he reserved to himself the right of offering his sentiments, not only with respect to the general policy of granting a continental subsidy, but also as to its extent, and the mode of its application, when the subject should be sumitted specifically to the house. Mr. Fox strongly objected to the additional tax upon agricultural horses. Those who were best acquainted with the practice and details of husbandry, knew that the tax even in its present state was extremely oppressive. He also objected to the tax upon salt, but said that he should postpone to a future period the statement of the grounds of his opinion. In taking a general view of the new objects of taxation, he could not forbear observing, that, with the single exception of the tax upon salt, none of the additional duties had been imposed upon articles of consumption. He confessed that he felt some alarm at this circumstance, when he adverted to a principle which seemed to be universally admitted, that the facility

lity of taxing articles of consumption was the best criterion by which to estimate the power of a nation to sustain its public burthens. He regretted too the addition which was proposed to the property tax: one of his principal objections, both to the duties upon income and property, arose from the facility with which impositions of this nature might at any period be augmented. If the tax were now increased by 25 per cent. it might soon, upon the same principle, be extended in a much higher ratio; and under the form of a property tax, the people might, by a gradual operation, be stripped of all their possessions. It was essential also to recollect that the tax must of necessity be levied in a very unequal manner. The assessments upon land might be made with some degree of accuracy, but it was impossible to form a fair estimate of commercial profits. He was apprehensive also, that if this tax were continued for any considerable period, it would be considered as a permanent tax, and would be voted annually upon similar principles with the land tax. He dreaded the consequences which might result from abandoning the antient and approved modes of taxation. The duty at present indeed was confined to income, but it might soon be extended to capital, and it was impossible to foresee to what limits it might ultimately be pushed. It would be of importance to the nation, to obtain an assurance that the tax should never be augmented beyond a certain point; it might be proper perhaps to fix as a limit, the half of its present amount. If the country were satisfied in this particular, the tax would be paid with cheerfulness and alacrity.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, observed, that no gentleman, by the present vote, would be pledged either to approve the general policy of granting continental subsidies, or the application of the principle in the particular instance. It was not only convenient for the public that the supplies for the service of the year should be provided by one contract, but it was also of importance that the loan should not be postponed to a more advanced period of the session. Neither was there any objection, even in point of strict form, to the course proposed. For, if the house should not approve of the particular objects to which it was intended that this surplus sum of five millions should be appropriated, it would then remain to be applied to the other services of the country, as parliament might at a future period determine. In reply to the general remarks made by Mr. Fox upon the selection of the new objects of taxation, he observed, that the salt tax was a tax upon consumption; the duty upon horses was a tax imposed partly upon luxury, and partly upon use; and the increased duty upon postage operated upon the general extension of our wealth and prosperity. The war taxes of last year, he observed, were all upon articles of consumption; and though there was certainly no period at which they could be expected to be less productive, the returns amounted to the sum of eight millions. He referred to this result, as tending to confirm, in opposision to the apprehensions of the honourable gentleman, the sanguine opinion which he himself entertained of the resources of the nation. As to the tax upon property, it was of all the different modes of taxation the most œconomical. The most respectable authorities upon subjects of this na-

ture had considered it as a tax difficult in the application, but in no degree unjust or improper in principle. The great revenue which had been derived from it was a proof of the spirit of the people, of the extent of the public wealth, and of the facility with which that wealth might, in a season of emergency, be rendered available for the protection of our independence and honour.

Mr. Fox observed, that the increase of the property tax operated very differently from the increase of any other description of tax. If the assessed taxes in any case were too high for the circumstances of a particular individual, he might alter his establishment; and the same principle applied to the tax upon tea, wine, or other articles of consumption. In these cases, therefore, the tax might be extended without reserve; and it was principally upon this ground that he preferred the old and approved methods of taxation to the new and dangerous system which had been recently introduced. In the principle and provisions of this tax there was no corrective; and there was every reason to apprehend that it would be gradually extended, until the nation would sink under the accumulated burthen.

Upon a subsequent day Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Francis made some observations upon that article in the budget which related to the payment of the sum of one million to the East India company. There was no parliamentary evidence, nothing but the mere declaration of ministers, to satisfy the country that any sum was due to the company; and yet upon such grounds a second million was now to be advanced to supply their necessities. There was, however, the best evidence to prove that a very considerable sum was due from the company to the nation; for they had covenanted to pay annually 500,000*l.* to the public, and only one of these payments had yet been made. Upon what ground, then, were ministers or the company entitled to call upon the house for this advance? Surely not on account of the distressed situation of the company: that was indeed impossible; for, in every statement which had been made to the house upon the subject, their finances were asserted to be in the most prosperous and flourishing condition. It was proper, therefore, before any further advance should be made, that an inquiry should be instituted, in order to determine upon which side the balance rested, and whether any, and what sums were due to the company. It was inconsistent with the duty of parliament, and particularly of the members of that house, who were the constitutional guardians of the national purse, to vote a second time so considerable a sum of money to a public company without examination, without proof, and upon no other foundation than the mere assertion of ministers.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, in reply, that if the company had been involved in any extraordinary expenses for the support of government, it was just that they should be reimbursed independently of the consideration of any previous arrangement. The regular payment of their dividends was the company's first obligation; and if upon the whole they were greatly in advance to the public, there was no reason to complain that the sums referred to had not been punctually discharged. When the question of the prosperity of the

company

company was considered, it would always be remembered that they had been called upon to sustain the expense of two or three unforeseen wars. But notwithstanding the rapid succession of these wars, and the extraordinary pressure which they must in consequence have occasioned, it would be found, when the particular discussion of the question should occur, that the situation of the company was more prosperous than it had been for a period of many years.

The bills for the increase of the tax upon horses kept for pleasure, and for the augmentation of the rates of postage, passed through the legislature without observation. To the other subjects of taxation proposed by the minister, much opposition was made. Of these, the first which was submitted to the house was the increased tax upon salt. It was said by those who opposed the measure, that this, being a direct impost upon one of the necessaries of life, was highly impolitic. Government had been constantly advised, by those who were best informed upon financial subjects, to abstain from any direct tax upon butchers meat, corn, and other articles of necessity. But salt fell within this description. It was the burthensome and vexatious impost of the gabelle, which more perhaps than any other circumstance occasioned so much dissatisfaction in France, and disgusted the people with the measures of the court. So oppressive was the operation of the tax in that country, that the consumption of salt, an article essential to the comfort and the health of the poor, was reduced to considerably less than one half of the quantity which had been formerly used. The present measure was the more objectionable, because a committee of the house had been formerly appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the effect of the duty upon salt. That committee had made its report in the year 1801. The result of their inquiries was decisive upon this subject. They were fully satisfied, after the most minute investigation, of the extreme impolicy of the tax, and of the beneficial effects which, from its abolition, would result to the manufactures and agriculture of the country. This tax was to be reprobated on account of its effect upon the poor. The sustenance of the lower orders of the community consisted chiefly of salt meat and vegetables. They would, therefore, of necessity, use a greater quantity of salt than persons in more affluent circumstances. But even if this were not the case, and the consumption should be supposed nearly the same, still it was the extreme of injustice to inforce a tax operating equally upon all orders of the community, without reference to their different means of sustaining the burthen. It was the more cruel too at the present time, when the poor were labouring under such severe distress, and when the opulent were called upon to contribute by subscriptions to their relief. In its application to Scotland the tax was still more impolitic. The salt of that country was manufactured from sea-water, and of course occasioned a considerable expense in fuel. To impose, therefore, the same tax upon the salt of Scotland and the rock salt of Liverpool, would be unjust in the extreme. The tax would tend also to discourage the fisheries, a branch of industry of the highest national importance. It was true that the drawback would diminish the evil.

But to obtain the drawback was often attended with difficulty, and these embarrassments were a serious discouragement to commerce. When the tax was imposed in the year 1795, a reduction was made in favour of Scotland, on account of the particular circumstances of that country. The duty was reduced from 6*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* the bushel. If Scotland then, in the year 1795, was considered incapable of paying more than 4*s.* what adequate reason was there to suppose that she could now sustain a tax of more than double that amount? It was also known that in Scotland the present duty afforded no revenue. The produce of the tax was only 45,000*l.*, and a greater sum than this was paid in bounties by the excise and the customs. The total abolition of the tax would, therefore, not only relieve the people from an oppressive burthen, but prove advantageous to the revenue. The measure, therefore, in every view of it, appeared to be inexpedient; and if ministers were compelled to resort to such means in order to raise the supplies, this consideration afforded an additional motive to the observance of the strictest œconomy in the public expenditure of the country.

In reply to these arguments it was observed by the minister and his friends, that no considerable stress ought to be placed upon the report of the committee. Upwards of three years had elapsed since that report had been laid upon the table; and notwithstanding an interval of peace, no attempt had been made during the whole of that period, and under two successive administrations, to direct the attention of parliament to the subject. It was evident, therefore, either that the house entertained doubts with respect to the correctness of those conclusions at which the committee had arrived; or, that they felt the extreme difficulty of carrying their suggestions into effect. But if this could not be accomplished during peace, it surely would not be prudent, while the country was engaged in war, to abolish an impost which produced a million a year to the state. There was no inclination on the part of the present ministers to burthen the poor. They had uniformly endeavoured, in raising the supplies, to press as little as possible upon the lower orders of the state. The assessed taxes, the duty upon property, upon wine, and other articles of a similar description, afforded sufficient evidence of the truth of this assertion, and of the disposition by which ministers were influenced. Since the year 1793, taxes had been imposed upon the country to the amount of sixteen millions a year; and these, with two or three exceptions, had been entirely drawn from the middling and higher classes of life. The poor, however, as well as the rich, were deeply interested in the present contest; and they would cheerfully contribute according to their means, for the purpose of preserving their own independence and vindicating the honour of their country. Neither was it true that the present measure would press severely upon the lower orders of the community. The duty would enter into the price of the commodity, and would therefore be gradually paid. It would be found also, upon calculation, not to exceed four or five shillings for each family in the course of the year. Nor was it true that the poor individually consumed a greater quantity of salt than the rich. From

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the investigation which was made upon a former occasion, the reverse appeared to be the case, and nearly in the proportion of two to one. The price of bread would not be affected by the proposed tax: the quantity of salt used in preparing it was extremely inconsiderable. It was found upon inquiry, that so small a sum as a single farthing would purchase salt sufficient for a sack of flour. With regard to Scotland, the deduction which had been formerly made would still be continued. It did not arise from any want of ability in the inhabitants of that part of the kingdom to pay the tax, but from the expense with which the manufacture was attended. The salt was made from sea water, and of course occasioned a considerable consumption of fuel. It could not, indeed, be denied, that in Scotland this branch of the revenue had been extremely unproductive. But this arose from the frauds which were practised, and, in particular, from the smuggling which was carried on with Ireland. It was confidently hoped and expected, that the continuance of these abuses would be prevented by the provisions of the present bill. There was no ground for the apprehensions which appeared to be entertained with respect to the operation of this tax upon the fisheries; because it was provided that a drawback should be allowed, equivalent to the duty. Upon the whole, it would be difficult to suggest a tax which would produce an equal revenue to the country with so little inconvenience and pressure. In answer to what had been said by ministers relative to the report of the committee, it was observed, that shortly after the report was laid upon the table of the house hostilities had recommenced with France. If the report then had not been acted upon, it was not from any doubt that was entertained of the policy of those measures which the committee had suggested, but from the difficulty of providing a substitute for the tax during the pressure of war. But surely it was a strange species of logic, to deduce from this circumstance an argument in support of the present bill, which by the enormous extension of the duty would so materially aggravate the evil, and render the abolition of the tax at any future period still more difficult, if not altogether impracticable.

Some difference of opinion appeared also to prevail with respect to the expense of collecting the duty upon salt. It was stated by Mr. Rose at 20,000*l.*, and by Mr. Calcraft, who referred to the report of the committee in confirmation of what he advanced, at 100,000*l.*

In the several debates which took place upon this subject, the speakers on the part of ministers were, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Rose, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. S. Bourne: on the side of opposition, Mr. Fox, Sir W. Pulteney, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Johnstone, and Mr. Kinnaird.

In the debate upon the third reading of the bill it was intimated by the chancellor of the exchequer, that in consequence of the inferiority of the salt manufactured in Scotland, he did not intend that the same addition should be made to the duty in that country as in England. It was finally determined, that the same proportion which before existed should still be preserved; and the increased duty in Scotland was accordingly limited to two shillings. The bill finally

nally passed by a majority of 38, the division being 92 and 54.

The proposed duty upon the exportation of salt was abandoned.

A more effectual opposition was made to the increased tax upon agricultural horses. It was contended by those who were adverse to the bill, that it would tend to discourage the growth of corn, and operate as a bounty to the grazier. This was the more to be reprobated, as it appeared, from the corn bill which had been passed in the last session, to be the opinion of parliament that the production of grain required encouragement. This tax then was directly opposed to the spirit and principle of that measure. Nor was this the only burthen that was to be laid upon the farmer. If the penalties incurred under the general defence bill were to be raised, that also would operate as a severe tax upon the landed interest. These imposts were the more unwise, as, from the present situation of Europe, it ought to be the first object of the nation to extend her internal resources, since upon these we must ultimately rely for our defence against the enterprising and ambitious spirit of the enemy. Other objections were urged to the bill. It would discourage marling, and many similar agricultural improvements. It would press severely upon the occupiers of small farms. The proportion too of horses employed on hilly countries was greater than in other situations, and a larger number of horses, considered with reference to the produce, was used upon poor than upon rich soils. It was observed also, that in mountainous countries the breed of horses was small, and the tax in its application would upon this account also be extremely unequal.

In defence of the bill it was contended, that though the tax was imposed upon the farmer, it would ultimately fall upon the consumer. That the corn bill of the last session, one object of which was to secure the agriculturist against the fluctuations in the price of that commodity, was an evidence of the concern which ministers took in the interest of the land-holder. The tax was too inconsiderable in its amount to check the extension of agricultural improvements. It could not be seriously urged that it would produce any change of system, or any sensible effect upon the relative advantages arising from particular modes of farming. As to what had been said with respect to the smaller breed of horses, these were exempted by the last act. The duty attached only upon horses which were more than thirteen hands and a half high. The whole number of horses exempted from the tax was 29,000, and of these 9,000 were Welch. The same provisions were of course adopted in the present bill. Neither would the tax press with any perceptible weight upon the consumer. The whole amount of the produce of the country might be fairly estimated at 150 millions. The produce of the tax was stated at 320,000*l.* which amounted to about one 500dth part of that sum. But if the price of wheat were taken at 70*s.* the quarter, the increased duty upon that quantity would amount to something more than three halfpence. A quarter of wheat was supposed to be the average consumption of an individual in a twelvemonth. It followed, therefore, that if the farmer could at once transfer upon the consumer the whole of the burthen, it not only would not be severely felt,

but would scarcely be attended with any sensible effect.

This reasoning, however, was not sufficient to reconcile the house to the measure. The country gentlemen united in opposition to the minister; and the bill was lost by a majority of three. The numbers upon the division were 73 and 76. Sir R. Buxton, Mr. Lascelles, and Mr. Baker voted with the opposition.

On the 22d of March, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced his supplementary budget for the purpose of making good the deficiency in the ways and means of the year. This deficiency was occasioned by the rejection of the above bill for imposing a tax upon agricultural horses, and by the relinquishment of the duty upon the exportation of salt. It amounted in the whole to the sum of 400,000*l.* The new taxes which were proposed fell within the departments of the excise and customs. Under the first head an additional duty was proposed upon the different species of glass, which was estimated at 80,000*l.*, and a further duty of 10*d.* per thousand upon bricks and tiles, which would produce 37,000*l.* Thirty-one thousand pounds might be raised by an increase of the duty upon auctions. The amount of the proposed advance was stated at 1*d.* per pound upon the sale of estates, and 2*d.* in the pound upon goods. Six-pence per pound upon coffee would produce 28,000*l.* An additional duty upon cyder and perry for sale, without interfering with those counties in which it was the common beverage of the people, might be expected to furnish about 15,000*l.* Lastly, under this head it was proposed to raise 11,000*l.* upon vinegar, and 5,000*l.* upon silver and gilt wire. The total amount was 207,000*l.* The remainder would be supplied by the customs. An additional duty was suggested upon slates and stones carried coastwise. It had always been usual to advance the duty upon these articles with that upon bricks and tiles. The proposed increase was 20 per cent.; the amount of which was estimated at 4,400*l.* Several other miscellaneous articles were named. Barilla, oil, turpentine, &c. would bear an increase of duty, and might be expected to furnish about 22,000*l.* The remainder of the deficiency was proposed to be supplied by an additional impost of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the importation of goods, which, calculating from the present duty, would produce the sum of 176,000*l.* The total, from the excise and customs, would be found to exceed the deficiency by upwards of nine thousand pounds.

Upon a subsequent day, lord Henry Petty objected to the augmentation of the duty upon auctions. He observed that it would press severely upon small traders, and upon persons in embarrassed circumstances, who were frequently compelled to have recourse to this method of disposing of their goods. The present duty, the amount of which was between 10 and 12 per cent., was sufficiently burthensome. His lordship recommended an exemption in favour of the persons to whom he had referred. The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that no tax could be proposed that would be entirely free from particular objections. No further opposition was made to the measure.

Upon the third reading of the legacy bill, an amendment was moved by sir H. Mildmay, that the clause relating to legacies bequeathed

ed to persons in a direct line of descent from the testator should be omitted. He thought this clause in the highest degree exceptionable. It imposed a tax upon the younger children of a family, while the heir, the person who was best able to sustain the burthen, was wholly exempted. The measure pressed with unequal weight uppon the landed interest; because the father of a family in this situation possessed fewer opportunities than other persons of establishing his younger children during his lifetime. He objected to it also on another ground; it extended to those children only who took by will, while others who acquired property under the terms of a marriage settlement were not affected by the provisions of the bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that as the house had already decided upon the principle of the measure, it would not be necessary for him to examine the subject at much length. He conceived that the attack which had been made upon that part of the bill which imposed a duty upon direct legacies had proceeded either from misapprehension, or from a very limited view of the subject. When it was said that it would press severely upon the younger children of a family, it should be recollected how inconsiderable was the amount of the duty. But suppose a father should wish to leave a younger child a legacy of 5000*l.*, it would be easy for him to add 50*l.* to this sum for the payment of the tax, and to take the addition from the eldest. The younger branches of a family would thus be completely exempted, and the duty would be paid from a quarter which has been supposed most able to bear it. It was objected, however, that the tax was partial in its operation, because it did not extend to property acquired by settlement. The object of the measure was certainly not to affect transmissions, though the propriety of such a measure might open a wide field for discussion; but it was known that transmissions were already in many instances taxed *ad valorem*. On the whole, he did not think that the objections which had been stated ought to make any impression upon the house, to the prejudice of the bill.

Mr. Grey was decidedly hostile to the bill. It was a direct tax upon capital; and to impose taxes directly upon capital was to defeat enterprise, and to destroy the sources of commerce. He was averse to the measure upon another ground: in a mixed government like this, the credit of an hereditary aristocracy could not be maintained without great possessions and extensive influence. These possessions and this influence were both attacked by the present bill, which for the first time established a duty on legacies charged upon land. Such taxes, he observed, had ever been condemned by the wisest political œconomists. The effect of the tax upon the younger children of a family had been justly insisted upon as a ground of objection to the bill; but the right honourable gentleman had observed, that a small additional sum would cover the tax and remove the hardship. What then was this but to say in other words, that the land was to pay the duty? and if so, why did not the right honourable gentleman at once propose the tax in this direct form? The difference too established by the bill, between those who took by testament and those who inherited property, or acquired it by settlement, formed in

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his mind another insuperable objection to the measure.

Lord C. Cavendish, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope also spoke in opposition to the bill.

The question for the third reading was then put and carried; and sir H. Mildmay having proposed his amendment, it was negatived by a majority of 92. For the amendment 72, against it 164.

The chancellor of the exchequer submitted to the house an arrangement for the purpose of satisfying the holders of the loyalty loan. The whole amount of the loan was twenty-two millions. Subscribers to the extent of thirteen millions had agreed to accept the terms proposed in the act of the last session; there were other subscribers to the amount of four millions, who had expressed a wish to be repaid the sums which they had respectively advanced. He proposed, therefore, that those who had given the regular and prescribed notice, should, upon giving a further notice of their desire to take the benefit of the arrangement now suggested, become entitled on the 5th day of April, for every 100*l.* of loyalty, to such a sum either in the 5 per cent. consolidated annuities, receiving the half year's dividend due on the 5th of July, or to such a sum in the 3 per cent. reduced, the interest upon the latter to be payable from the 5th of April, as would be worth, according to an average calculated in the month of February preceding, the sum of 100*l.* sterling, together with a further addition upon every 100*l.* reduced of 10*s.* of the same stock; or that they should be entitled, if they thought proper, to any proportion of 5 per cent. consolidated annuities, and 3 per cent. reduced, to be taken upon the same terms. It was also proposed that powers should be given to the lords of the treasury to contract for a loan to the amount of that part of the loyalty which might not be exchanged upon the foregoing conditions.—These propositions were submitted to a committee of the whole house, and were agreed to without any opposition.

CHAPTER IV.

Observations upon Irish Affairs—Debates upon the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland—Debates upon the Irish Attainder Act—Case of Mr. Grogan—Irish Budget—State of the Irish Imports and Exports—Linen Manufacture—Irish Debt—Permanent Revenue of Ireland—Frauds in the Irish Excise—Loans for Ireland—New Taxes—Projected Improvements in the Department of the Post Office—Debate upon the new Taxes—Duty upon the Importation of foreign Timber—Projected Revival of the Six per Cent. Duty upon Goods imported by Retail Traders.

DISTRACTIONS such as those which so few years ago agitated Ireland, though the first burst and impulse of them had passed away, yet could not but be expected necessarily to create a feeling of jealous precaution in the minds of those to whom its government should

should be afterwards committed; and it is natural for the rulers of nations, even those of habits the least arbitrary, to wish to have that power entrusted to them, which they feel they have no inclination to abuse. That, as a main measure of precaution, a further suspension of the habeas corpus should be required, by administration, of the legislature, cannot, therefore, excite surprise. It is one of the advantages flowing from the union, that the imperial parliament can scarcely be considered, even by the most active and wakeful suspicion, as an assembly of victors legislating for the vanquished. The irritation which might have still continued to rankle between the discomfited and those who overcame, were the seat of legislation still in the metropolis of Ireland, can now but faintly, if at all, take place; and nothing can be more historically certain, than that whatever of opposition has at any time been made to the claims of those who have thought themselves oppressed, has originated not in England, but in the sister country itself. Such opposition, indeed, was the natural result of a small party ruling a majority: the cause having ceased, the effect, it is probable, will in time also cease. With respect to the measure of which we are about to treat, it is of course in its very nature merely temporary.

On the 8th of February, sir Evan Nepean moved in the house of commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the further continuance of the act of 48 G. III. for the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland. The bill met with considerable opposition both upon this occasion, and also upon the second reading, and in the committee.—Sir John Newport expected that at least some ground would have been laid for such a measure. If the existence of committees of united Irishmen at Paris, or of persons calling themselves such, were a justifiable cause for an act like this, we should have to look for the continuance of the suspension throughout the whole duration of the war. For the enemy would have an interest in collecting such committees, if it were only for the purpose of exciting jealousies, and depriving the crown of the attachment and support of a great part of the people. He did not deny that some degree of disaffection might exist in Ireland, possibly sufficient to warrant this application; but at least some evidence of this should be adduced. The granting such extraordinary powers over the more distant and detached parts of the empire, ought to be more cautiously looked to than if England itself were the object of the bill. And surely it should be proved to Ireland, that the imperial parliament would not causelessly invade its rights. He conceived that a justification of so harsh a measure was particularly due to the people of Ulster, who, though remarkable for loyalty and attachment to the British constitution, were at the same time a strong-minded people, not likely to be satisfied with a measure of this nature, unless a cause for it were shown to them. He moved therefore, as an amendment to the motion, the omission of the latter part, for the purpose of inserting "that a committee consisting of 21 members be formed by ballot, to examine such documents as may be laid before them, and to report their opinion upon these documents, whether the continuance of the suspension of the habeas corpus act be a measure necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland."

Mr. Dennis Brown and colonel Hutchinson

Hutchinson considered the measure as necessary. It was necessary as a means of preventing any communication between the disaffected at home and the emissaries of France. The latter gentleman lamented that it was not advisable to state the grounds on which the renewal of the suspension was asked, as they must be secrets of state; and he acceded to the measure, hoping and trusting his majesty's ministers would turn their serious attention to the state of Ireland at large. Sir John Stewart expressed a similar opinion. When in office in Ireland (as attorney general), information had been given by persons connected with the disaffected. The exposing to public view the channel through which this information came, would have been productive of the greatest evil. The numbers confined at present under the suspension of the bill were very few, and the character of the nobleman now at the head of the Irish government was a pledge that the number would not be improperly increased.

Mr. Windham offered a few observations upon the motion, which it was impossible for him to let pass without comment. He had himself supported the suspension of the habeas corpus act on former occasions, but never without strong reasons. The house had more than once voted such a suspension, but never without strong and clear grounds, fairly proved, or notoriously existing. The honourable mover had shown no necessity whatsoever for his proposition. It seemed now as if it were to pass as a matter of course, as a land and malt bill, to be voted every session without one word being said upon it. The arguments offered in support of the measure bore in truth against it. Not what committees of the disaffected existed, but what mischief such committees could produce, was really the proper object of inquiry. It was not what disaffection they wished or designed to raise in Ireland, but whether their means of disturbing that country were such that the suspension of the habeas corpus act was necessary to prevent them. Was the constitution to be stopped and set going in this manner, as if by a pedal? When it was asked, what this extraordinary power was called for, it was answered, Not that there were disturbances in Ireland; not that it was the better to repel invasion; but that there were committees of united Irishmen sitting at Paris, and that there were mischievous people in Ireland. The question is not, what these persons wished to do, but what the others could do with them. None of those who spoke for the motion would give up the general loyalty of the people—all contended that the mass was loyal. Yet this broad unqualified power is to be given; and to be given, because, from the character of the person to whom it is to be given, it is not likely to be abused. Surely, in a free state, this cannot be a reason for such trust. If government is to be endowed with extraordinary powers, the danger should be of such an extent as to impress on every man's mind the propriety of conceding such powers. It should not be said that no ground should be stated, lest there may be danger of discovering the sources from which the information was derived. The ground which could justify putting the country under martial law could not be secret: its magnitude must make it known. A favourable

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picture of the tranquil state of Ireland had been drawn by the honourable mover of the address (Mr. Dillon). What had happened to discolour that picture? The mode of inquiry suggested by his friend sir J. Newport was such as to render all thought of danger idle. Undoubtedly parliament should be tender of the privileges of every part of his majesty's subjects. With regard to the more distant parts, the precaution ought to be peculiarly great. An obligation of honour and conscience ought especially to be felt, with regard to giving powers, the weight of which would fall exclusively upon others, while they could not touch ourselves.

The chancellor of the exchequer desired, in every thing that concerned Ireland, to give way to the gentlemen connected with that country. He differed entirely from the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Windham), who contended, that in no possible case could the house of commons agree to the suspension of the habeas corpus act, without a specific examination as to the grounds on which the suspension was to take place. If that were not the principle he meant to establish, a great part of his argument was of no avail; if it was, it was one in which, during the last war, he had frequently concurred with him in departing from. The honourable gentleman did not now contend that the renewal was not right, but that it ought not to be granted without examination. The honourable gentleman said, no statement had been made, nothing had been offered to satisfy the mind of the necessity of the measure. It was a mischief that often arose, when the statement was short, that, because it was simple, no statement was supposed to have been made; where there were no proofs adduced, because the facts were obvious, and because public notoriety rendered all information superfluous, then it was said no information had been given. The circumstances in which we were placed supplied proof and information in abundance to the minds of every one. We were at war with a power which aimed at the destruction of the whole British empire, but particularly through that part of it for which we were now legislating. The meditated invasion, with the systematic collection and incorporation of all who had fled Ireland for their treasons, the avowed intention of carrying on a correspondence through these agents, and the recollection of the repeated insurrections that had taken place—were all these matters of such light impression, that no measure should be adopted with regard to them, without precise and particular inquiry? A contrary system had been acted upon with the concurrence and support of the honourable gentleman; and to that system the safety and permanence of Great Britain, as well as Ireland, were owing. It is not the bare existence of committees of united Irishmen, nor the number of the disturbers; but the great point is, that these were working and communicating, and that their co-operation could not be too strictly watched and guarded against in a war like this. He would not be so unmanly as to deny that the same necessity would probably suggest the same measures in most wars. If any thing, however, surprised him more than another in the honourable gentleman's speech, it was the mis-statement of what had been said of

Ireland;

Ireland; because it was said, the greater part of the country was well affected, it was contended that the disaffection would be of no avail. This was the same argument by which the honourable gentleman had, during the last war, been himself assailed, and which he had so often baffled. It was indeed to be hoped that the disaffected would by this time have their eyes open; but was it to be supposed that there was no minority still weak and wicked enough to cultivate that connection with France, into which formerly a larger minority had been betrayed? Did the honourable gentleman forget what he had said when the disaffected few talked as if they had a majority? There was no one principle on which the honourable gentleman acted then, that did not apply now. If Ireland, from being more distant, was more open to the abuse of great powers, than if these powers were to be exercised nearer home, from its being also more open to dangers from without, its safety ought to be more particularly provided for. He admitted that the mild character of the lord lieutenant was no argument for yielding the power asked for; but if the necessity of yielding it was established otherwise, it was surely a satisfaction that it was not likely to be abused. From the notoriety of the principal facts, inquiry was superfluous, and it might be attended with danger. He had every reliance upon the gentlemen who composed that house; but where a person was intrusted with a secret by which the lives of others might be brought in question, there was a tendency to conflict between duty and feeling, of the event of which few could be secure. For himself, and for those who acted with him, he preferred relying on broad reasoning to sheltering himself under an inquiry, which, though it would afford more than the proofs required, would be inconsistent with, and probably detrimental to, the public service.

Mr. Fox, much as he had been alarmed at the opinions avowed, and the conduct pursued, by his majesty's ministers for several years past, particularly whilst headed by the right honourable gentleman who now presided over the administration of the country, yet never felt a greater degree of alarm than that which the sentiments which had just been uttered excited in his mind. "I should hope that he did not speak seriously; if he did, if really and deliberately he holds such sentiments, I consider him as maintaining principles the most alarming that I have ever heard promulgated in this house, or this country. If the doctrines which he has this night avowed be those upon which he means to act, and if he should obtain power sufficient to carry them into effect, how melancholy is the prospect of this country! Perhaps, however, the declarations I have referred to were used only as a defence against the arguments of my right honourable friend, and not as an indication of settled opinion. If even so, they were insufficient for defence, and went far beyond any principles held by the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues during the last war. He never before ventured to say, that because *some* of the people were bad subjects, the liberty of the whole people should be placed at the discretion of the minister and his agents, by the suspension of the hab. as. corpus. He says that my right

right honourable friend has had recourse to an argument, which upon former occasions he had successfully baffled, and which argument he called a "clumsy dilemma." I would tell him, and my right honourable friend also, that it was not the dilemma we stated they succeeded in refuting; but it was the clumsy misrepresentation of that dilemma against which they directed their objections. We never maintained, that while the majority was loyal, there could be no necessity for a measure similar to that now before the house. We never asserted that the loyalty of a mere majority formed an argument against the adoption of any measures of precaution against the disaffection of a mere minority. Our reasoning was uniformly grounded upon the degree and nature of the disloyalty alleged to exist, which we did not conceive such as to justify the harsh mode of proceeding then pursued. The right honourable gentleman appeared to me to state insufficient grounds to call for the rigorous measures of the last war. What then shall I say now? The state of Ireland is described in general, and particularly in Ulster, the most populous, and once the most suspected district of the country, to be as sound, as well disposed, and as loyal as any part of England. Here then we have a comparison made that enables us to decide as to the necessity of this suspension. They who give us this rule and measure to guide our judgment, notwithstanding, say that the necessity exists because there are disaffected persons in the country. In what country are not such to be found? Unless, therefore, it be pretended that a measure of justice different to that due to other countries is due to the people of Ireland, there is no security that towards England such a measure may not be held necessary. The discontent or disaffection of a few, I ever thought, and still think, cannot warrant the suspension of general liberty. The right honourable gentleman, however, has never till now taken so great a stride. He now says, that not only is there disaffection, but that also we are engaged in war with an enemy who threatens to destroy our constitution and independence. Were we ever, I would ask, at war with any power, particularly France, that was not willing so to do? It was reserved, however, for the right honourable gentleman to maintain that war is a good ground for suspending the habeas corpus act. If Ireland be threatened with invasion, so also is Great Britain. When reasons of such a sort, therefore, are stated, I must feel as much alarm for the one country as for the other. I approve, highly approve, the true and generous sentiments (and there is no sentiment generous that is not true) that have been expressed by the honourable baronet who moved the amendment. He feels for Ireland; I feel for Ireland and Great Britain. The right honourable gentleman seemed to believe an invasion of England as probable as an invasion of Ireland. There must then, according to his judgment, exist as good reason for the suspension of the habeas corpus act in England. If without any previous examination, therefore, of the nature and sufficiency of the grounds stated, we may be asked to assent to this motion, adieu, I say, to the security of British freedom! adieu to that habeas corpus act, which is the proudest boast

and

and noblest guard of the British constitution! If the grounds urged are sufficient to warrant a suspension, under what circumstances is this important privilege to be revived? I find, in the reign of queen Anne this act was suspended twice; and during the reign of the two first branches of the house of Brunswick that it was suspended more than once. From the revolution down to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, this privilege was not withdrawn from the British people so often as during a few years of the administration of the right honourable gentleman. Yet was the country frequently engaged in war, frequently threatened with invasion, and much disturbed by disaffection; disaffection, not of Jacobins, but Jacobites; a party as resolute and enterprising as the former, and stronger in numbers, influence, property, and power. But it is contended that notoriety is enough for parliament to proceed upon. It has so been contended upon other occasions. Yet, at the commencement of the last war, did the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues think notoriety sufficient to induce parliament to agree to measures like the present? A committee of inquiry was then instituted, to examine and report upon the information which government possessed: this was the course of proceeding which my right honourable friend supported, and this is the course which he recommends now. Is then the least degree of inconsistency attributable to him for opposing a motion ushered into the house by the mere statement of a minister, and that statement itself containing such vain and futile grounds? The alarm created eighteen months ago by the intelligence of the riot in Dublin, might have carried this measure through the house then, but cannot be considered as a precedent now. My right honourable friend took a different and a wiser course: he urged the propriety of inquiry; and had I been present, I should have certainly supported him, although I should have resisted the argument of another friend of mine, who maintained that the bill should be immediately passed. I am glad, from his gesture (Mr. Sheridan), to find myself mistaken; I am glad to find that he was not betrayed so to maintain." Mr. Fox then touched upon the circumstance of notice having been given by the honourable baronet of his intention to bring forward this measure, which notice had been afterwards put off *sine die*. Was it not something like wishing now to take the house by surprise? like a design to raise an argument against inquiring, out of the shortness of time between this and the expiration of the act? He spoke of lord Hardwicke; he praised his right honourable friend's opinion, that the character of no man, however pure, could form any reason for investing that man with arbitrary power. He was unwilling at that moment to say much of lord Hardwicke; it was enough to justify him in the vote he should give, to say that he would intrust no man with such power. If character could justify such a grant, a minister could always find some such individual amongst the nobility of the country. If lord Hardwicke did not answer, some other nobleman of unexceptionable character would be found to fill his place. His objection was to the office, not the man. The right honourable gentleman had not hinted when

the measure before the house was likely to cease—perhaps it was to be extended through the duration of the war. Arguments similar to those used now, were always ready and at hand. With respect to the disposition of the people of Ireland, and of their attachment to lord Hardwicke, strange and incredible things had been uttered. With respect to some facts proving the abuse of power under the bill, he should have an opportunity of observing, when the motion of an honourable gentleman (Mr. Fitzgerald) should be brought before the house. One gross instance he could not refrain from alluding to, that of Mr. Todd Jones. That gentleman, on mere suspicion, had suffered a rigorous imprisonment in a loathsome gaol for upwards of sixteen months. Had he been guilty of a heavy crime, he has suffered enough. It is the mischief of arbitrary power, supposing even the principals in government to mean well, that acts will still be committed by its agents, such as when communicated would fill even those principals with horror. He saw no reason for the adoption of this measure; he saw and felt its dangers, and therefore opposed it.

Sir Evan Nepean stated, that he had inquired into the situation of Mr. Todd Jones, and found, that though he was discontented, he had no just reason to complain, as he was placed in as comfortable a state as a person in his circumstances deserved.—Mr. Fox observed, that the judges of assize had complained of the county of Cork, on account of the unwholesomeness of their gaol.

Lord de Blaquiere said a few words: he defended from the charge of precipitation the passing of the bill of suspension in the year 1803. Mr. Sheridan reserved the full declaration of his sentiments for a future stage of the proceeding. He had not, however, supported any similar measure without previous inquiry. He had indeed voted for an immediate address to his majesty, in answer to his majesty's communication on the subject of the riot in Dublin, but had not voted for either the martial-law-bill, or the act for the suspension of the habeas corpus.

Mr. Alexander and Mr. Martin (of Galway) made a few observations. Mr. Dawson opposed the original motion. On a division, the numbers were for the motion 112; for the amendment 33. On the 14th of February the bill was read a second time, and on the day following the house went into a committee upon the subject. On both these occasions lord Henry Petty addressed the chair with considerable effect. Upon the latter day sir Evan Nepean proposed filling up the blanks, ascertaining the duration of the bill, with "six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament." His lordship opposed the motion, and proposed that the first of May be substituted. As ministers allowed that there was no pressure of time which urged the immediate passing of the bill, he confessed himself at a loss to know on what grounds they could rest their opposition to inquiry. Nor was this his own opinion only; he was supported in it by the highest authorities, particularly by one of the greatest writers on the laws of this country, who asserts, that an act tending to abrogate the independence and privileges of a part of the people, without any previous examination or inquiry into its necessity, was unconstitutional. Much

had

had been said about secrets transpiring in a committee—he asked, what was the danger to be apprehended? He called on gentlemen to consider, that by voting for the amendment they incurred no danger. Time would thus be given to ascertain the real state of Ireland, which he thought never could be so lost to all sense of the advantage of English connexion, as to be ready to take refuge from her in the arms of a foreign power. At all events, we should have the satisfaction of reflecting, that we had not taken a hasty step, but that we had acted with the circumspection which the importance of the case required. Upon the second reading, the speakers after his lordship were Mr. Ker, Sir John Newport, and Mr. Pytches. The amendment of his lordship in the committee was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer. The merits of the question lay in a very narrow compass. All that could be stated in objection, had been stated in the ablest manner possible by the noble lord. Want of time had never been alleged by his majesty's government, as the cause for passing this bill without inquiry, but that they felt what parliament in eight instances out of eleven since the year 1793 had felt, that evident notoriety superseded all necessity for inquiry. He asserted the situation of Ireland with regard to France to be sufficiently notorious. Mr. C. Wynne allowed that there had been many cases in which the notoriety was sufficient, without particular investigation of the circumstances, as in the years 1715 and 1745, as also in 1803, when the rebellion in Ireland was notorious. Unless, however, such grounds existed, it was the duty of parliament to make strict inquiry before they acted. Unconstitutional power should be placed in no hands, however little liable to abuse it. During the administration of lord Somers and lord Raymond, a person had been imprisoned forty years by government in Newgate. The chancellor of the exchequer reminded Mr. C. Wynne that that person had been confined by different special acts of parliament, not by a suspension of the habeas corpus. Mr. Windham and Mr. Martin interposed in the debate: in the judgment of Mr. Martin, neither secrecy nor confidence in the lord lieutenant was a reason for passing a bill of this nature without inquiry. A committee of inquiry had been appointed to investigate the concerns of the bank; nor had public credit, that most delicate of all subjects, been injured by it. He allowed all confidence to the present lord lieutenant: it was not therefore invidious to him to oppose the passing of this act. He had never, however, heard of any lord lieutenant, who, whilst in office, was not called the most amiable of men, nor any secretary who had been thought to make a bad speech, or give an evil vote. By many lord Hobart had been deemed a more accomplished orator than Mr. Flood. Mr. Ward took a view of the circumstances attending the suspension of the habeas corpus at various times, and inferred from example the propriety of suspending it upon the strength of notoriety alone. He examined the nature of the suspensions in the reign of William III. and in 1722, and noticed the protest entered in the latter case by several members of both houses of parliament.—Sir J. Newport observed, that in every in-

stance adduced, there had either been inquiry, or something equivalent to it: there was some message from the king, or some communication in the speech from the throne.—Mr. M'Naughten, Mr. Bagwell, Lord de Blaquiere, Mr. Kinnaird, Dr. Duigenan, Mr. May, Lord Temple, and Colonel Hutchinson, severally made suggestions to the committee. Lord H. Petty closed the debate.

For the original motion	159
For the amendment -	54
Majority - -	105

On the 21st of February, the same bill was read in the house of lords.

Previous to the second reading, lord Grenville moved, that an address be presented to his majesty, humbly praying him to order to be laid before the house a specification of the conditions upon which all the persons imprisoned under the suspension of the habeas corpus for the last twelve months had been delivered. The noble lord thought that this information was necessary to enable their lordships to judge of the propriety of again suspending that most important act; and he had so worded his motion as to prevent all inconvenience from the production of the paper. Lord Hawkesbury objected to the production of the paper: in his judgment it would be attended with inconvenience, and there was no precedent for such a disclosure. The marquis of Sligo and the lord chancellor supported lord Hawkesbury. The order of the day was then called for, when lord Hawkesbury rose to move for the discharge of the standing rule, which requires that no bill of this nature shall go through two stages in one day; and he did this, that he might afterwards propose that the house should go into a committee that night on the bill which had been just read. The reasons for this urgency were, that the present suspension act would expire on Tuesday next, and there was therefore no time for the usual forms. As to the necessity for continuing the suspension, he presumed to think that little need be said. The earls Carlisle and Spencer deprecated any suspension without previous inquiry. The earl of Longford argued that the state of Ireland imperiously required it. The duke of Montrose and the earl of Enniskillen supported the bill. The duke of Clarence contended that the question was not, whether the bill was necessary? but, whether they should pass it without inquiry? Why had ministers been thus long in bringing the measure forward? Why did they not allow time to the house to discharge their duty to the country? Earl Limerick and lord Auckland declared their conviction of the absolute necessity of the suspension, and the consequent propriety of discharging the two standing orders of the house. Upon the further opposition of lord Grenville, lord Mulgrave expressed his surprise that the noble lord should blame ministers for carelessness with respect to the safety of Ireland; and yet, by interposing delays, should himself add to the dangers to be feared. The question was then put, that the two standing orders, 26 and 125, be discharged.

Contents 41—Non-contents 13—Majority 28.

In the committee on the bill, the duke of Clarence moved as an amendment, instead of the words

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"do continue for the space of six weeks after the meeting of the next session of parliament," the words "after the date of the passing of this act." This amendment was negatived without a division. The other clauses were then gone through, the report was received, the bill was read a third time, passed, and a message to that effect ordered to be sent to the commons.

On the 1st of April, Mr. Martin (of Galway) moved that there be laid before the house of commons a copy of the evidence and proceedings taken before the commons of Ireland, relative to the act of attainder of the 38th of his present majesty, as far as respects Cornelius Grogan, esq. of the county of Wexford. In introducing this subject, he considered that he was discharging a most urgent duty. It was impossible that he could find terms sufficiently forcible to stigmatize with the opprobrium it deserved the conduct which had been pursued towards Mr. Grogan. The treatment which that unfortunate gentleman had experienced, was as detestable as any thing that had ever occurred in the history of mankind. He had been put to death without the verdict of a jury, and even without the ordinary formalities of a court martial. His apprehension, his trial, his execution, all the successive acts of this tragedy were comprised within the short period of twenty-four hours. The officer who ratified the sentence was not present when the evidence was given; nor was it possible, under the circumstances of this detestable transaction, that the witnesses could even have been heard. It was a mere mockery of justice; and to call it a trial was an insult to the common sense and feelings of mankind.

Lord Castlereagh observed that the honourable member had not stated the object of his motion. He appeared to have confounded two proceedings which were perfectly distinct; the trial by the court martial, and the subsequent act of attainder. The court martial was held by the immediate order of lord Lake; it consisted of 13 or 14 officers; and the trial was conducted with as much attention to every form as the situation of the country there, Wexford being at that time in a state of actual rebellion, would admit. The parliament, in passing the act of attainder, had proceeded upon *viva voce* evidence taken before themselves. He was not aware that any minutes of the evidence were at present in existence, or any materials which the house could make the foundation of any further proceeding relative to this subject. He concluded therefore by moving the order of the day.

Mr. Martin was not surprised that the noble lord should object to his motion. He contended that there was no want of documents upon the subject, and pledged himself to produce correct notes of the evidence upon which the act of attainder had been passed. Mr. Grogan, he observed, had not been taken in any act of rebellion. He was a prisoner in his majesty's gaol, when he was brought forth to take his trial before a court martial; a tribunal to which the honourable member contended he was not under such circumstances amenable. He asserted that Mr. Grogan had not joined the rebels. They had forcibly detained him, and he had no means of effecting his escape. The country too, he

added, was in perfect peace when the trial took place; and this proceeding was the more inexcusable, as the king's commission of gaol delivery was at that time in Wexford. The answers of general Craddock to questions which had been proposed to him by the honourable member, in the Irish house of commons, clearly established the irregularity of the proceedings. The object of his motion was to afford redress to the relations of Mr. Grogan, if it should appear that there was not sufficient evidence to warrant the attainder.

Mr. Fox was surprised at the noble lord's statement, that there were no minutes in existence of the evidence upon which the act of attainder had passed. The practice of the legislature of Ireland must in this respect be widely different from the proceedings of the parliament of Great Britain; for attainders in this country had been repeatedly reversed, which would have been impossible, unless memorials of the evidence had been preserved. If the information which he had received in the present instance were correct, there could be no doubt that this attainder ought to be reversed.

Lord Castlereagh observed that he had opposed the motion of the honourable member, because he had not stated any specific object to which the motion was intended to lead. The object being now stated to the house, he should withdraw his opposition. He added, however, that at the time referred to, the county of Wexford was in a state of open rebellion; and that Mr. serjeant Stanley had narrowly escaped with his life in proceeding to Cork for the purpose of adjourning the assizes. He was in Wexford, not for the delivery of the gaols of that county, but in his way to the city of Cork.

Sir John Newport said that one of Mr. Grogan's brothers had fallen fighting with the king's troops in defence of his country; and that the other had been severely wounded in the same cause. General Loftus stated that he had been instrumental in apprehending Mr. Grogan. A representation in his favour had been made by some of the inhabitants, which he communicated to general Lake; and the execution was suspended for nearly a day; but in consequence of some information which he afterwards received, he did not think himself justified in recommending any further delay. The country at that time was in such a state, that it was impossible for any court of justice to sit.

Lord Castlereagh observed that the crown had shown its sense of the meritorious conduct of the individuals alluded to, by resigning the property to the near relations of Mr. Grogan. His lordship withdrew the motion for the order of the day.

On the 13th of March, the house of commons having resolved itself into a committee, the ways and means for raising the supplies for Ireland were proposed by Mr. Foster. He began by congratulating the committee upon the favourable change which had taken place in Ireland, with respect to her commerce and her revenue, since the last session. The imports of Ireland had for some years exceeded her exports. This excess had begun in the year 1800; and the yearly average of the imports since that period, had amounted, according to the official valuation, to 5,711,001*l.* It was true, that

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in the last year their amount had been 5,718,000*l.* This increase, however, was very inconsiderable; and as it consisted principally of raw materials for the manufactures of Ireland, it was not to be considered as an unfavourable circumstance. But, on the other hand, the export of Irish growth and manufacture had, during the last year, experienced a very considerable augmentation. The amount of these exports was 4,902,000*l.*, a sum which surpassed the returns of any one of the last ten years. The annual balance of trade, upon an average of the last five years, had been against Ireland to the extent of 1,195,000*l.* In the last year it was reduced to 655,000*l.*, which scarcely exceeded one half of its former amount. The export of linen in particular, the great staple manufacture of Ireland, had during the last year been very materially increased. This he ascribed to the repeal of the duty which had been so injudiciously imposed upon the exportation of that important article.

Mr. Foster next proceeded to direct the attention of the committee to the debt of Ireland. Its increase had been much less considerable during the last than the preceding years. On the 1st of January 1804, it amounted to 44 millions: on the 1st of of January 1805, it was extended to 54 millions; but upon the 1st of January in the next year it would be increased, not by the addition of 10 millions, as in the former year, but by little more than half that sum. He would next state the demands for the services of the year. The whole charge for the debt of Ireland, inclusive of the sinking fund, was 2,611,623*l.* The proportion of 2-seventeenths of the sum raised by Great Britain for the joint charge of the year, amounted in Irish currency to 5,853,360*l.* The whole sum, therefore, which Ireland was to provide for the purpose of paying the interest of her debt and her quota of contribution was 8,464,985*l.* The ways and means for answering this charge were: first, the produce of the revenues of Ireland, which he should take at 4,000,000*l.*: secondly, a loan of 2,500,000*l.* or 2,708,333*l.* Irish, provided in England, and a further loan of 1,000,000*l.* raised in Ireland: and thirdly, the residue existing on the 5th of January upon the loan of last year, amounting in the currency of Ireland to 800,354*l.* The aggregate of these sums was 8,508,687*l.* exceeding the amount of the charges by upwards of 40,000*l.* He had taken the revenues of Ireland at 4,000,000*l.* They produced in the last year 2,800,000*l.*, and the remaining sum of 1,200,000*l.* would be made up by the taxes which had been imposed in the last session, and by the more effectual collection of the excise. The produce of the new taxes had corresponded to the expectation which he had formed; but the regulations for the collection of the excise, he regretted to state, had not been effectual. A vast source of revenue remained unproductive. He was confident that it might be fairly estimated at 500,000*l.*; and that, with the existing taxes, it would be amply sufficient, without imposing any new burthens, to defray the interest of the debt and the quota for a peace establishment. The collection of the excise, he said, had failed principally with respect to the great object of the distilleries. There was scarcely a city or a county in Ireland where the duties upon distilleries were collected. Among the distillers with whom he

had conversed in Dublin, there were few who had not openly avowed to him that they regularly defrauded the revenue; that they were under the necessity of doing so, from the sums which they were compelled to pay to the officers; and that they could not without absolute ruin defray these contributions, and at the same time pay the duties which were owing to the crown. It appeared, he said, from the books of a distiller who had recently failed in Dublin, that he had in one year paid 1,200*l.* in compliments or bribes to the officers of the revenue. He ascribed these evils to the ill-judged parsimony that was exercised with respect to the salaries of the officers. It was almost impossible for them to resist the temptations to which they were exposed. The system required immediate correction; and he should take an early opportunity of directing the attention of the house to this important subject.

Mr. Foster having dismissed this subject, which had thus incidentally presented itself, stated to the committee the particulars of the interest and charges upon the loans, and the new taxes which he should propose to defray them. The whole annual charge upon the two millions and a half negotiated in England, and the one million raised in Ireland, inclusive of the sinking fund, amounted in Irish currency to 255,225*l.* Of the new taxes which he proposed for the payment of this sum, the first was an augmentation of the duty upon the importation of timber, raisins, pepper, and some other articles. The duty upon the importation of timber would not affect the lower orders of the community. Those who were acquainted with that country knew that foreign timber was scarcely ever employed in constructing the cabins of the poor. The amount of this tax he estimated at 36,000*l.* He proposed also a duty upon horses and dogs, which together he thought would produce about 48,000*l.* The next articles of taxation were curricles, gigs, and jaunting cars. The tax upon the latter would be very inconsiderable; only five shillings upon each car. He trusted that so slight a duty would not compel any one person to deny himself this comfort. He estimated the produce of these three articles at 10,000*l.* He recommended an additional duty of 15*s.* for every male servant employed in the service of a bachelor, and a small increase of the paper, hat, and auction duties, with some new regulations to insure a better and more effectual collection. The amount of the former tax was calculated at 4,000*l.* of the latter at 12,000*l.* An addition also of one penny a letter for postage would afford an annual revenue of 20,000*l.* Mr. Foster stated that it was in contemplation to introduce some new and very important regulations and improvements with respect to the conveyance of letters in Ireland. In order to prevent robberies, and to insure a more speedy delivery, they would be sent by coaches. In the first instance, every exertion would be made to put the roads in a proper condition for this purpose. The great and primary object of the post-office should be to promote the convenience of the public by the secure and expeditious conveyance of letters. The next and secondary purpose was revenue, which, however, should not be regarded till the former was accomplished. He next adverted to an object of taxation which he thought it necessary to explain with some degree of minuteness. In the year

1791,

1791, the hearth duty was taken off from those houses which had only one hearth. The number was nearly 500,000. Some increase was made to the duty as it attached upon the higher orders, but there was a loss to the revenue of 28,000*l.* The repeal of this duty was intended for the relief of the poor. But there were many houses with one hearth only, occupied by substantial and wealthy persons. He recommended, then, that with reference to such persons the tax should be revived. Where the occupier paid 50 shillings a year, he proposed that the duty should be three shillings, and double that sum where the yearly rent was five pounds. But in order to protect the poor man, a clause would be introduced into the bill to exempt those who were not worth 10*l.* or did not rent land to the amount of 5*l.* a year. In return for this duty which was not to affect houses with seven windows, he would propose to exempt all houses with fewer than seven windows from the window tax. The whole of the receipts from the new duty would be 21,000*l.* and the loss by the exemption from the window tax 6,000*l.*: the increase therefore to the revenue, from this measure, would be 13,000*l.* He proposed also an addition of 25 per cent. to the duty upon windows, which would produce the sum of 31,000*l.* The last article of taxation which he should suggest, would be an increase of the duties upon licenses and stamps, which he estimated at 70,000*l.* The aggregate of the amount of these different articles in Irish money was 262,250*l.*; and this sum exceeded the estimate of the charges by upwards of 7,000*l.* Mr. Foster concluded by moving the resolutions in the usual form.

Upon the motion for the second reading of the resolutions of the committee, Mr. Fitzgerald observed, that, in his opinion, there was no necessity for the loan, and therefore it would be his duty to oppose the adoption of the resolutions. The actual revenue, he said, amounted to more than four millions, the sum at which it had been stated by the right honourable gentleman. That was the amount of the last year's estimate; and a very considerable addition, as the right honourable gentleman himself had admitted, was to be expected from the new regulations which had been adopted. The surplus too of the loan of the last year should be applied to defray the supply of the present year; and the large balances in the hands of the collectors ought to be settled. He insisted that some effectual method should be adopted for collecting those debts; and pledged himself annually to oppose every proposition for the establishment of new taxes, till these arrears were paid into the exchequer. Even if a loan were at present requisite, the sums which he had already mentioned might form a fund for the payment of the interest, and he felt himself therefore bound to oppose *in toto* the new taxes which the right honourable gentleman had recommended to the committee.

Mr. Dawson complimented the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Irish exchequer for his activity and laudable exertions in that department. Many of the proposed taxes he certainly approved; there were others, however, to the policy of which he could not subscribe. He reprobated the tax upon timber, because in many parts of the country it was extremely scarce, and the additional

tional duty would therefore operate as a severe check upon the rising plantations, by inducing the proprietors to cut down the wood before it was matured. He disapproved too of the duty upon paper; and thought that instead of any additional charge upon letters, it would be better to adopt measures for the more effectual collection of those which were already imposed. He asserted that under the present system they were collected at the enormous expense of one hundred and sixteen per cent. He objected to the house duty, which he considered as a mere substitution for the unpopular duty upon hearths, which the Irish parliament had found it expedient to abolish; and he thought the augmentation in the duty upon windows, notwithstanding the exemptions, much too considerable. Adverting to the frauds practised in the department of the excise, he expressed his conviction, that if those duties were properly collected, it would not be necessary to have recourse to any additional means for the purpose of raising the supplies.

Sir John Newport declared his perfect concurrence with his honourable friend Mr. Dawson. He considered with much minuteness several of the subordinate articles, as coffee, slate, tar, &c., and thought the addition proposed was too great. The tax upon paper he particularly opposed. This branch of manufacture was extremely circumscribed; and he was apprehensive that by this measure it might be entirely ruined. He agreed in the objection which had been urged against the duty upon timber. The scarcity of wood, he said, was already such, that in many parts of the country there was hardly sufficient for the purposes of agriculture.

Mr. Foster observed that the tax upon timber would not exceed *4s. 2d.* the ton weight, which was worth upon an average about *6l.* This proportion was so inconsiderable that it could not be attended with any material effect.

One of the resolutions of the committee provided for the re-enactment of the 6 per cent. duty upon goods imported by retail dealers. This duty had been repealed about three sessions before, upon the suggestion of Mr. Corry. The re-enactment therefore of this partial and oppressive impost was opposed with much earnestness and vigour. To impose a tax upon a man's industry and poverty was described as the very extreme of cruelty and injustice. Mr. Fox, and most of the Irish members present, together with Sir Charles Price and other commercial men, spoke in opposition to the measure. A division took place, but the clause was adopted by a considerable majority. It was felt, however, that the tax would be extremely unpopular; and Mr. Foster, upon a subsequent day, gave notice of his intention to abandon it.

CHAPTER V.

Motives for the immediate Reduction of the Militia—Debates in the House of Commons upon the Bill for the Reduction of the Militia of Great Britain—New Regulations in the Mutiny Bill—New Quarantine Bill—Debates in the House of Peers upon the Bill for the Reduction of the Militia of Great Britain—Reduction of the Irish Militia.

DURING the last session of parliament an act was passed for reducing the militia of Great Britain to its original standard of 40,000 men for England, and 8,000 for Scotland. It had been found by experience that the increase of the militia was not only injurious to the recruiting service, but, from the difficulty of providing subaltern officers, and from other circumstances, was attended with much inconvenience to the country. The reduction was to have been gradually effected, by allowing the vacancies which might occur, to remain unsupplied, until by insensible degrees the establishment should sink to its destined level. A material alteration in this plan was now proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer. The failure of those means which had been adopted for recruiting the army, rendered it necessary to resort to some new expedient. It was proposed, therefore, that the supernumerary portion of the militia might be allowed to volunteer into the line. It was calculated that by this measure 17,000 effective men would be immediately added to the regular force of the country. The proposed reduction occasioned much discontent among many of the militia officers, and excited considerable opposition both in and out of parliament. Several noblemen and gentlemen connected with the militia assembled at the Thatched House tavern, and various resolutions expressive of the disapprobation which the meeting entertained of the measure were read and unanimously adopted. Ministers, however, determined to persevere; and a bill for the immediate reduction of the militia of Great Britain was submitted to the house of commons on the 21st of March by the chancellor of the exchequer. He stated that the present amount of the militia for England and Scotland appeared by the returns to be 70,000 men. Deducting then from this number the 40,000 men for England, and the 8,000 for Scotland, together with a proper allowance for corporals, who were not included in the 48,000, of which the original establishment consisted, the country might fairly reckon upon 17,000 men to be applied to the augmentation of our regular army. It would not be denied that an addition of 17,000 men to the disposable force of the country was at the present moment an object of great national importance. It was not, however, the mere addition of so many men that would be obtained by this measure; but of 17,000 soldiers trained and disciplined to the use of arms. But, great and important as this object undoubtedly was, still he should not have proposed it to the house, if he thought it could be attended with consequences injurious to the militia, either as it at present stood, or as it would ultimately be fixed.

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He stated the deficiency of officers as one ground upon which an immediate reduction would be advisable. There were at present upwards of 500 vacancies, and the whole number engaged in the service was not more than sufficient for the reduced establishment. He could state not only from report, but from more particular authority, that there never was a period when the militia were more desirous than at present, of giving to the country the full benefit of their services. He should have imagined that no difficulty would have stood in the way of the measure, if he had not learned from some of the commanding officers of militia regiments with whom he had communicated, that they were averse to it. His public duty, however, required him to persevere, though he should consult, as far as possible, their wishes and sentiments in the methods adopted for giving effect to the system. The whole number proposed to be taken was, 17,000 out of the 68,000 which were now embodied. The proportion allowed to volunteer was therefore not so great as to deteriorate the remainder. It was a satisfaction to know that the militia was so constituted, that, if its own officers were to be allowed to select those who were to be retained, the remainder would be highly serviceable to the army; or, if the officers of the army were to select those whom they would wish to transfer, the rest would still be valuable to the militia.

The chancellor of the exchequer then stated the mode which he thought it advisable to pursue in order to reconcile the attainment of the object, with a due acquiescence in the wishes and inclinations of the officers. It is unnecessary to state this part of the plan in detail. It will be sufficient to observe, that among other regulations, the commanding officer of each regiment was to be allowed to select one half of the regiment, and to set it apart as a foundation for the regiment which was to remain. The other half was to furnish the stipulated proportion of volunteers, and the remainder were to be restored to complete the regiment. Mr. Pitt observed, that the plan which he had proposed seemed to be well calculated to meet the wishes and desires of all those who were concerned in the measure.

Earl Temple observed, that the proposition before the house afforded the most conclusive evidence of the inefficacy of that bill, the repeal of which the right honourable gentleman had on a former night so strenuously opposed. According to the original plan, the reduction of the militia was to have been gradually effected; but now that the expectations which had been formed of the success of the right honourable gentleman's bill had proved abortive, it was found necessary to remedy this defect; and the militia was at once to be reduced to the number of 40,000. He observed that this measure was directly opposed to the principle of the abolition of the ballot; one of the great points which had been insisted upon in defence of the right honourable gentleman's military system. For, if the militia were at once to be reduced to 40,000, and that number were to be constantly maintained, it would be requisite, upon the first vacancy, that the ballot should come again into operation. He admitted, with the right honourable gentleman, the necessity of a powerful disposable force;

force; but still he did not admit the propriety of obtaining that force by the means proposed in the present bill. During the former administration of the right honourable gentleman, a deliberate pledge had been given that a measure of this nature should never again be adopted; and afterwards, in another place, a noble lord who was then in administration also gave a solemn pledge to the same effect. These two governments were now united; and however they might be supposed to coincide in opinion upon other points, he was sure that they agreed in nothing so completely as in a total forgetfulness of these engagements. It had been said that the militia were never more inclined than at present to volunteer into the regular army. It was requisite to state some facts connected with this assertion. At a meeting of lord lieutenants of counties, and gentlemen interested in the establishment of the militia, the right honourable gentleman had assured them that all possible care should be taken to prevent the slightest insubordination in that part of the militia whose limited services were to be continued. But notwithstanding this assurance, the most improper means had been resorted to for the purpose of detaching the men from their colours. He had himself the honour to be colonel of a militia regiment; and he had been informed by the officer who commanded in his absence, that recruiting parties from the first battalion of guards had been actively employed in seducing the men to enter into the regular army. He hoped the house, therefore, would not be again told of the delicacy which was to be observed towards the militia officers. Practices of this description were in the highest degree injurious and insulting to their feelings. The right honourable gentleman had often boasted of his regard for the militia: but he would leave it to the house to determine what reliance was to be placed upon such declarations, when all his acts relative to the militia concurred only in evincing his anxiety for the total annihilation of the system. He was adverse to the measure upon another ground. It tended to impose a direct tax upon the landed interest; for every vacancy which should occur, would of course operate in this manner, in direct opposition to those solemn and repeated pledges to which he had alluded.

Lord Stanley also opposed the motion. It was unfair, and degrading to the officers, and in the extremest degree unjust to those who had provided men to serve as substitutes.

Sir James Pulteney thought the reduction for many reasons desirable. The brilliant events which had occurred towards the close of the last war, were, he said, entirely to be ascribed to the volunteering from the militia in the year 1799.

Colonel Bastard said that three reasons had been alleged for the introduction of this extraordinary measure: the deficiency of men for the regular army; the scarcity of officers for the militia; and the supposed eagerness of the men to enter into the line. But the first arose from the inefficacy of the measure which had been adopted for the augmentation of the regular army. The second proceeded from the imprudence of that system which had been pursued with respect to the militia under the auspices of the right honourable gentleman, and which had tended

to disgust the country gentlemen with the service. And as to the supposed eagerness and ardour of the men, upon which so much had been said, the means resorted to for the purpose of exciting that disposition had been properly noticed by the noble earl. For himself, he declared that he would rather see the system at once dissolved, than thus gradually mutilated and disgraced. The militia was entitled to the peculiar favour of the country, as a force the best calculated to resist foreign invasion, to repress internal disorder, and to form a constitutional counterpoise to a hired army.

The chancellor of the exchequer in reply observed, that the pledges which he was supposed to have given upon former occasions, not to interfere with the militia, had been much insisted upon in the course of the debate. But he would in the first instance ask, whether it could be seriously argued that the pledge of any man, or of any minister, could tie up the authority of parliament. With regard, however, to the pledges alluded to, he could with the utmost confidence assert, that he neither was himself, nor did he know any ministry that ever had been, a party to such pledges. When it was alleged, indeed, that ministers intended to degrade the militia officers, and to render them mere drilling serjeants for the army, he distinctly disclaimed the idea, and stated also that it was not his intention to recur, upon every ordinary occasion, to the plan of volunteering from the militia. But he certainly did not assert that the system would never be resorted to under any circumstances, however urgent or extraordinary. As to what had been said by his noble relation, with regard to the misconduct of a certain recruiting party, it could not surely be seriously argued that any responsibility could attach to ministers on that account. He observed that some gentlemen appeared extremely desirous to describe every measure as calculated to increase the burthens upon land. But how could it be contended that these burthens would be augmented, merely because men, who had at first engaged for limited service, were ready now to perform more than they had originally promised? He was confident that the landed proprietors possessed too much understanding, and were too solicitous for the welfare of the country, to be influenced by such observations.

On the motion for the second reading of the bill, the debate was again renewed. Mr. Hughes was of opinion that the measure was more objectionable than when it was originally adopted in the year 1799. At that time a very strong case of immediate necessity had been made out. The militia too then amounted to 100,000 men, and there existed both a provisional cavalry and numerous corps of fencible infantry; while the regular army was wasted away by service, and the sources from which it might be supplied were nearly exhausted. But still, whenever the act of 1799 was mentioned in that house, it was accompanied with censure, and was defended by ministers only on the ground of necessity; while a solemn pledge was given, that government would never again recur to a similar measure. But, in the present instance, no such plea existed. Ministers themselves asserted that the defence bill had already come into active operation, and that the recruiting

cruiting for general service was conducted with spirit and effect. Under these circumstances he considered it his duty to oppose the motion.

Mr. Yorke was satisfied with the principle, but did not entirely approve of the details of the measure. He was astonished, indeed, that gentlemen should remain obstinately blind to the advantages resulting from the bill. The only censure that he felt disposed to express was, that the measure had not been brought forward at an earlier period. The single observation that bore even the semblance of an argument against the reduction, was founded upon the supposed wound which the measure would inflict upon the feelings of the officers. For himself, however, he should feel the greatest pride if any number of men, in the regiment which he had the honour to command, should voluntarily offer to serve their country in a more effectual manner than their present situation allowed. He had supported a similar measure in the year 1799. Five hundred men had volunteered from his regiment into the line; and of these 240 had enlisted in the 20th regiment, which had ever supported the highest character for bravery and discipline. Some apprehension was entertained, that in consequence of this measure many persons of rank and landed property would abandon the service. But he could not believe it possible, that at a crisis like the present such men would upon such grounds desert the cause of their country. He referred to a circular letter signed by 32 field officers of militia regiments, expressive of their disapprobation of the bill. But of these eighteen were distinguished for their regular opposition to government; and he could not avoid thinking, that, if certain arrangements had taken place, most of them would have entertained a different opinion. He trusted, therefore, that, as these objections were in a great degree mixed with political and party feelings, they would not be attended with consequences injurious to the service.

The marquis of Douglas thought the measure particularly unjust with respect to Scotland, where money had been expended to raise 12,000 men, but only 6,000 had been procured. He condemned the impolicy of diminishing the means of internal defence for uncertain views of foreign operation. Lord Euston spoke in favour of the bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer adverted to a singular style of argument that had been adopted by gentlemen on the other side. They had asserted, that after what had passed in a former debate, ministers were not entitled to defend the present measure on the ground of necessity. But it had never been maintained that the army was in so formidable a condition as not to require any increase. It was stated, indeed, that great advantages had arisen from the measures which had been adopted during the last year; but it was admitted that they were still insufficient, and that the regular army ought to be increased in proportion to the rest of our force. But while the gentlemen opposite imputed to ministers this inconsistency, founded upon a false assumption of facts, they seemed to have totally forgotten the strange incongruity of their own language and conduct; for these gentlemen had continually urged that the regular army was far below its just proportion,

proportion, and that every exertion should be made for its immediate augmentation. He asserted that no faith was broken with those who served by substitute. The substitute engaging first for limited service, and afterwards volunteering for general service, only became more valuable for all the purposes proposed in his enrolment. It was true that the immediate reduction placed those who had provided substitutes sooner under the influence of the ballot. But the whole amount of the casualties to be supplied in 40,000 would not very soon affect the same persons. He observed that every method should be taken to prevent any injurious consequences arising to the discipline and subordination of the militia. The particular arrangements which had been proposed would in a great degree prevent this evil. It was true that the officers and men in the regular service would present temptations; but, far from countenancing such conduct, government had not yet sent instructions to the regular regiments to invite the militia to volunteer. He admitted that the measures adopted for the gradual augmentation of the regulars had not been attended with all the effect that could have been desired; but they afforded a constant and increasing supply to a very considerable amount. It was of importance, therefore, for the public to adopt the means of augmentation now proposed, in order that the country might be prepared to act with effect, if any favourable juncture should arise.

Mr. Windham was certainly not disposed to object to the increase of the regular army. The right honourable gentleman was now engaged in taking down a part of the building which he had been so long employed in erecting. He applauded the workman, and he applauded the work. He rejoiced to find that he seemed disposed so good-naturedly to correct every thing erroneous which he had formerly established. It would have been lamentable indeed if he had adhered to every error which he had committed. But the house was relieved from that apprehension; for a more pointed recantation of his former principles and practice could not possibly have been displayed. This measure, however, was a departure from his original system only in part; a happy variety, or what in sporting language was called a hedge, the effect of which was, that the right honourable gentleman could not be in any event a loser. He observed upon the extent to which the militia system had been carried. The English militia was increased by the supplementary; to these were added the Scotch militia, and afterwards the Irish. The building was raised by heaping story upon story till it was impossible to go higher. At that time the right honourable gentleman was in the militia line; he afterwards set up shop under the appellation of the ballot. He had stuck to the trade till it failed; he adhered to the ballot till its death; and he then published its last speech in the introduction to the parish bill. It was found that the ballot increased the bounty, and rendered it difficult to procure men for general service. Having made this discovery, the right honourable gentleman amused the house with general declamations against the ballot. The abolition of the ballot was one step towards that negative system which he and his friends had recommended. They were asked for their plan: they replied, that

that it consisted merely in removing those impediments that checked the simple mode of recruiting. To remove evils, was certainly the first and most important step towards producing good. But, unfortunately, the change in the right honourable gentleman's system was not attended with this effect. The right honourable gentleman's second step was a departure from his previous measure. One object of his parish bill was to abolish the ballot, or at least to remove it to a considerable distance. But if that took it away, this measure restored it; and as if the parish bill had removed it to too great a distance, this again brought it nearer, so as to enable him the more easily to embrace it. The right honourable gentleman had argued, that those who considered the regular force as too small ought to support this measure. It certainly would not be inconsistent in them to support it; but it did not follow that they were under any obligation to do so. Though they admitted that the regular army ought to be augmented, they were not bound to approve every measure that might be proposed for the attainment of that object. He principally objected to the measure, because the advantage to the regular army would not be commensurate to the injury sustained by the militia. It was not trained men that the army wanted. He was confident that the regular officers would prefer unexercised men to those disciplined in the militia, who would never make good troops. Some of the militia in training were equal to the regulars. But from the nature of the service, a militia-man was more untractable than was consistent with the excellence of the regular army. If any general modification of our military system was to be adopted, it would be rendered much more difficult by these occasional expedients. The great defect of the present system was, that its parts were not well joined, so as to act and co-operate with each other. It was a system of shifts and expedients, which was changed every six months. The house had voted the measure of last session, from a hope that it would produce recruits to a great amount. That hope had failed; and now this measure was recommended with similar promises, while some other expedient equally infallible was no doubt in reserve, if the promise should not be fulfilled. The house divided on the motion for the second reading of the bill, when it was carried by a majority of 89. The numbers were 148 and 59. The house again divided upon the motion for the commitment, and a further debate took place upon the third reading; when the bill passed without a division.

A material alteration with respect to the proceedings upon regimental courts martial was this year made in the mutiny bill, in pursuance of a suggestion from general Fitzpatrick. It was proposed that the president and other members of these courts should be sworn to a faithful discharge of their duty; that they should be empowered to administer oaths to the witnesses; and that no person should be allowed to preside at such court martial who had not attained the age of twenty-one years. The last of these regulations was eventually abandoned; but the others after some slight debate were adopted by the commons. The opposition was renewed upon the commitment of the bill in the house of peers. The marquis of Buckingham stated two

objections to the clause. First, that there was no necessity for the proposed alterations; and, secondly, if they were wise and politic in themselves, no precautions had been taken in the bill to render them effectual. He was well acquainted with the manner in which regimental courts martial were conducted; and he could assert that their proceedings were as fair and satisfactory as those of any other tribunal. There were few instances of appeal from their decisions; and in those cases where appeals had been preferred, it generally happened that the punishment had been increased instead of mitigated. But even allowing the policy of the change, the regulations of the bill were defective. For unless some person were appointed to supply the place of advocate or deputy advocate general, by whom the evidence might be taken down upon the trial, no benefit could be derived from the innovation. The court would be without any memorial of its proceedings; and consequently in the case of perjury no redress could be obtained, because there would be no record upon which to ground the accusation. Earl Camden observed that the proposed regulation would add to the solemnity of the proceedings, and could not possibly be attended with any injurious consequences. It could not be supposed that a person who without the sanction of an oath would speak the truth, would be less likely to do so if that obligation were added. Lord Hawkesbury admitted that there was no absolute necessity for the proposed alterations. He thought, however, that they would be productive of benefit, and therefore ought not to be rejected. In the most inferior courts of justice, even where a small fine only was to be imposed, the witnesses were examined upon oath. There was an additional reason in the case of courts martial for requiring this solemnity. A prejudice against the military would occasionally exist in a town where a regiment might happen to be stationed; and in such cases to examine upon oath was the surest, and indeed the only effectual, means of attaining the truth. The dukes of Clarence and Cumberland were averse to the change. Lord Mulgrave stated, that upon every regimental court martial the evidence was taken down in writing by the president of the court. It was indeed necessary that it should be so, as the evidence in these cases was reported to the commanding officer, in the same manner as the proceedings of a general court martial were reported to the king. The committee divided, when the clause was adopted by a majority of 9. The non-contents were 13.

Towards the close of the last year a malignant epidemical disorder had broken out in some of the provinces of Spain, and had extended its ravages to several of the other countries bordering upon the Mediterranean. In the town and garrison of Gibraltar upwards of 4,000 persons had fallen victims to this disease within the short space of ten weeks. Some apprehensions were entertained lest the infection should extend itself to Great Britain. The attention of government and of the legislature was directed therefore to the state of the quarantine laws; and some new and important regulations were introduced into this system of precautionary policy. The measure was introduced in the house of commons by Mr. Rose, who stated to the committee the substance

substance of the new provisions contained in the bill. It was enacted that his majesty's ships of war should be bound to perform quarantine. It had been doubted whether the obligation extended to them. The bill also provided that vessels coming not only from countries infected with the plague, but from places where any other infectious distemper prevailed, should be liable to the laws of quarantine. If any such distemper should appear in any part of England, his majesty was authorised, with the advice of his privy council, to adopt such measures as might appear necessary to prevent its extension. The bill also gave a power to compel vessels on board which infection should appear at sea, to perform quarantine; to oblige persons escaping from ships under quarantine to return on board, or in case of shipwreck to provide them with other vessels; and where resistance should be made, to use such force as the case might require.

The bill for the reduction of the militia of Great Britain, having passed the commons, was sent up to the house of lords. Upon the motion for the second reading of the bill, lord Hawkesbury observed that the necessity of immediately creating a large disposable force was universally acknowledged. The description of force which was most requisite in the present situation of the country was infantry. The effect of this measure was to add, in the most expeditious manner, about 17 or 18,000 men to the disposable infantry of the country. He was persuaded, therefore, that those noble lords who upon a former occasion had approved of a similar proceeding, would vote in support of the present bill. The marquis of Buckingham and the earl of Derby opposed the bill, and accused ministers of a direct violation of their engagements with the public. For, upon the occasion alluded to by the noble secretary, they had given a distinct and solemn assurance to the country that the measure should never be repeated. The earl of Buckinghamshire was of opinion that the great change which had taken place in the circumstances of the country, and the situation of Europe, afforded a sufficient vindication of the conduct of ministers.

Lord Cawdor adverted to the disgraceful scenes which had occurred when a similar measure was formerly adopted. The wildest licentiousness and riot, the most gross and disgusting debauchery had prevailed among the troops for many successive days. It was impossible for any person who had not experienced the misfortune of being an eye witness of these disorders, to form an adequate idea of their extent. He assured the noble lord that none but the most profligate and dissolute would avail themselves of the provisions of the bill. A change of situation to persons of this description might perhaps be desirable. Some would enter with the intention of deserting at the first convenient opportunity; and to others the prospect of a few days of drunkenness might prove a powerful allurement. He felt a pride in being able to state, that upon the former occasion his regiment had been distinguished for regularity and discipline. But what was the consequence of this important and honourable superiority? The obvious consequence was, that few from his regiment had transferred themselves to the line; and so strangely uninformed were mi-

nisters of the mode in which this measure must necessarily operate, that this very circumstance, upon which he was entitled to found a claim of commendation, was made by lord Melville the subject of a formal complaint. His lordship added, that upon his application to the earl of Buckinghamshire, that noble lord had declined giving him any assurance in his official character; but, as a friend, he had declared to him in the clearest and most unequivocal terms, that ministers would never again have recurrence to a similar measure.

The earl of Westmoreland supported the motion. One important object of the militia system was, to diffuse a general military spirit throughout the nation, which it was justly supposed would tend to facilitate the recruiting for the regular army. The noble earl suggested that officers had been sometimes dismissed from their regiments, and intimated, that from the course which certain noble lords were pursuing, it was possible their friends might sustain some inconvenience. The earl of Carnarvon, in opposing the measure, adverted with much warmth to the breach of faith on the part of ministers. Necessity had been adverted to in justification of their conduct. It was possible, he said, that necessity, which had been justly styled the tyrant's plea, that strong imperious necessity might in some instances justify these inconsistencies of language and of conduct. But parliament would exercise its vigilance; it would expect the clearest evidence of the actual existence of such a necessity; nor would it be satisfied with vague assertion, where it ought to require satisfactory and substantial proof. It had been said by the noble lord who preceded him, that this bill was in perfect unison with the principles upon which the militia had been originally established. That it was a part of the system that a rotation of officers and men should be provided, in order that a military spirit and character might be diffused through the whole country. But this was to be effected by the regular operation of the establishment, not by a premature destruction of this part of our defensive force. But the noble lord himself was so conscious of the weakness of his arguments, that he had even resorted to menaces for the purpose of silencing his adversaries. The noble lord is a cabinet minister; he holds a high and confidential situation in his majesty's government; and thus invested with the authority of office, he informs the house that individuals have, upon more than one occasion, been dismissed from their regiments on account of their offensive opinions. But not satisfied with this, apprehensive, as it seemed, lest he should not be sufficiently understood, the tones and gestures with which he accompanied this intimation were such as to render it impossible to misapprehend his meaning. That these threats are indecent in themselves, and in the highest degree disrespectful to the house, must be universally felt and acknowledged. Such language, and such a spirit, can reflect disgrace only upon the speaker, and produce no other effect in this house than to excite a feeling of the most supreme contempt. The noble earl proceeded to observe, that the landholders in the year 1757 had petitioned for the establishment of a militia not exceeding 32,000 men, for domestic defence, and had proposed to take

take upon themselves the charge of the levy. This offer had been accepted; but the establishment had never been regarded with favourable eyes, either by the commanders in chief or by ministers. The landholders were first harassed by an oppressive augmentation of the militia, and afterwards by the conversion of this constitutional force into a mere drill for foreign service. The military system of Great Britain had for several years been in a state of continual fluctuation, while in every other country of Europe it was considered as essential that it should be fixed and settled. At the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the practice of recruiting the army from the militia became a subject of investigation in parliament: this practice was solemnly renounced by government; and at the same time it was considered as essential to the defence of the country, that 20,000 men should be added to the war establishment of the militia. Upon these assurances, the landholders without a murmur acquiesced in the augmentation, the zeal of the officers revived, and the discipline of the militia was again restored. No sooner, however, was this accomplished, than ministers, forgetful of their assurances, unmindful of the solemn engagement into which they had entered, again resorted, upon the most unfounded pretexts, to that very measure to which they had pledged themselves that government would never again recur. When the national army was formed in antient times by the tenants of the crown, they were exempted from all talliage or taxes, and were entitled as a matter of right to a writ of exemption. But what was the present situation of of the landholder? The land-tax was made permanent upon him; and besides an augmented militia of 60,000 men, he was charged with the levy of 30,000 men for the army of reserve, and a permanent force of nearly 58,000 men under the additional force bill. The whole sum which either had been, or, according to the existing laws, was to be raised exclusively from the purse of the landholder since the treaty of Amiens, amounted to the sum of three millions and a half, besides the expense which would necessarily be incurred in keeping up the force which had already been enumerated. Such is the return which the landed interest have experienced for their liberal conduct in proposing to raise out of their private purses a domestic force of 32,000 men, and for renouncing their ease and comfort without any interested or professional views. The present measure, the noble lord added, could not be excused even upon the miserable plea of œconomy. This, he said, would be established beyond the possibility of a doubt by a short reference to facts. The expense of the war augmentation of the militia, upon a very moderate estimate, might be stated at 30*l.* per man; the intended seduction money could not be stated at less than 12*l.*, amounting in the whole to 42*l.* for such a soldier so obtained. But the present price of army recruiting was only 16*l.*; so that the difference, 26*l.*, was taken out of the pocket of the landholder, in order to save the sum of 4*l.* to the public purse, and to which too it must be remembered that the landholder contributed. What then was the motive of this wretched policy?—Evidently this: that ministers may appear less profuse in

their army estimates; and thus are the subjects of Great Britain plundered, from the vain hope of lessening the unpopularity of an improvident administration. It was evident that the repeated augmentation of the militia had been adopted solely with a view to its subsequent reduction; and though these artifices may not add to the disgrace of a profligate administration, they were too low and contemptible to be countenanced by the legislature of a great empire. The earls of Suffolk, Romney, and Carlisle also opposed the bill. It was supported on the principle of necessity by earl Camden and the duke of Montrose. Upon a division, the number in favour of the measure appeared to be 102; against it 54; majority 48.

A measure similar to that which we have just noticed was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, with respect to the militia of Ireland. On the 29th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to that effect. The objections to the principle of this measure, he said, had been already fully discussed, and the general argument in support of the principle applied as forcibly to his present proposition as to that with respect to this country. The Irish militia stood no doubt upon somewhat different grounds from that of this country; an act had already existed to reduce the English militia to a certain standard, which reduction gave room for the operation of the measure that applied to it; while he Irish militia were not now at a higher standard than was meant as a permanent establishment: but the militia of Ireland could with much more facility be recruited than that of this country: such being the case, he proposed that after one half of each regiment should be set aside, according to the selection of the commanding officer, two fifths of the whole of the Irish militia should be at liberty to volunteer for general service. Considering the ease with which men could be raised in Ireland, and that in course measures would be immediately taken to procure substitutes for those who might enlist into the line from that body, he trusted there would be no objection to his motion, which was, "That leave should be given to bring in a bill for allowing a certain proportion of the Irish militia voluntarily to enlist into the line, the artillery, or the marines." Sir John Newport thought that the militia system, however advantageous it might be to England, was injurious to Ireland, and he could even wish to see it abolished in that country. He nevertheless disapproved of the proposed measure. Ireland was considered to be the most vulnerable part of the empire, and was it prudent to deprive it at this time of a considerable portion of its disciplined force to substitute new recruits, whom it would require two or three years to train? He was not a militia officer; yet he sympathised with that respectable body in the mortifications they must feel in losing so many men whom they had taken pains to instruct, and in being degraded to the situation of recruiting officers for the regular army. General Tarleton took occasion to remark, as the result of his own experience, that an Irishman is much more easily disciplined than a native of any other part of the united kingdom; and that, consequently, a much less time would be found necessaty to bring

bring these recruits to the same state as that in which the old militia stood, than was supposed by the honourable baronet. Colonel Bastard was apprehensive that, as the marine service was considered as preferable to that of the line, most of the men volunteering would wish to enlist into the marines; an event which would defeat the main purpose of the measure. The chancellor of the exchequer called to the recollection of the honourable member, that this bill, which was similar in its provisions to the bill with respect to this country, invested his majesty with the power of assigning what number of the men to be procured from the militia, should enlist into the marines, or any other description of the force specified in the motion, or ordered into any regiment: there was therefore no danger of the consequence to which the honourable gentleman alluded. Mr. Calcraft thought this quite a distinct measure from that with respect to the English militia; as, in point of fact, the Irish militia had nothing but the name of militia belonging to them. They were not raised by ballot, but by bounty; and if the Irish gentlemen were willing to become recruiting officers for the army, he saw no reason why the motion should be resisted. Leave was given to bring in the bill, which was read in course without opposition. When in the committee, however, it was again made a subject of discussion by Sir J. Newport, who suggested to the chancellor of the exchequer a measure which, in his opinion, was better calculated than any other to increase our disposable force; a measure that might make provision for the wives and families of such as volunteered their services from a limited to general service. The militia had certain allowances made to their families, from their respective parishes; but the moment they entered the general service those allowances were withdrawn. This he thought a great hardship, and naturally calculated to operate as a drawback to the regular service, and as a check to volunteering. The honourable baronet also recommended some provision for the wives and families of such as may be embarked for foreign service, to enable them to return to their respective homes. He had known a thousand wives at a time landed at Cork, after an embarkation for foreign service. Some remedy, he thought, should be adopted for this evil, as one of the means to facilitate the increase of our disposable force. The chancellor of the exchequer attributed this evil to the defective system of poor-law established in Ireland. He complimented the worthy baronet for the laudable anxiety shown with regard to the interests of Ireland; and added, that a separate bounty was generally allowed in such cases, for the express purpose mentioned. Sir J. Newport was not ignorant that such had been partially the practice; but the allowance was too small. The bill passed without further opposition. In the house of lords it was discussed only upon the general principle, as alike applicable to England and Ireland.

CHAPTER VI.

Affairs of India—Debate upon Mr. Francis's Motion for the Renewal of the Declaration of 1782.

THE affairs of India form a very principal feature in the history of the British empire. The circumstances which led to the treaty of Bassein, and the brilliant and decisive operations of the campaign against Scindia, have been already related in our former volume. The war with Holkar, and the other events of the present year, though of less magnitude in themselves, and less extensive perhaps in their probable consequences, are still of considerable interest and importance. These will occupy a subsequent part of our work: at present we shall confine ourselves to a concise account of the parliamentary proceedings relative to the affairs of India.

On the 5th of April, Mr. Francis rose, in pursuance of a previous notice, for the purpose of directing the attention of the house to the state of the British empire in India. It was a subject, he observed, of the highest importance, though it appeared to excite little interest either in that house or with the public. It seemed, however, to be universally admitted that great abuses had continually prevailed in the administration of our affairs in Asia. Such was the nature of man, such the disposition and character of the human heart, that abuses must, by an almost inevitable necessity, arise out of the extent and remoteness of these possessions. It was of importance, however, to consider that the consequences of these mischiefs could not be confined to India; that they would ultimately extend to England, and affect our most valuable domestic interests. Many evils arising from this source were already experienced, and more would inevitably follow in their train. India not only afforded us no revenue, but was an actual burthen upon the finances of Great Britain; and notwithstanding the acknowledged difficulty of recruiting our armies, the flower of our troops were consumed in that country in the prosecution of unnecessary wars. The house should be awakened from its apathy; it should be aroused from this improvident neglect of our Indian government; it was an object that required all the attention and vigilance of parliament.

He thought it necessary, in consequence of the great change which had occurred in the constitution of the house, to take a general view of our policy with respect to India, and to refer to the principles which the legislature had at different periods established for the government of that country. But he would first state in a few words the reasons which had induced him so frequently to undertake this ungracious office. In the year 1773 he had been sent to India as a member of the supreme council. He continued to fill that situation for a period of six years, and his conduct had from every quarter been honoured with the most decided marks of approbation. Upon his return to England, every act which he had done, and every opinion which he had expressed in his official situation, was investigated

with the utmost minuteness by a committee of the house. The result of this inquiry was a report of the highest and most unqualified praise. Other committees had pursued the same course of examination, and the result had been uniformly the same. He was entitled therefore to say that, although never formally arraigned, he had been put upon his trial as much as Mr. Hastings himself. Though he had received no solid advantage from his connexion with India, it was at least a source of consolation and pride to him to reflect, that his conduct in the administration of affairs in that country had been crowned with such strong and repeated marks of approbation.

Having said thus much with respect to his connexion with the affairs of India, he would now proceed to the immediate question which he had submitted to the consideration of the house. It was not his intention to enter into much detail; he would rather confine himself to a general, and, if he might so express it, a bird's-eye view of the subject. Our relation with India was in its commencement purely of a commercial nature. We were received by the natives without any marks of jealousy or distrust. They were far from pursuing the suspicious policy of the Chinese, who had carefully excluded strangers from their extensive empire. It was not till the year 1765 that any material change took place in the nature of our situation in India. We had before appeared in the humble garb of merchants; we then, for the first time, assumed the robe and the attributes of sovereignty. But prudence should set bounds to the lust of dominion. The name of lord Clive could not be mentioned in that house, in connexion with the affairs of India, without awakening the strongest sentiments of gratitude and respect. What then was the language of that great man, as to the policy which ought to be adopted with respect to the extent of our dominion in Asia? "My resolution and my hopes," said his lordship, "will always be to confine our conquests and our possessions to Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. To go further is in my opinion a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd, that no governor and council in their senses can ever adopt it, unless the whole system of the company's interest be first entirely new-modelled."

Such then was the grave and deliberate opinion of that illustrious character, to whose talents and exertions Great Britain was indebted for the secure establishment of this important part of her empire. But these principles of policy had been sanctioned, not merely by the authority of lord Clive, for the orders which were given by his majesty's ministers to the governor-general and council in the year 1774 were in strict conformity with the same system. And so satisfied were all intelligent men of the necessity of circumscribing within moderate bounds our empire in the East, that parliament in the year 1782 came to a formal resolution upon the subject; and it was unanimously declared, "that to pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion in India, were measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation." This resolution was made the basis of an act of the legislature; and by a statute passed in the year 1784, it became a part of the law of the country. But the principle received

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ed even further confirmation: for, upon the renewal of the charter in the year 1793, it was expressly stipulated that the same system should be strictly adhered to. All these authorities then concurred in the establishment of one fundamental proposition, that the security of our dominion, and all the national benefits to be derived from it, depended upon its limitation. This was the only construction which these repeated declarations would admit. They could not be intended to apply to wars of direct aggression on our part, because it was evidently unnecessary to condemn such acts of violence and injustice by any formal declaration of the legislature. Wars of this nature were as criminal, and those persons in whom they originated as liable to punishment, before the acts of 1784 and 1793 as they were at present. And if a *just and necessary war* might be allowed to terminate in an extension of territory, the law would be nugatory; for it would itself provide the exception, and furnish the means of evasion.

Mr. Francis then proceeded to advert to the repeated and systematic violations of this principle, from the first establishment of our power in India to the close of the last century. He enumerated in detail our successive acquisitions of territory, and the gradual extinction of the native powers. After the conquest of the Mysore, it was natural, he said, to have expected that the rage for acquisition might have subsided. Lord Wellesley had himself declared that this event "had restored the peace and safety of the British possessions in India on a durable foundation of genuine security." But it was soon discovered that these hopes were fallacious. A formidable French force was said to exist in India; and further exertions and sacrifices became necessary. This French force was variously described. Sometimes it was a French army of 14,000 men; sometimes it was said to constitute a French state in the heart of Hindostan; but at last it was reduced to a native army commanded and disciplined by French officers. And even with respect to this force, every artifice and the most extravagant exaggeration had been resorted to, for the purpose of persuading us to think that it might ultimately prove dangerous to the British power in India. In the year 1798 lord Wellesley said "there was a French party at Hyderabad, which he thought it necessary to expel." It consisted, he observed, of about 11,000 men; and they were disarmed without bloodshed, and without contest. The fact was, that a mutiny had broken out in the French camp, and the sepoys had imprisoned their officers. These officers were soon afterwards sent to Europe. It was impossible that a force thus disciplined and thus disposed could ever have been formidable to the British government. Nothing then remained but a few French officers, who entered into the service of Scindia. There was in fact no such thing in the year 1801 as a *French army* in India; that is, an army consisting of any number of native French, whether great or small. Among the European officers in the service of Holkar and Scindia were several British subjects, whom lord Wellesley recalled by proclamation. Among the privates there were a few Portuguese, and possibly a few Germans; of native French he could find

find but one man. But much apprehension was affected to be entertained from the French officers whom Scindia had engaged in his service. It was supposed that they might lay a foundation for a close alliance between France and the Mahratta states, and for the introduction, at some future period, of a French army into India. But these apprehensions were unfounded and chimerical. The Mahratta nations were jealous of foreign interference. They were too much attached to their own independence, and at the same time too wary and cautious to engage in any European alliance, and least of all in an alliance with France. Lord Wellesley himself was of the same opinion. "It was impossible," his lordship said, "to suppose that any of the confederate states would enter into an alliance with France under any circumstances less urgent than the pressure of absolute necessity and self-preservation."

But even the number of the French officers in the service of Scindia (and there were none engaged with any of the other Mahratta states) was very inconsiderable. Mr. Francis said that he had examined the papers with great accuracy and attention, and could not discover the names, or even any allusion to the names, of more than ten or twelve. As to mons. Perron, upon whose influence and power so much stress had been placed, he had avowed his intention of leaving the service of Scindia, and had actually applied for permission to enter the British territories. Mr. Daboigne, who was the immediate predecessor of Perron, had pursued the same course. These persons, as well as the other officers who acted under them, were sensible of the insecurity of their situation, and of the jealousy and suspicion which must necessarily exist in the mind of Scindia. Their first, and indeed their only object, was the accumulation of wealth; and when that object was attained, they were desirous to secure the enjoyment of their riches, by leaving the service, and returning to Europe. It was unnecessary to have resorted to arms for the purpose of removing them; it might have been effected by other means; and the necessity, therefore, of detaching these persons from the service of Scindia cannot be pleaded in justification of the war. But it was said that, independently of their numbers, these officers were dangerous in another view; for that they were labouring to instruct the Mahrattas in the European system of military operations. This excited no apprehension in his mind. He was persuaded that the Mahrattas would be always much more formidable by adhering to their original institutions, to their old Parthian system of warfare, than by any attempt to imitate the discipline and the tactics of our armies. It was to this ill-advised policy that he principally ascribed the misfortunes which they had experienced in the late war, which had proved so decisive in its effects, and so fatal to the power of Scindia.

The Mahratta states had never given any just cause of offence to the British government. During the war with Tippoo they had uniformly observed the strictest neutrality. But notwithstanding this continued good faith upon their part, lord Wellesley had resolved to reduce them to a state of dependence. Mr. Francis equally reprobated this disposition, and the means

means which were devised in order to carry the purpose into effect. His lordship proposed to establish a general system of defensive alliance, and to conclude subsidiary treaties with the different Mahratta states, similar to that which in the year 1798 had been entered into with the Nizam. A treaty was framed for the acceptance of Scindia, by which it was proposed that a British force should be stationed in his dominions, and the Duab, together with the fortresses of Agra and Delhi, should be surrendered in perpetuity for their maintenance. This treaty was never formally proposed to Scindia; but he appears to have been made acquainted with its leading provisions. The house would not be surprised to learn that he manifested no disposition to accede to an arrangement which would have amounted to a virtual abdication of his independence and power. A similar treaty had a few months before been proposed to the peshwa. His necessities at that time were such that he was willing to subsidize a British force, but would not permit them to be stationed within his dominions. This restriction, and the prudent jealousy by which it was dictated, was mentioned in terms of great indignation by colonel Palmer, and afterwards by colonel Clare, the agents of the noble lord. At length, however, the peshwa was driven from his capital by the arms of Holkar. He applied in this emergency to the British government for assistance, and submitted to the proposed terms in order to obtain his restoration. Thus was the treaty of Bassein concluded; and the peshwa was escorted back to Poona, and established in his capital under the protection of a British force. His person, indeed, was secured from danger, but his independence as a sovereign was for ever annihilated.

But it had been urged both as a charge against Scindia and the rajah of Berar, and in justification of the measures which were afterwards pursued, that they endeavoured to obstruct the execution of the treaty of Bassein. The peshwa, it was said, was their lawful prince; and this conduct was an act of rebellion upon their part, and of hostility against the British government. But this observation was founded upon a false assumption of facts. It was not true that the peshwa was the sovereign of the Mahratta confederacy. The lawful monarch was the rajah of Sattarah. The peshwa was only the chief executive minister; he was by his office merely *primus inter pares*, and the other chiefs were not bound to him by any tie of allegiance. The principle contended for might perhaps suit a present purpose; but it was wholly inconsistent with the constitution of the Mahratta empire, and with the language and conduct of lord Wellesley himself. He had always treated with Scindia as with a prince amenable to no higher authority, and had even concurred in appointing him a guarantee of the treaty of Salbye, concluded between the peshwa and the English.

That Scindia and Boosla were anxious to obstruct the execution of the treaty of Bassein, and the consequent establishment of a powerful British force in the heart of the Mahratta empire; and that, being unprepared immediately to contend with the British government, they were compelled by the necessities of their situation to temporize, were facts which he certainly felt no disposition to dispute.

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But whether these chiefs could with propriety be considered under such circumstances as the aggressors, he would leave it to the sober and deliberate judgment of the house to determine. After some further observations upon the general injustice of our conduct towards the native powers, and the fatal consequences of which it might at a future period be productive; after enlarging upon the impolicy and the danger, both in a financial and a military view, of this continued augmentation of our territories in the East; and after adverting to the appointment of lord Cornwallis, which amounted to a virtual condemnation of the system pursued by lord Wellesley; Mr. Francis concluded with moving, "That it be declared that this house adheres to the principles established by its unanimous resolution of the 28th of May 1782, adopted by the legislature, and made law by two successive acts of his present majesty, in 1784 and 1793, namely, that to pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation."

Lord Castlereagh observed, in reply, that if the house were to adopt the motion of the honourable member, it would amount to an acknowledgment that, with regard to India, Great Britain had, during the last thirty years, pursued one uniform system of aggrandizement and rapine. He objected to the manner in which the honourable member had endeavoured to support his opinions. He had selected a few short passages from the immense mass of papers upon the table, and, without adverting to the context, appeared to suppose that the house, upon such authority, would be justified in acceding to his proposition. We had undoubtedly at different periods declared our pacific disposition; but could it ever have been intended, that when we were driven into war by the injustice or the ambition of the native powers, we should at the termination of hostilities uniformly abandon our conquests? Were we to say to our enemies, You may with perfect safety make war upon us; for whatever may be the issue of the contest, you shall not be despoiled of any portion of your dominions? That a pacific system was the most conducive to the interest of Great Britain, no reasonable man would be disposed to deny. It had evidently been the intention of the legislature to sanction and establish such a system; but still it was requisite that a governor-general, always however retaining sight of this principle, should form such alliances and pursue such measures as the security of our possessions might appear to require. It would be impossible, his lordship said, to follow the honourable member, with a minuteness correspondent to the importance of the subject, through that extensive range of observation which he had thought proper to pursue. He had mentioned the names of several of the native princes. If he thought any one of these had been unjustly treated, he might make his particular case the subject of a distinct motion. An opportunity would then be afforded for an accurate and detailed inquiry. As to our political establishment in India, it had become necessary for the support of our commercial interests, in order to protect them against the jealousy and the intrigues of France. He referred to the two

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Mysore wars, and asked whether it could be pretended that these were wars of aggression upon our part, and whether they had been undertaken from a lust of conquest? One of them in particular, it was well known, had been commenced for the purpose of restoring the descendant of the native Hindoo family to his just and lawful inheritance. As to the question relative to the Mahrattas, it was possible that it might give rise to some difference of sentiment. It was the opinion of lord Wellesley, that if the Mahratta nations were to be united under one head, and the discipline of their armies were improved, these circumstances would not only be prejudicial to our interests, but endanger the very existence of the British empire in the East. In the year 1798 we offered for the defence of the Mysore an adequate force; our proposal was rejected, and French troops were admitted by Tippoo. After the fall of that prince, the treaty which was the basis of the triple alliance, and of the dangerous connexion which had been formed against us, was discovered. The invasion of Egypt in the year 1798 was a part of the same concert, the principal object of which was to expel us from our possessions in Asia. Complaints had been made of our conduct towards the peshwa, when it was universally known that he had in the most earnest manner entreated our support. The honourable member appeared also desirous of undervaluing the power of mons. Perron, and his influence in the affairs of India. But what was the actual situation of that officer at the time when the treaty was concluded with the peshwa? He was invested with the absolute command of a very extensive district; he possessed also an annual revenue of seventeen hundred thousand pounds, and an army of forty thousand men. If we had permitted the continuance of this power, and a French force of 10,000 men had at any future period landed in the Guzzerat, our dominion must have been shaken to the centre, and a single campaign might have overthrown an empire which it has taken so many years to establish. It was to avert this danger that lord Wellesley entered into a treaty with the peshwa, who was the constitutional representative of the rajah of Sattarah. In the campaign which ensued, he had to contend with great and almost incredible difficulties; but the energies of his mind had triumphed over every obstacle, and the conduct and issue of this celebrated war would transmit his name with lustre to the most distant posterity. He wished the house to understand, that within a few years an entire change had taken place in the state of the Mahratta empire. Holkar's disposition was evidently hostile; he had intended to establish a peshwa dependent upon himself, and to form a close union with the rajah of Berar. Every thing was prepared for the accomplishment of his ambitious projects, and he waited only for the termination of the rainy season to commence his military operations. His lordship concluded by observing, that it was unnecessary to renew a declaration which had been so often repeated; and as the honourable gentleman had embraced in his speech such a variety of subjects, upon which it was impossible that the house could at that time arrive at any accurate conclusion, he conceived the best course would be to move the other orders of the day.

day. Earl Temple observed as to the treaty of Bassein, that if it were a subject of blame, that blame must be shared with the court of directors, who had authorised lord Wellesley to conclude the treaty.

Dr. Lawrence supported the original motion. Mr. Charles Grant declared, that so far from the treaty of Bassein having been supported by the court of directors, they had never even discussed the measure. From all the information he had been able to collect upon the subject, he was led to think that the danger from the French force in India had been greatly exaggerated. The former war with the Mahrattas had created a debt from the company which had laid the foundation of all their other burthens. He considered the circumstances which led to the late conquests in India, as amounting to a direct infraction of the principle which the wisdom of the legislature had established. Mr. Huddleston observed that lord Wellesley had stated in his dispatch of the 21st of December, that the treaty of Bassein had not only received the approbation of his majesty's ministers, but also of the court of directors, through the secret committee. But in truth the treaty had never been submitted to the court of directors. The public erroneously imagined that the supreme power was vested in that body. It was material then to state, that they had not the least concern in those grand schemes of policy, the annexation and the dismemberment of provinces, which had of late been so actively pursued. The noble marquis had complained of obstructions from a certain quarter. This was certainly unjust to the directors; for it was universally known that no orders were sent out but through the council, the president of which was a member of his majesty's cabinet. He thought the system which had been recently pursued was not only productive of present difficulty, but would lead to future mischief. It was remarkable that the policy which the noble marquis pursued upon his first arrival in India, was directly the reverse of that which he had since adopted. It was the conquest of the Mysore which had produced this extraordinary change, and inspired him with the ambition of reducing all the native chiefs to a state of abject dependence on the British government. He rejoiced in the appointment of marquis Cornwallis to the government of India. It was a pledge to the native powers, that a new system, a system of moderation and justice, would at length be pursued. This general impression would be productive of the happiest effects; and he should therefore vote for the original motion, because he was persuaded that the efforts of the noble marquis would be materially assisted by the proposed declaration.

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe opposed the motion. He was of opinion that the treaty of Bassein was founded upon the truest policy, and that the noble marquis had been forced into the war by the ambitious views of the enemy. Mr. R. Thornton approved of the appointment of marquis Cornwallis. He was ready to do full justice to the talents, activity, and vigour of his predecessor. In these latter qualities there was certainly no deficiency. His complaint indeed was quite of an opposite nature. He thought the noble lord had displayed too much activity and vigour;

vigour; and that the system of conciliation was become indispensable to our reputation and security. The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the principle professed in the motion was certainly unexceptionable; but it was absurd to contend that it was any infringement of that principle to convert into the means of future security the conquests made in the prosecution of a just war. He objected to the motion, because the evident object of it was to cast a censure not only upon lord Wellesley, who was so eminently entitled to the gratitude of his country, but upon every administration which had conducted the affairs of India during the last twenty years. For even the marquis Cornwallis himself, whose moderation had been so universally applauded, had in his treaty with Tippoo deviated from the principle which the honourable mover was so anxious to establish.—Mr. Fox vindicated the object of his honourable friend's motion. It was not his desire that parliament should make a general declaration against unjustifiable wars; for that would be to imitate the absurdities of the French assembly. The intention of his honourable friend was of a very different nature. It was his wish that parliament should declare that the further extension of our possessions in India was contrary to the principles of a true and enlightened policy. This was the real spirit of the declaration of 1782. It was said, however, that our situation in India had undergone a material change since that period. But was there any ground for such an assertion, at least as far as it affected the present question? In 1782 we were at war with France, and at that period Tippoo was as ready to second the views of the enemy, by exciting an opposition to our power in India, as the Mahrattas were supposed to be at present. But notwithstanding these circumstances, the house adopted the resolution to which the honourable mover had referred. The true point in issue was simply this: whether a further extension of our territory was desirable. It was requisite that the house should come to some decision upon the subject; and if they held the affirmative opinion, the motion should be fairly negatived. Every pretext was resorted to for involving the company in war with the native powers, and there appeared to be no bounds to our lust of conquest. The dominions of Tippoo were formerly a barrier between the British government and their friends the Mahrattas. As soon as this barrier was removed by the overthrow of the power of Tippoo, and the friendship of these states appeared to be no longer necessary, we proceeded without hesitation to make war upon our former allies. But it was said that these measures were pursued from an apprehension of the power of France. To resort to such a plea was disgraceful to the character of the nation. It was evident that the same pretext might be made use of to justify us in declaring war against any of the states of India, until we should push our conquests to the wall of China, or even to the very extremity of Asia. Frequent allusions had been made to the character and conduct of the noble marquis. This was a subject upon which he was not prepared to express any opinion. If an inquiry were to be instituted into the measures of his government, it must of course be postponed until the return of the noble marquis to England.

gland. He denied, however, that the present motion was intended in the slightest degree to reflect upon the character of lord Wellesley. The principle upon which gentlemen were disposed to justify the policy pursued by our government in India, was the necessity of providing for our own security. This was the pretext resorted to by conquerors and marauders in every age of the world. If we referred to the historian Livy, we should find that, upon almost every occasion when the Romans made war upon a state, it was to provide for their own safety. The same pretence was continually resorted to by Lewis XIV., and by others who were influenced by similar views of ambition. Where was this plea likely, in the name of common sense, to end? Where was this resort for safety to end, when, according as it was applied, no man could be at peace, no man could calculate upon safety, while there was another man alive with strength enough to knock him down? The operation of such a plea has no end but in unbounded ambition. Mr. Fox concluded with expressing a hope that, whether the motion before the house were acceded to or not, something declaratory of the proposed system with respect to India would be adopted as a guide to our governors in India, as a rule by which our views might be judged of by the natives. A system consonant with moderation and justice would be founded upon this motion, and would be best calculated to promote our interests.

Mr. Francis, in conclusion of the debate, contended that a conduct grounded on the principles of his motion would indeed be most fitted for the interest of India; and would be most congenial to the feelings, and most consonant to the policy upon which the noble marquis was likely to act, and for the enforcement of which it was probable that he was again induced to undertake the government of our Indian possessions.

For lord Castlereagh's motion 105 —Against it 46.—Majority 59.

CHAPTER VII.

Reports of the Naval Abuse Commissioners—Motion of Mr. Whitbread grounded upon the Tenth Report—Debates—Further Motion of Mr. Whitbread, against Lord Melville—Motion for the Impeachment of Lord Melville—Debates—Prosecution of Lord Melville, Debates on—Final Impeachment of Lord Melville.

AMONGST the measures for the reform of the public expenditure, either meditated or resolved by Mr. Addington's (lord Sidmouth) administration, it will be recollected that an inquiry into the supposed abuses of the naval department was one of the most prominent. A bill was passed in the year 1803, appointing commissioners for that purpose, and empowering them to take examinations with a view to the discovery of abuses. This bill in a great degree

originated with lord St. Vincent, then at the head of the board of admiralty. Upon Mr. Pitt's re-accession to power, lord Melville was appointed to fill that important office. In the mean while, however, the commissioners had been, with much diligence, pursuing their investigations: the result of which was, the production of several successive reports; one of which, the tenth, appeared to implicate, in no light manner, the noble lord, whilst in the situation of treasurer of the navy. In the present stage of this transaction it is not our wish, and it cannot be our duty, to make any observations declaratory of our opinion with respect to the guilt or innocence of the noble individual: his conduct, however, necessarily soon became the subject of attack in parliament, and the proceedings in consequence of that attack it will of course be incumbent upon us to state. We cannot, however, refrain from saying, that independently of lord Melville's being actually in an official situation at the time of the proceedings against him, and consequently being in possession of all the advantages resulting from power and connexion, the sentiments of the time were also extremely favourable to him. The great and strange and mad events of the last ten years, and the crimes and horrors which had been crowded into that period abroad, had so stimulated and harassed the public mind, as scarcely to leave it open to impressions of disgust or indignation arising from petty malversations. Even at home so much party spirit had on all sides been excited, so much had been ventured in support of what each party honestly considered a paramount and sovereign object; and the line of strict justice towards each other had been so often violated, that a general indifference with respect to the merit or demerit of any particular transaction, in difference and under discussion, now generally prevailed. The principle of utility, which, though the only principle applicable to practical politics, is yet not easily comprehended by the vulgar, and is certainly liable to frequent misconstruction, had been more decidedly and openly avowed and acted upon by *all* our public men than is usually the case. That part of the people, therefore, which was too much enlightened to fall into the paltry error that our statesmen were alike attentive only to their own personal ambition and private interests, was yet but too prone to incline towards the opposite extreme, and to think that utility was a principle fitly applicable to the occurrences of daily and domestic life, and was sufficient to justify an aberration from the course marked out by *law* and *morals*. There were not wanting, therefore, many who were ready to maintain, that much indulgence was to be shown to others in *high* and *difficult* situations (such was their phrase), and that thence many irregularities were to be overlooked. It was in this state of the public habit that the charge preferred against lord Melville was brought forward; and we are persuaded that such a charge never could have been made under circumstances more favourable to the accused. Could his lordship's friends have shown any shadow of expediency for the conduct which was arraigned as culpable, we believe the accusation would at once have been dismissed with indignation. We now speak not of the guilt or innocence of his lordship,

lordship, but of what, in our judgment, would have been the fate even of the accusation.

On the eighth of April Mr. Whitbread submitted his promised motion to the house. He stated that he had at first intended to move that the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry should be taken into consideration in a committee; but that, upon mature reflection, he had resolved rather to make it the foundation of certain particular propositions, with which he should conclude his address. He began by complimenting the commissioners for their zeal and activity: their firmness, he said, had enabled them to contemn the various attacks made upon them, attacks which had affected to treat them as inquisitors rather than commissioners. They had done their duty to the public, and it fell to his lot to bring to justice those whom they had exposed. The subject was important to the high person whom his intended propositions would principally tend to accuse; was important to the commissioners who had brought forward the report; was important to the very salvation and existence of the country. He considered the public as greatly interested in the decision of the house. If the noble person implicated should escape with impunity, then the vulgar assertion might with great apparent plausibility be employed, that public men sought only emolument in place of the good of their country. If, on the contrary, the decision should be consonant to the tenour of the report, the public would then be convinced that no person, however high, can, if guilty, escape parliamentary censure; and they would feel that, though their burthens are extreme, the misapplication of the produce of them will not be suffered to take place without animadversion. The report involved a considerable number of individuals; not only lord Melville and Mr. Trotter his paymaster, but Mr. Wilson and Mr Mark Sprott made a considerable figure in the scene. Nay, even the high and respectable company of the bank of England, and even, to a certain degree, the character of the right hon. gentleman Mr. Pitt, were concerned in this transaction. "I am not satisfied," said Mr. Whitbread, "that the conduct of the governors of the bank, in allowing the public money to be withdrawn in the way in which it has been, was correct; on the contrary, it has every appearance of being in direct opposition to the express regulations of an act of parliament. As to the right honourable gentleman, I have been informed, that when he last held the same situation which he now enjoys, he several years ago was informed of the existence of the practice of withdrawing the public money contrary to an express act of parliament, and yet no steps whatever were taken to put an end to it. This conduct betrayed very culpable negligence, and an unjustifiable connivance at a practice which every man who values the proper regulation of the public expenditure must consider as highly dangerous. In bringing forward a charge against lord Melville, I do not bring a charge against a mere unprotected individual: he has enjoyed, during the greater part of his life, an ample share of the public rewards and public honours. For a period of thirty years he has been in the uninterrupted possession of some lucrative office, and has exercised a most extensive

influence. He has many individuals attached to him by the consciousness of obligation, and, though not personally present, has, no doubt, friends in that house who will be ready to undertake his defence. I take, therefore, no unfair advantage of him; and it will be my object strictly to adhere to that moderation which is the most adapted for the investigation of truth; but at the same time with that firmness which my duty to the public imposes on me. There are many circumstances of aggravation in this case: at the close of the American war petitions flowed in from all parts of the country, praying for some reform in the expenditure of the public treasure. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) was then in the dawn of his political life, and in nothing did he seem to be more anxious than to have a regulated system of œconomy established. Committees were accordingly appointed, and among the most prominent of their reports was the regulation for lessening the balances in the hands of public officers. It was resolved that a number of the fees and gratuities should be withdrawn, and instead of them permanent and adequate salaries should be allowed. It was particularly laid down as a most important regulation, that the paymaster of the forces and the treasurer of the navy should have a specific salary, and should neither directly nor indirectly derive any advantage from the use of the public money. Lord Melville himself was amongst those who most distinguished himself by ardour for the reform of abuses. He surely could not have possibly misunderstood the intention of the legislature; and I am not now to inform him for the first time, that the abuses in the offices of the paymaster of the forces, and the treasurer of the navy, were the leading features in all the reports of the parliamentary committees of that day. In 1781, a positive resolution passed, declaring that neither the paymaster nor the treasurer of the navy should draw out any part of the public money till it was positively wanted for the public service. It was stated as the opinion of the committee, that the treasurer of the navy should henceforth act as an accountant, and not as a banker, to the nation. It was resolved, that all the balances of public money should be forthwith paid into the bank of England, and that the salary of the treasurer, which had been before 2,000*l.*, should be fixed at 4,000*l.* per annum, in lieu of all fees, emoluments, or former profits, arising from the use of balances in his hands. Mr. Barré, then treasurer, before the resolution had been submitted to the legislature, spontaneously paid into the bank of England the whole amount of the balances in his possession. There existed no positive law to compel him to surrender them; but he wisely bowed to the decision of a committee, and showed his readiness even to anticipate the future resolution of the legislature.

'It was proved before the commissioners, by the only person now surviving to attest the fact, that Mr. Barré never afterwards, directly or indirectly, received the least emolument from the public money beyond the established salary. Lord Melville succeeded as treasurer of the navy for a few months; and whether he received any advantage from the public money, whether it was placed in the bank of England,

England, or lodged in the hands of a private banker, I have not at this day the opportunity of deciding. Lord Bayning, however, who succeeded lord Melville, has answered at once, as to the inquiry of whether he had received any emolument, No. Upon the change of ministry, lord Melville again becomes treasurer. The salary of the treasurer did not exactly amount to the sum which parliament proposed; and a net salary of 4,000*l.* a year was then established. In 1785, a bill passed for the reform of abuses, and the noble lord was the person selected to carry it for the approbation of the other branch of the legislature. The preamble of the bill recites all the abuses recited in the several reports, and specifies that a salary is to be given in lieu of all fees, emoluments or advantages. A competent salary was established, that all temptation to make an improper use of the public money might be avoided. Thus, both according to the spirit and letter of the act, it was impossible for the noble lord, or any other human being, to mistake what was the direct object of the legislature. Now, what was the first act of the first part in the second treasurership of lord Melville? The act says that all money shall be *immediately* taken from the hands of the treasurer, and lodged in the bank of England. The act passed in July, and it was not till the subsequent January that the balances were paid into the bank agreeably to the terms of the act. On the 31st of January 1784, the balance in the hands of the treasurer of the navy was upwards of 70,000*l.*, and in July 1785 it had increased to upwards of 113,000*l.*, being an augmentation of more than 42,000*l.* betwixt the two periods to which I have alluded. Why did this delay in the transfer of the balance take place? I know it has been contended that the delay was occasioned by some regulations in the treasurer's office being incomplete; but will such a pretext as this impose on any understanding? What new regulation could it be? What difficulty could there be in the transfer which the act required? Such is the situation of the noble lord at the expiration of the first part of his second treasurership. I shall now proceed to the consideration of the sequel of this second treasurership, which forms the grand subject of the tenth report. With respect to this period of his being in office, I make three distinct charges: I charge lord Melville with having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department with which he was connected, in express contempt of an act of parliament. I also charge him with conniving at a system of peculation in an individual for whose conduct he was officially responsible, and for this connivance I denounce him as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. There is yet a third charge on which I shall not insist very largely now; but which, if the inquiry I ask is instituted, I shall feel myself most powerfully called upon to support. I mean, sir, the strong suspicion which arises from what has appeared before the commissioners, that the noble lord himself was a participator in that system of peculation. It is certainly to the honour of our public men, that even in times when party spirit was at its height, when political opinions were most opposite to each other, charges, such as that

which I now bring forward against the noble lord, have seldom been preferred. It is a singular circumstance, however, that the only instance of a similar charge for a great number of years, was brought against a great public criminal by the same noble lord whose accuser I now appear. I allude, sir, to the case of sir Thomas Rumbold. In making out my charge against the noble lord, I must call your attention to what is stated in the report. First of all, then, the committee found that there had been, for a number of years, deficiencies in the treasurer's department to the amount of upwards of 674,000*l.* a year: whether the sum be correct or not is immaterial at present; and that a deficiency did exist, is admitted by lord Melville himself. The commissioners were desirous to ascertain how the deficiencies had originated, and they therefore summoned before them lord Melville and Mr. Trotter. When I speak of Trotter, I speak at the same time of lord Melville; for I think as the commissioners did, that in the whole of this business they are completely identified. The paymaster of the navy transacts the business, and the treasurer takes upon himself the responsibility: the treasurer of the navy is often a privy- and even a cabinet-counsellor, and it is very fit that he should be relieved from the cares of office: but surely responsibility still attaches to him. I now, sir, come to the evidence afforded to us by the report. It has been strangely asserted by some persons, that this report of the commissioners is altogether *ex parte:* but I am, I own, at a loss to conceive how any man can make such an assertion. I ask, sir, Had not lord Melville and Mr. Trotter a fair opportunity of vindicating their characters before the commissioners? When lord Melville was asked a plain question as to his appropriation of public money, what, if conscious of innocence, had he to do? Why, he had only to declare on his oath and his honour, No. What had Mr. Trotter to do? He had only to give the same answer, No. But how do they proceed? They profess total ignorance of deficiencies in the public money. The paymaster is called before the commissioners, and he professes to know nothing at all of the matter: by and by, however, he begins to recollect a little; and he confesses that from 1786, down to the period when he was examined, he had been in the habit of drawing out the public money, and placing it in the hands of his own banker.

"When the commissioners inquire a little further, he tells them, 'You have no right to ask me these questions; that is my private money;' and he pretty plainly insinuates that they are a parcel of gentlemen making themselves a great deal too free with other persons' secrets. Five different times was Mr. Trotter examined, and still does he refuse to give the commissioners any further information. He talks, indeed, of sums advanced in other departments of government, and of Mr. Long having repaid to him some of the sums so advanced. I am sorry Mr. Long was not examined before the commissioners: however, the fact of the advances is admitted by lord Melville in his first letter to the commissioners: this letter is of a singular nature, and is very similar to his lordship's evidence and to his *last* letter. His lordship tells the commissioners that

that he cannot give the information required, because he cannot disclose confidential communications of government; but his great argument is, that he is not in possession of the papers containing the advances of other departments, having himself committed them to the flames. I maintain that this avowal of the noble lord is highly culpable: he ought to have known that papers of this description are the property of not any individual, but of the nation: to destroy public papers referring to a recent date, implies in itself something suspicious: but not only has the noble lord destroyed his papers, but has actually lost all recollection of the whole affair. The practice of advances to other departments I strongly condemn. I would in no case permit it to exist; but I could never for a moment suffer it to exist without explanation. It may indeed be said, that the advances were to the secretary of state for important purposes; but I am not easily to be brought to sanction these accommodations betwixt different servants of the crown. Lord Melville, however, was at once minister at war, president of the board of control, and treasurer of the navy; so that here is a transaction not betwixt two individuals, but one individual uniting three different characters. It is Mr. Dundas lending Mr. Dundas with the one hand, and borrowing of Mr. Dundas with the other. I know that some gentlemen on the other side will assert, that by this system of accommodation the public service is expedited. I cannot, however, assent to such doctrines, nor can I allow such arguments to have any weight, to prove that such advances were either legal or expedient. Legal no man dares to call them; nor can they be expedient unless inevitably necessary; which necessity it would be difficult to prove.—My second charge against lord Melville is, that he connived at the appropriation of public money to private purposes. —Trotter does not deny that he had large sums in the hands of Mr. Coutts, his private banker; but he says it was more convenient for it to be there than in the bank of England, and more secure: and for the truth of this opinion he appeals to lord Melville—to lord Melville, who framed and sanctioned the bill of 1785! to lord Melville, who, not satisfied with the regulations of the act of 1785, proposes still stricter limitations in 1786! Mr. Coutts's house, a private bank, is safer than the bank of England, and therefore Mr. Trotter places his money there! For what purpose, however, I would ask, was there so constant a fluctuation of accounts? and why such perpetual draughts of money in the name of Mr. Trotter? At the time that he is so anxious for the safety of what is passing through his hands, is it always lodged at Mr. Coutts's, allowing that to be the place of fittest security? No, sir: it was employed in discounting bills, in forming speculations, in gambling on the stock exchange. I am appalled at the reflection of no less than thirty-four millions of the public property having passed through lord Melville's pay-master's hands. Why, sir, the report states explicitly that upwards of eight millions had been in the hands of the private banker, and nearly seven millions more is alluded to as having passed through the same channel. Now, while all these transactions were going forward, how was lord Melville employed? If you are to be-

lieve lord Melville himself, he knows nothing of the matter; he knows nothing of Mr. Trotter's accounts; and Mr. Trotter pleads ignorance of them himself. He opened no less than five accounts—his own account; his separate account; his account as pay-master of the navy; his broker's account; and Jelicoe's account. He draws under these heads immense sums; as, for example, a million of money in one day. The commissioners demand explanation, and Mr. Trotter refuses it; bidding them draw their own inference. Baffled in obtaining information from him, the commissioners take up the business themselves, and find that Mr. Trotter is busily engaged in buying all sorts of stock, and particularly active in purchasing navy bills when they were at a price which rendered it almost certain that they might be afterwards disposed of to advantage. While Mr. Trotter is thus busy, what is become of lord Melville and his responsibility? Had Mr. Trotter's speculations failed, it was not to him but to lord Melville that the public had to look for redress. I cannot then but think that this negligent criminality is deserving of the severest reprehension. Lord Melville never once interferes; never once inquires into his pay-master's proceedings: yet these speculations are going on at a period of most serious distress. Yes, while the people were struggling with the heaviest burthens ever laid upon them, Mr. Trotter and his silent discreet broker Mr. Mark Sprott were laying their heads together to lay out the public money to the greatest advantage. Mr. Sprott, indeed, ought to have been more severely interrogated: even his silence, however, is extremely expressive; nor is it easy to conceive any thing more strange than the reasons assigned for it. He tells the commissioners, 'I have had the opinion of Mr. serjeant Shepherd and other eminent lawyers, and they advise me to preserve a religious silence.' Lord Melville and Mr. Mark Sprott are not quite uniform on this part of the business. Mr. Sprott says nothing; but lord Melville owns he knew of the transaction, but not of the detail. Sir, if he knew of the transactions generally, and not of the detail, this so far from rendering him less criminal renders him more so. If he knew that his paymaster was speculating upon the funds, he was at least bound to see what was the extent of those speculations. He ought to have felt that his responsibility was at stake, and that it was time to put a stop to so serious an evil." Mr. Whitbread, after illustrating this idea by reference to Mr. Trotter's salary, as inadequate to any extensive speculations, proceeded to animadvert on the origin of Mr. Trotter's connexion with lord Melville. "Lord Melville had found Mr. Trotter clerk of the navy pay-office. He made him his paymaster, and in a short time makes him his agent. In this situation of agent, lord Melville has pecuniary concerns with him to a great amount; and when his lordship is examined, he is unable to tell the commissioners whether the advances made by Mr. Trotter were from his own or the public money. The truth was, Mr. Trotter had originally no fortune: he was a man of good family; but when lord Melville first began to patronize him, lord Melville himself knew that he had no property but what was derived from his salary: it

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was absolute equivocation, then, to pretend that lord Melville could be ignorant of the source whence Trotter was enabled to supply him with advances.

"Mr. Trotter ought not to have been lord Melville's agent. When Mr. Trotter the paymaster and agent of lord Melville was known to have extensive dealings with Mr. Mark Sprott, a stock-broker, was not the inference most natural, that their dealings were mutual? Was there not a ground to imagine that lord Melville shared in the profits of those speculations to which there was evidence that he seemed an accessary? How, indeed, could this conclusion be evaded? Was lord Melville ready on oath to disclaim such a connexion, and to say he never derived any advantage from the speculations in which Trotter was engaged? What was the language of all the predecessors and successors of lord Melville? When the paymaster of Mr. Barré was asked, whether Mr. Barré had ever received any emolument from the application of the public money?—he readily answered, No. Had lord Bayning received any advantage? No. Had lord Harrowby? Had Mr. Bragge? No. Had Mr. Tierney? No. Lord Melville only is obliged to give evasive answers. *He* only shelters himself beneath the confidential communications of government. He can afford no intelligence, for his papers were destroyed. He has no recollection of what took place only a few years ago. Yet surely the noble lord's memory was naturally sufficiently retentive. The right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Pitt) had not unfrequently derived benefit from the noble lord's memory, when recollection was of no slight importance. Yet here only the noble lord's recollection failed him. Surely it was no great effort of memory to recollect whether profit had ever been received from the use of public money, and a simple monosyllable was sufficient to state that recollection. Unfortunately this monosyllable was wanting at the moment when it most was wanted. Mr. Trotter's answers, too, respecting lord Melville were of the most damning nature. Did you receive any emolument from the use of the public money? 'I won't tell you.' Did lord Melville share in any such profit? 'I won't tell you.'" Mr. Whitbread in his comments upon lord Melville's evidence delivered his sentiments with great energy and spirit, and strongly awakened the attention of the house, which was more than usually agitated through the whole debate. He adverted to the case of Jelicoe, who had been suffered to remain a public debtor for a whole year after he was known to be in arrears upwards of twenty-four thousand pounds. During the next year eleven thousand more became in arrear. He had a suspicion that Jelicoe was in the same partnership with Mark Sprott, Trotter and his lordship. It would perhaps have been dangerous to have turned round upon an old companion. Mr. Whitbread then commented on the last letter of lord Melville, which rather aggravated than palliated his guilt. He allowed in it that Mr. Trotter had employed the public money for his own emolument, but denied, generally, his own participation in the profits. This denial was nothing; it was not that fair open denial, which alone is the test of innocence. The honourable gentleman concluded by expressing his

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conviction that he must that night have a majority in support of the resolutions he meant to move. He called upon the country gentlemen, upon the officers of the navy and army, upon the great commercial men, upon all who were independent members of that house, to give him their support. Even suppose it could be said, which it could not justly, that no injury had occurred to the public—still the practice ought and would, he trusted, be arrested by the vote of that night.

Mr. Whitbread then moved,

"1st. That it appears to this committee, that on the 18th of June 1782, the house of commons, in a committee of the whole house, came, amongst others, to the following resolutions:

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that some regulations ought to be adopted for the purpose of lessening and keeping down the balances of public money, which appear to have usually been in the hands of the treasurer of the navy: and it would be beneficial to the public, if the first and other clerks in the different branches belonging to the said office were paid by fixed and permanent salaries, in lieu of all fees, gratuities, and other perquisites whatsoever.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that from henceforward the paymaster-general of his majesty's land forces, and the treasurer of the navy, for the time being, shall not apply any sum or sums of money intrusted to them, or either of them, to any purpose of advantage or interest to themselves, either directly or indirectly.

"That it appears to this committee, that the commissioners appointed to examine, take and state the public accounts of the kingdom, have, so far as it appears from the reports which they have hitherto made, discharged the duty intrusted to them with great diligence, accuracy and ability; and if parliament shall carry into execution those plans of reform and regulation which are suggested by the matter contained in the reports of the said commissioners, it cannot but be attended with the most beneficial consequences to the future welfare and prosperity of this kingdom.

"2. That in furtherance of the intention of the house of commons expressed in such resolutions, his majesty, by his warrant dated June 26, 1782, directed that the salary of the treasurer of the navy should be increased to the sum of 4,000*l.* per annum, in full satisfaction of all wages and fees, and other profits and emoluments theretofore enjoyed by former treasurers.

"3. That it appears to this committee, that during the treasurership of the right honourable Isaac Barré, the conditions of the aforesaid warrant were strictly complied with: that the whole of the money issued from the exchequer to Mr. Barré, for naval services, was lodged in the bank: that it was never drawn from thence previously to its being advanced to the sub-accountants, to be applied to the public service; that during the time Mr. Barré acted as treasurer and ex-treasurer, he had not, in his possession or custody, any of the public money; and that neither he nor the paymaster of the navy did derive any profit or advantage from the use or employment thereof.

"4. That the right honourable Henry Dundas, now lord viscount Melville, succeeded to the office of treasurer of the navy on the 19th of August 1782, when a fur-

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ther addition was made to the salary of the said office, in order to produce a net annual income of 4,000*l.* after the payment of all taxes and charges on the same; and that this additional salary was considered by the said lord viscount Melville, as granted to him in lieu of all wages, fees, profits, and other emoluments enjoyed by former treasurers.

"5. That the said lord viscount Melville continued in the said office till the 10th of April 1783; that being asked whether he derived any advantage from the use of the public money during that period, he, in his examination before the commissioners of naval inquiry, declined answering any question on that head; but that he has since, in a letter written to the said commissioners, and dated the 28th of March last, declared that previous to 1786 he did not derive any advantage from the use or employment of any money issued for the service of the navy: but Mr. Douglas, who was paymaster, being dead, and his lordship having refused to answer any questions on this head as aforesaid, no evidence has been obtained as to the application of the moneys issued for the service of the navy, or the mode of drawing the same from the bank, during this period.

"6. That the honourable C. Townshend, now lord Bayning, held the office of treasurer of the navy from the 11th of April 1783, to the 4th of January 1784; and that from the examination of his lordship it appears, that during his treasurership no part of the money issued for the service of the navy was applied to his private use or advantage; and that he does not believe that Mr. Douglas, who acted under him as paymaster, derived any profit or advantage from the use or employment of the public money, except the money issued for the payment of exchequer fees.

"7. That the right honourable Henry Dundas was re-appointed treasurer of the navy on the 5th of January 1784, and continued in the said office until the 1st of June 1800.

"8. That in the year 1785 an act of parliament was passed 25 George III. chap. 31, entitled 'An act for better regulating the office of the treasurer of his majesty's navy,' whereby it is directed, that no money shall be issued from the treasury to the treasurers of the navy; but that all moneys issued for naval services shall be paid to the bank on account of naval services, and placed to the account of the treasurer of the navy, and shall not be paid out of the bank unless for naval services, and in pursuance of draughts signed by the treasurer, or some person or persons authorized by him; which draughts shall specify the heads of service to which such sums are to be applied, and that the regulations under the said act shall take place from the 31st of July 1785.

"9. That the execution of the said act was postponed till the month of January 1784; and that, from that time till the month of June 1800, when lord Melville left the office of treasurer, contrary to the practice established in the treasurership of the right honourable Isaac Barré, contrary to the resolutions of the house of commons of the 18th of June 1782, and in defiance of the provisions of the abovementioned act of the 25th George III. chap. 31. large sums of money were, under pretence of naval services, and by a scandal-

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ous evasion of the act, at various times drawn from the bank and invested in exchequer and navy bills, lent upon the security of stock, employed in discounting private bills, in purchasing bank and East India stock, and used in various ways for the purposes of private emolument.

"10. That Alexander Trotter, esq. the paymaster of the navy, was the person by whom, or in whose name, the public money was thus employed; and that in so doing he acted with the knowledge and consent of lord viscount Melville, to whom he was at the same time private agent, and for whose use or benefit he occasionally laid out from 10 to 20,000*l.* without considering whether he was previously in advance to his lordship, and whether such advances were made from his public or private balances.

"11. That the right honourable lord viscount Melville, having been privy to and connived at the withdrawing from the bank of England, for purposes of private interest or emolument, sums issued to him as treasurer of the navy, and placed to his account in the bank, according to provisions of the 25th of Geo. III. chap. 31, has been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty.

"12. That it further appears, that subsequent to the appointment of lord Melville, as treasurer of the navy, in 1784, and during the time he held that office, large sums of money issued for the service of the navy were applied to other services; and that the said lord Melville, in a letter written in answer to a precept issued by the commissioners of naval inquiry, requiring an account of money received by him, or any person on his account, or by his order, from the paymaster of the navy, and also of the time when and the person by whom the same were returned to the bank, or paymaster, has declared that he has no materials by which he could make up such an account; and that, if he had materials, he could not do it without disclosing delicate and confidential transactions of government, which his duty to the public must have restrained him from revealing.

"13. That lord Melville, in applying moneys issued for the service of the navy to other services, stated to have been of so delicate and confidential a nature, that, in his opinion, no account can or ought to be given of them, has acted in a manner inconsistent with his duty, and incompatible with those securities which the legislature has provided for the proper application of the public money."

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted that the honourable mover had in the former part of his speech adhered to his promise, that he would not indulge in violent or inflammatory topics; but in conclusion, by drawing a picture of the burdens under which the nation laboured, and by connecting with them the supposition, that those burdens might have been increased by the circumstances on which he has expatiated, he surely had forfeited his pledge. "In order, sir, to be entitled to employ such arguments, it should be proved that such has been the case: in truth, however, no defalcation, no mischief, no evil whatever has accrued by the transactions now in question. (An unusual cry of *Hear! hear!* which lasted some time.) To what am I to impute this vociferation? Surely it is not intended to suppress by clamour that freedom of speech

speech which should prevail in this house, particularly on so solemn an occasion! I cannot suffer myself to be interrupted thus, nor can I help observing that the honourable gentleman has seemed to give a degree of countenance to the insinuation circulated without doors, that the seamen of the navy have suffered in consequence of the circumstances upon which the gentleman has commented. Such representations are destitute of all foundation. I must complain, too, of the erroneous view which he takes of this case, when he calls upon the house to pass sentence as upon persons already tried and convicted. Now I affirm that there has been any thing rather than a trial in this case: a knowledge of the charge, opportunity to hear and controvert the evidence, every thing essential to fair trial is absent; and that alone is present which by law is inconsistent with fair trial, that the party is supposed to criminate himself. The parties implicated in the report are examined as to their own guilt, without being acquainted with the charge; they are questioned as to facts, without knowing for what end their answers are to be employed; they are not suffered to produce evidence in their exculpation, nor permitted fully to meet specific charges. The very materials, too, of which the report is composed, are not such as to enable the house to understand them fully enough to pronounce an impartial and intelligent decision. At the same time the subject is of a grave and solemn nature; and if in a great money department irregularities have been committed, it may be the duty of the house to set a mark upon such proceedings, even though no actual loss has occurred to the public. The honourable gentleman has in his speech connected all his charges together. Now as to the point, whether lord Melville participated in the profit of money employed for private advantage, it would have been more becoming in him to have touched upon it separately, instead of introducing it as matter of aggravation, because that is the point which must most nearly touch the feelings of all who are concerned in his lordship's reputation, of all who feel any interest in the fate of men standing upon their trial. The first charge is, that certain sums of money were applied to other than naval services. On this point, I must say that the whole case is not before us. May not such a fact exist in a variety of shades? And will the house undertake to pass judgment upon the simple unexplained naked fact? I put the case to show how absolutely necessary it is that a further inquiry should take place before we adopt any proceeding. I am certainly desirous that the matter should be investigated, and I am satisfied that a select committee of this house is best calculated to prosecute such further investigation as will prepare the house for an impartial decision. Allusion has been made to Mr. Long, and he is mentioned as having repaid to the treasurer of the navy certain sums lent by that department for other public services. I must state that I should be ashamed to say that I was ignorant of such a transaction having occurred. I should, on the contrary, be inclined to give an account of the circumstances of the affair, and to submit to the house a transaction, which, irregular and illegal as it may be, originated in an honest zeal for the

the public. If then there was no abuse or misapplication in this instance, does it not form a presumption against any misapplication by lord Melville? I am confident that the sum repaid by Mr. Long was repaid without loss or inconvenience; and I can add, that it was under such circumstances as it would have been improper to disclose till at least a considerable time after it had happened. Does this not tend to show that an investigation is necessary, as to the circumstances under which lord Melville may have acted? As to the charge of lord Melville's connivance, I do not say that conniving at the application of the public money for the purpose even of an innocent profit to individuals, without loss to the state, is altogether to be justified. But our judgment must depend upon a complete knowledge of all the circumstances—upon the mode of its employment, the probable danger, and the amount. The commissioners of naval inquiry do not, however, say that the issues to the treasurer or paymaster were greater than necessary, or that the money impressed was not forthcoming whenever it was wanted: in fact, nothing could accelerate those issues in such a manner as to increase the balance in the paymaster's hands at pleasure. As to the risk to which the money employed by Mr. Trotter was exposed, it certainly does not appear that lord Melville had any knowledge how it was applied; the honourable gentleman selects from a voluminous body of accounts, extremely intricate and difficult to unravel, a variety of items, to show that it was invested in different denominations of stock, but he does not attempt to show that any loss or inconvenience arose to the public. Now, if no loss did arise, it is a presumption that no great risk was incurred. (Here there was a laugh.) It appears then, that many points stated in the report demand elucidation; and when I state one or two material errors, the house will see the impropriety of deciding upon evidence so imperfect. The commissioners observe, that considerable sums came into messrs. Coutts's hands without passing through the bank, and they infer they know not what abuses or risks with which this was connected: they estimate this supposed sum at 6,000,000*l.*, and they exemplify 1,000,000*l.* paid in on a particular day. Now, I am informed that the 1,000,000*l.* in question did come in fact from the bank, that it was drawn by a draft under one of the regular heads of service, that it was brought by one of the clerks or messengers to messrs. Coutts, and was all paid away in the course of a few days, having been destined to meet a certain number of navy bills then in course of payment. This overthrows the statement of the commissioners, and affords a presumption that, in other points, their representations would be corrected by further inquiries. It is not easy to ascertain the balance at any time in the hands of messrs. Coutts; but though the principle of placing it in any private banker's hands is not altogether to be justified, yet it must be material to know if it was kept there for the greater facility of the current payments of the office. It is clear, that money must be drawn in the gross from the bank to be paid in detail, as, from the nature of navy payments, very many of them could not be carried on by draughts on the bank. The commissioners have likewise fallen into an error in stating that

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it was in the power of the paymaster to increase the balance in his hands, by conducting the soliciting of money from the treasury so as to induce the different boards to which he acted as banker, the transport, navy, sick and hurt boards, &c. sooner than it was wanted. But in this the paymaster's duty is only ministerial: he obtains issues of money upon memorials from the respective boards, expressive of the different sums they will require for the service of the month. His being tardy in his solicitation could not have the effect to make them apply sooner than the money would be wanted; if it were so, his balance instead of being increased would be diminished: nor, on the other hand, could his diligence in soliciting procure him the additional balance, as, in every case, the amount of the issues must depend upon the estimates of the different boards, the heads of which must be guided in their demands by the exigencies of their respective services. In another point the commissioners have fallen into an error: there are generally outstanding certain assignments which are entitled to prompt payment, and the money to answer them is entered to the accounts of the paymaster or sub-accountant. The commissioners give a statement of the balances at the bank, and, estimating the current payments, say that those balances amount in one period to thirty-three and in another forty-five days expenditure; whereas, they assert that they need not be above ten or fourteen. This average the commissioners calculate unfairly, as in the one case they take it not on the whole years of the period, and in the other take it on the most disadvantageous period of the term they include. But this balance, they say, is not deducting assignments outstanding. Now these *should* be deducted as the payment is assigned, and it depends on the party holding the assignment to receive it when he pleases; the unassigned balance should alone be looked to. However, upon examining the statement of the commissioners even upon the principle on which they admit the average should be made, what they estimate at thirty-three days is only the average expenditure of seventeen, and at the end of lord Melville's treasurership only fifteen or sixteen, and in some so low as eight days. Now, if on a point of this sort the commissioners have fallen into no less than four errors, it is evident the accounts and documents must require a more minute examination; and the select committee appears to me best fitted to prepare for the house that accurate investigation on which its decision should be grounded. With regard to the charge of lord Melville having participated in the profits derived from the public money, it is especially necessary that a more detailed examination should take place. I had expected, however, that after lord Melville had most solemnly disclaimed his having knowingly or intentionally derived any profit or advantage from Mr. Trotter's application of public money, no suspicion of that sort would any longer be insisted on. In the first instance, his lordship declined answering positively the questions put to him, because, from the blending of the accounts, the advances by Mr. Trotter may have been from public money in his hands. On the face of the accounts 100,000*l.* is the whole amount of the advances to lord Melville. Of the 160,000,000*l.* which have passed

ed through the hands of lord Melville, every farthing has been applied to the purposes for which it was issued, and has been regularly accounted for. But if it is thought necessary to fix minutely the balances existing at particular periods in the running account between lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, a minute examination is indispensable. It will be found, when that takes place, that of 100,000*l.* which on the face of the accounts was paid to lord Melville, many of the drafts, though bearing the name of lord Melville, were in reality payments for public services. Allowances, also, will be to be made for the salaries of lord Melville as treasurer of the navy and lord privy seal in Scotland, all of which were received by Mr. Trotter. Surely these points present subjects of various investigations, which, till they be performed, it is inconsistent with every principle of liberality and justice to state as the foundation of any suspicion, that lord Melville was in any manner connected with Mr. Trotter in speculations of profit from the public money. I trust, however, that this charge of participation will be abandoned; nay, even if it should turn out that in consequence of the blending of accounts lord Melville should unknowingly have received an advance of public money, I submit it to the candour of the house, whether that circumstance could attach any stain of sordid motive to lord Melville, from which his character is so averse. As, therefore, there are no materials before the house on which to form a fair judgment, as the parties accused have had no trial, as the conclusions pressed upon the house are drawn from accounts detailed and difficult to be unravelled, I shall conclude with moving, 'That a select committee be appointed to consider the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, and the documents connected therewith; that they examine the same, and report their opinion thereon to the house.'"

Mr. Fox inquired of the right honourable gentleman, if it was his intention to object to the resolutions moved by his honourable friend appearing on the journals, in the event of his amendment being carried? Mr. Pitt explained that he should move the previous question, with the view, in the event of its being carried, to substitute his own amendment.—Lord Henry Petty would have left it to others better acquainted with the secrets of office, to have followed the right honourable gentleman through the statement he had made, had he not felt that there could be no impropriety in his speaking thus early in the debate, conscious that the present was not a question in which long practice was so much required, as a regard to that respect and dignity which every member of that house ought to be equally solicitous should characterize their proceedings. He was never more surprised than at the manner in which the chancellor of the exchequer had charged the honourable mover of the resolutions with want of moderation and temperance, when all those resolutions were founded on facts, and the whole of the honourable gentleman's speech consisted in deductions from facts. The honourable mover had dealt, it was said, in a complicated matter of figures. It should be recollected that this had arisen from the obscurity in which lord Melville and his paymaster had involved their concerns; and that

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the complication was founded on the violation of an act of parliament. Had the right honourable gentleman wished to state the matter fairly, he might have avoided such complication: he omitted to notice, first, that lord Melville had violated an act of parliament by allowing his paymaster to apply the public money to his own use; and secondly, that he had also violated the same act in having himself applied the money intrusted to him for one branch of service to another entirely unconnected with it. Could this be called a complication of figures; or were they not rather facts standing admitted on the confession of the noble lord himself? It might be useful, after the resolutions of the honourable gentleman had been agreed to, to go into a select committee to inquire into the facts, which were at present obscure; but it was impossible to receive additional light on the two points he had already stated: it was impossible, except upon a supposition that lord Melville might forswear himself, and deny in one place what he admitted in another. The questions neither required nor could brook delay; it concerned the breach of an act of parliament made by their own body, and which the person accused of breaking it admitted he had broken.—An endeavour had been made to palliate the guilt of the noble viscount, by stating that the public had sustained no injury. It was, in the first place, sufficient to say that a great loss *might* have been sustained; and, secondly, it was hardly possible that in transactions where so large sums were involved a positive loss should not have been sustained: possessing no official knowledge, it was difficult to follow the right honourable gentleman into the statement which he had made, further than common sense was able to detect their fallacy. The right honourable gentleman had said that sums could not be drawn out for the naval service but as they were wanted; and yet he had immediately afterwards confessed that great sums had been diverted from that to other services: if this first assertion were correct, that no money could be drawn for the naval service till wanted, How could this appropriation have been made without leaving the navy void of the necessary supplies? Again, if money might so be diverted from its proper branch of service, it might with equal facility be misapplied to private advantage; for, if the door of abuse was once opened, there was no saying where the evil might stop. The right honourable gentleman's answer, however, recurred; the speculations had been successful, no loss had occurred, and so no harm had been done: if the speculations of the noble lord, or his paymaster or his broker, had been successful, it was not difficult to imagine why they had been so. Mr. Mark Sprott was in the confidence of Mr. Trotter, Mr. Trotter was in the confidence of lord Melville, and lord Melville was in the public confidence; and thus they had an opportunity among them of carrying on their speculations. Formidable conspiracies had been often talked of; but never had a conspiracy been heard of more formidable than that formed by those three persons. Lord Melville must have practised a systematic train of deception, whenever any inquiry was put on foot relative to the nature of his office; and this particularly appears from his declarations before

the committee of finance, which he must have known at the time not to be founded on fact. He knew that the principal purpose of the enactments of that committee and of parliament, from the year 1786, had been, that all moneys should issue through the bank, and that his office should cease to be a treasury; yet he knew, that those instructions had been regularly and systematically and uniformly abandoned; and was the house now to be told that they must proceed further in their inquiry into the conduct of such a person, before they determined on the propriety of dismissing him from his official situation? Suppose Mr. Mark Sprott was asked, if he had been in the habit of occasionally applying 20, or 30,000*l.* to his own use, of moneys intrusted to his care in the names of Mr. Trotter and lord Melville—if he declined answering, would he not soon cease to be broker for either of those gentlemen? Or, if he pleaded as an excuse, that from the mode of his book-keeping he could not say whether he might not have invested part in his own name, would it not be answered that that was a mode of book-keeping not to be tolerated? How then could this be suffered in the treasurer of the British navy? Had lord Melville's letter asserted his innocence, even that might have laid something like a ground for going into a committee. Who, however, even of his lordship's friends could speak of innocence, when of innocence he ventured not to speak himself? No man can be more guilty, to use the language of Cicero towards Piso, than he who dares neither write nor speak his own innocence. Had any one addressed the noble viscount, at the time of his proposing the act, and told him, "I approve this act, but you labour in vain; within twelve months will it be broken by a treasurer of the navy, and that treasurer will be yourself," What would his lordship have said? Still more strange, however, would it have sounded, had it been added, that at the end of fourteen years, during the whole of which period the act had been violated, there could be found in the house of commons an individual to propose, that further inquiry should take place before it was determined, if the dignity and character of the house and of their acts were to be asserted, and the public purse vindicated against so gross a system of peculation. His lordship hoped that the decision of that night would evince a determination in the house to protect with one voice the safety, honour, and existence of the country in a business of such importance.

The attorney general said, if it were a necessary alternative that the supposed delinquency should be punished now, or escape altogether, the propriety of coming to an immediate resolution might indeed be insisted upon. He urged, that even with a view to punishment hereafter, as well as in justice to the noble lord, some further investigation should take place.

Mr. Tierney complimented highly his noble friend: it was a just ground of pride to be allowed to call himself the friend of such talents and eloquence. He agreed with him that nothing was more fit than to appoint a committee; after the first point should be agreed upon, a committee in which all that related to accounts and calculations may be sifted and made clear would be most proper. The transfer of money from one service to another was also matter for a committee. But what was to be done

done with the remainder of the tenth report? Did lord Melville ask for further delay, saying he had evidence sufficient for his acquittal? Did Mr. Trotter say any thing to that effect? He would ask how long it was since the expedient of a reference to a committee had occurred: he compared the present case to that of the late sheriffs of London, who were not allowed to justify themselves on oath at the bar. The conduct of lord Melville was now canvassed over the whole country, and the judgment formed on it may be conceived from this, that his lordship's best friends could not say for him "Not guilty upon my honour."—He thought a committee of inquiry proper, not for crimination, but with a view to refunding. It appeared that 1,000,000*l.* had been drawn upon the bank in one day; a clerk was sent with a draft to the bank, who was on his return with the money to pass Somerset-house to Mr. Coutts's. There could not be clearer evidence than that this plea of convenience was over-strained. The act was most provident for the public security, and none more difficult to be misunderstood. He had read it particularly, not to know what it directed, for that was obvious, but to discover what possible excuse it afforded for this conduct. Let no man talk of accommodations of 10 or 20,000*l.* at a time as trivial; the familiarity with millions had led to this contempt of sums which could not be given to any member of that house without causing great and just complaint. He felt for the honourable gentlemen who were placed in the situation of managing lord Melville's case with such bad materials; but the consideration of such feelings should not be allowed to interfere with public justice. He complimented the commissioners on the upright discharge of their duty; he was proud in being connected with the administration that had instituted the commission, and he called on the friends of that administration to support the motion.—Mr. Canning on any other occasion would have given way to his learned friend (the master of the rolls had offered himself to the house), but, connected as he was with that department of administration to which the present question related, he felt particularly anxious to deliver his sentiments. "First, sir, I have to complain of the whimsical turn, towards its conclusion, of the speech of the gentleman who preceded. There being two parties before the house, the accuser and the accused, the honourable gentleman has endeavoured to interest the feelings of the house for the accusers, you must condemn lord Melville, he says, or you will discredit the commissioners. Think, what will be the situation if one whom they had indicted should be pronounced not criminal! Unless all the rules by which judicial questions are regulated in this country are to be reversed, I cannot think the failure of an unjust indictment, supposing it be such, so great an evil as a hasty sentence either against or beyond the merits of the case. But the right honourable gentleman who has spoken last insists that the mode proposed by the original motion is similar to a late precedent in the proceedings of the house on the subject of the Middlesex election; that in that case, the house decided that it would not proceed in examination of evidence at the bar, but took up the case on the report of the committee, because

the evidence before the committee was on oath, and what was to be heard at the bar was to be without oath. That decision, however, did not turn on the difference between evidence upon oath and that which was taken without such a sanction, but upon the principle that the parties charged with misconduct had been fully heard. They knew the charge, heard the evidence in support of it, cross-examined that evidence, and were heard by counsel as to the effect of it, not only on the trial before the committee, but also at the bar of this house. The present case is utterly different: lord Melville has had no trial, and now hears for the first time the nature of the charge against him; and upon this, without opportunity for investigation, the house is called upon for judgment. The right honourable gentleman has told us that the report of a commission was taken as the ground-work of many useful regulations, and that this very act, the violation of which is now in question, arose out of a similar report;—granted:—but a commission may be competent to recommend regulations, and yet may be incompetent to try accused persons and condemn them, or, which is the same thing, send them to this house for condemnation to be pronounced upon them unheard. But nothing can be plainer, it is contended, than the present case. It is the violation of an act of parliament that is complained of: here is the letter of the act; there is the practice that has prevailed: the two are manifestly inconsistent, and this inconsistency is a matter obvious to common understanding, and not requiring examination or evidence. According to this mode of argument, the aggravation which the honourable gentleman who brought forward the motion employed ought to be put wholly out of the question, and the verdict of Guilty be pronounced on a mere and manifest violation of the act: were this granted, I venture to assert that lord Melville has not been more guilty of violating the letter of the act than the right honourable gentleman Mr. Tierney himself, during the whole course of his treasurership, even after the introduction of the improved practice (and I admit it to be an improvement) upon which he prides himself, or than I in following that right honourable gentleman's example. I am now speaking of the bare violation of the act, the technical crime of an infraction of the law, which is by no means so clear as it is assumed to be.—Do gentlemen mean that no money for naval services, absolutely none, shall be drawn from the bank till it is to be paid into the pocket of the creditor? that there shall be no intermediate fund, great or small? no aggregate stock out of which small payments may be made? but that each particular payment as it occurs shall be satisfied by a specific draft upon the bank, payable to the person to whom the money is due? This is the construction of the act, if they construe it aright; and if the house is to judge upon this construction, I not only do not pretend that lord Melville is guiltless of the violation, but I contend that the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, that the right honourable gentleman whom he succeeded as treasurer of the navy, that the noble lord who preceded him, was guilty, and that I myself am daily guilty of the same offence against the law; that every treasurer must be guilty of it so long as the law remains unaltered, unless he is satisfied

fied to adhere to the letter of the act, at the expense of suffering the whole business of the payment of naval services to stand still. Gentlemen are not aware of the multiplicity of payments which are daily made in the navy pay-office, and of the minute fractional divisions into which many of those payments are split. The navy pay-office is to the navy, not what the army pay-office alone is to the army, but what the army pay-office is to the army, with the addition of army agents, of colonels of regiments, of barrack-masters and other subordinate accountants. The navy-office makes the minutest individual payment, the fraction of a single seaman's yearly pay, the quarter of a seaman's wife's allotment: and are such payments as these capable of being made by drafts upon the bank? I have in my hands an abstract of the number of payments made in the course of the month of January; in twenty-six days they amount to six thousand four hundred and two payments, of which no less than three thousand two hundred and seventy-eight were of sums under 20*l.* and one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four in sums from 1*l.* 8*s.* to 10*s.* 6*d.* Then, as to wages, there are at this moment open, in the pay-room of the office, no less than six thousand eight hundred ships' books, upon any one of which, at any hour, a call may be made for the wages of any seaman who may happen not to have been present at the payment at the outport, for money due to him for four or five years, or as many months' service. In the course of this month, calls have actually been made upon one hundred and twenty-two of these books, and some of them for wages due ten years ago. In this complication of small money transactions, is it possible to imagine that the law intended every particular payment to be made by a specific draft upon the bank? Gentlemen, I see, acknowledge it to be impossible. Yet the words of the law are peremptory, and admit no limitation: there is not a passage in the act by which the payment of small and fractional sums in London (the outports are specially provided for by a distinct clause) are excepted from the general prohibition; and if there be no such exception, then the violation of the law is not peculiar to lord Melville. The plain, naked indictment of illegality is common to him with other treasurers of the navy; with his own immediate successors, with the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) and his boasted *write offs*, and with myself, who follow the example which he has set me, in that mode of drawing money from the bank. By this mode of *write-offs* accumulations of money in the paymaster's hands are certainly prevented. His drafts are merely used to transfer a portion of his credit at the bank to different sub-accountants; and they, and they only, do actually draw out the money. But they do, and must, draw out money for the small payments, not by specific drafts for each particular sum, but in round sums, to be afterwards paid away in fractional payments. By these, therefore, the act is still violated; and upon the strict letter it *must* be violated. Still, however, I admit, that necessity limits the violation which it justifies; and the motive, the object, and the degree of the departure from the law are all matters of consideration. But these questions of motive, of object, of de-

gree, are the very questions which can be decided only by inquiry. Nothing is plain to the house upon the face of the transaction but the simple fact, that the law has not been adhered to; and upon this fact the honourable mover calls for judgment. Upon this fact alone, I say, judgment cannot be given fairly: it is the *quo animo* of the deviation from the law; it is the excess of that deviation beyond the necessity of the case which constitute the moral guilt of such a practice, in contradistinction to its mere illegality. And these are circumstances which cannot be taken as proved by any present evidence; not by the report of the commissioners, who examine only with a view to criminate; not by the admission of the party, who knew not to what point or object he was examined." The honourable member touched upon the supposed extent to which the deviation from the act had been carried, and observed that it seemed generally admitted, that only hazard and not loss had been incurred. He wished the whole charge should be examined before judgment was passed. Were the house to come to a vote to-night, he said, though by that vote they only meant to decide upon one point, the effect out of doors would extend to the whole. "Is there no aggravation in the colouring given by the report? Is not the specimen given by my right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) of the almost incredible mistake in the table, p. 155 of the report, by which an average of fourteen days' expenditure is exaggerated to one of forty-five, sufficient to induce a suspicion, that all the allegations may not be soundly founded? Is it really impossible that no disclosure can come out materially to affect the merits of the case? What, if I were to say that I doubt whether public money, that is, the property of the public, *has*, in point of fact, been drawn out of the bank before it was wanted? Yet such a doubt I do entertain. I will state, sir, the grounds of my doubt: In the table referred to, p. 155 of the report of the commissioners, there are two statements of the balances in the treasurer's hands, the one by the navy board, the other by the treasurer; and between these two there is a difference made in the report of 1782, which, as the honourable gentleman who opened this business has truly said, is the original source of the act of the 25th of the king. 'This difference lies in the cashiers and victualling branches, and arises from the following cause: When the boards assign bills upon the treasurer for payment, they immediately give him credit for those bills in his account kept at their offices: but the treasurer does not himself take credit for any bills in his own account till he actually pays them. The persons who receive these bills do not always immediately present them to the treasurer for payment, and the treasurer's balance must therefore exceed the navy balance as much as the sum of the bills assigned upon him for payment exceed the sum of the bills actually paid by him.' Now, I entreat the attention of the house to the sentence which follows; 'We conceive this excess is *not* money for which the treasurer is accountable to the public, but belongs to the proprietors of those bills, and remains in his hands at their risque until they apply to him for payment.'—Now, sir, if this doctrine be true, and it is of high authority, the very highest upon this subject;

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and if the money withdrawn from the bank has not exceeded the amount of the bills assigned upon the treasurer for payment, it is plain that not only no public money has been lost, but none, absolutely none, not one farthing of the property of the public has been put to hazard. The amount of the balances in the hands of the treasurer of the navy, on an average for the fourteen years from 1786 to 1799, inclusive, during which Mr. Trotter was paymaster, and during which those deficiencies are imputed, for permitting which lord Melville is now to suffer, will be found, in round numbers, about 510,000*l.* Of this sum the average of assignments, that is, of bills assigned upon the treasurer, but outstanding and not brought to him for payment, is about 146,000*l.*; the average of the imputed deficiencies 41,000*l.*, or something less than one-third, but more than one-fourth; not of the public balance in the treasurer's hands which ought to be lodged in the bank, but of the amount of those assigned bills which might at any hour be brought for payment, and which the commissioners of 1782 report to be money for which the treasurer 'is not accountable to the public.'—It has been stated in this debate, I believe by the noble lord over the way, that lord Melville's anxiety to prevent the closing of the accounts of his treasurerships indicates a consciousness of guilt; and this anxiety is said to be proved by lord Melville's conduct in respect to the accountant's branch in the navy pay-office, which branch was instituted by lord Melville himself, for the express purpose of bringing up the old accounts and keeping up the new; but which, after a short trial, lord Melville is alleged to have wantonly discontinued. The commissioners are particularly severe upon this transaction, and upon the grounds upon which it is supposed to have taken place—the extreme press of business during the late war, and the absolute necessity of employing the clerks belonging to the accountant's branch in the current business of the office. The commissioners inveigh against the 'false œconomy in not augmenting the number of clerks in proportion to the increase of business in office;' and in this invective I cordially agree with them. But, first, sir, lord Melville has the merit at least of having instituted the accountant's branch; and he did not discontinue its functions till the navy board withdrew those clerks of theirs who were employed jointly with the treasurer's clerks in the navy department; who, from the nature of the business, must co-operate with the treasurer's clerks, and without whom the treasurer's clerks cannot proceed. Secondly, lord Melville had no power; the treasurer of the navy has no power to augment the numbers of his clerks at will. He must apply to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, his superior board, and they must obtain for him an order of the king in council, before he can add one single clerk to the establishment. It is not quite fair, therefore, to take for granted that the omission was his. But if gentlemen are curious to know whether any application ever has been made for such an augmentation as the commissioners recommend, and has been rejected, I will tell them: Lord Harrowby, lord Melville's immediate successor, did apply to the then board of admiralty for an addition to the establishment, stating as the ground of his application,

not only the general increase of business, but the dispersion of the accountant's clerks, and the desirableneness of putting that branch into activity. Lord Harrowby's application was not complied with. Since I have had the honour to hold my present situation, I have renewed lord Harrowby's application; and long before the commissioners of naval inquiry had recommended the measure, I had obtained the consent of the present board of admiralty to such an augmentation of clerks, as will, I hope, enable the accountant's branch to resume its functions. Lastly, sir, as to the fact of lord Melville's final accounts being delayed, those of his first treasurership are closed; those of his second treasurership are nearly so; and as to the accounts of that last treasurership which was carried on in the new mode of account, they may be said to have been closed, so far as he is personally concerned, on the day on which lord Harrowby succeeded him in office. It is impossible to devise any reason for a treasurer of the navy now desiring to keep his accounts open after quitting office, as not one farthing of balance remains in his hands. There is yet one point. The enormous sum of one million is stated by the commissioners, and shown by messrs. Coutts's accounts, to have been paid in to Mr. Trotter's credit in one day, at one payment; and, so far as the commissioners say they can trace it, not directly from the bank. The inference which they rather suggest than distinctly draw from the fact is, that this sum must either have been paid out of the exchequer otherwise than to the bank, or that it must have been applied in an improper way in its transmission from the bank to messrs. Coutts. The magnitude of the sum was one so much out of the ordi ary course of the receipts of the office, that I could not well account for the issue of it; it is so much more beyond the ordinary course of expenditure within any reasonable limited time, that I could still less account for the transfer of it at once to messrs. Coutts's, on the plea on which alone such transfer could be at all defensible, of its coming speedily into distribution. I required, therefore, the fullest explanation; and I found it, where the commissioners would have found it also if they had looked for it, in the common ledger of the office. This million was part of a larger sum of two millions and a half issued on the 10th of April 1795, to pay what is called a course of navy bills; that is to say, navy bills and victualling bills outstanding for a certain number of months —in this instance, for the last three months of 1794, and the three first of 1795. Of all the money transactions in which a treasurer of the navy can be engaged, this is that in which he has the least possible control, or foresight, or even guess, respecting the receipt and issue of the money. My right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) has already sufficiently shown you that in no case has the treasurer or paymaster any power of accelerating or retarding the issue of money, or delaying its expenditure; that he can neither get money into his hands sooner than the boards direct him to apply for it, nor retain it a moment longer than till the public creditor calls for it; that he is in all respects a mere banker, without authority, without discretion, bound only to receive what is paid into his office, subject to account, and to pay out what is drawn for upon him by those

those who have a right to draw. But, in this instance, above all others, he is purely passive—purely and merely the channel of conveying money from the government to the public; for here even the boards, his employers, have no previous knowledge of the issue. The treasury alone is aware when it will be convenient to them to pay off bills that are floating in the public market; and when they have resolved to do so they give as short notice as possible, for the obvious purpose of not affecting the value of the floating securities which they are about to redeem. Accordingly on the same day they send notice to the boards to advertise the payment, and to the treasurer to receive the money for making it. This one million appears to have been paid into messrs. Coutts's on the 11th of April. On the 10th the Gazette announces from the navy and victualling boards, that there is money in the hands of the treasurer to pay off their bills of six months standing. On the same day the entry in the office books shows that there was issued to the governor and company of the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of the navy, 2,500,000*l.* for that special purpose. On the 11th a transfer of one million of this sum is made to messrs. Coutts's, on the plea that, navy and victualling bills being in the hands of persons at the west as well as at the east end of the town, it might be a convenience to have a part of the money in course of payment at messrs. Coutts's (the plea may be good or bad; but in this instance there is no temptation to use it falsely); and in the course of a few days (a fortnight at most) after this transfer, the whole of the money is actually paid away. Such, sir, is the plain history of that transaction, which has constituted, out of doors at least, one of the most formidable objects of alarm and suspicion."—The honourable gentleman then proceeded to show that no unnecessary impediments had been thrown by him in the way of the commissioners, and concluded by recommending further inquiry.

Mr. G. Ponsonby conceived that the motion for going into a committee ought strongly to be opposed; he noticed in the course of his speech the circumstance of Mr. Trotter's still continuing in office. Mr. Canning, in explanation, declared that he had no other knowledge of Mr. Trotter than what arose from his official situation;—he had replaced him solely because he was an useful man, and because his case was at most only *sub judice*. The master of the rolls disapproved of the house's entering upon any judicial proceeding—before they punished, they should have well examined the precise nature of the offence.

Mr. Fox would not suffer the question to be put without expressing his sentiments: since he should be unwilling to share in the odium that must follow the disposal of the question, as contended for by the gentlemen opposite. He noticed the observations made by them rather from the authority of the persons making them, and which might possibly have an influence upon the house, than from any intrinsic force in the observations themselves. The master of the rolls had insisted that the house should go into a committee, to ascertain whether the breach of the act of parliament, of which lord Melville confessed himself guilty, proceeded from corrupt motives. If corruption consisted merely in a man's putting

putting money into his own pocket, according to the vulgar conception, perhaps some of the deductions of the learned gentleman would be right. But nothing, in his opinion, could well be more corrupt than to permit a man's own agent to convert the money of others to his own private emolument. This was the amount of lord Melville's confession; and although it might be possible, from a further examination, to prove him more guilty, it seemed impossible to find him less so. At page 149 of the report, the noble lord stated, that although he knew his agent Trotter was applying the public money to other purposes than those for which it legally was intended, he did not prohibit him from doing it. What is this, *simpliciter*, but corruption; and, combining it with other circumstances, could any doubt of guilt be entertained? Mr. Fox touched upon the topic of risk, and asked, whether in gaming no risk was run. He, in early life, had been betrayed into the indulgence of that vice—had a man been successful in those pursuits and won a considerable sum, could it be said that such a man had incurred no danger of loss? Probably, however, lord Melville did take care that Trotter should not lose: Trotter was the confidential agent of lord Melville, and lord Melville was the confidential agent of the state. Lord Melville, therefore, in these speculations could guard against much loss. If two men play at cards, and a third person stands behind one and throws hints to the other, he that receives the hints is tolerably sure of winning: just so in this business. Lord Melville knew when navy bills were likely to be funded, and Mr. Trotter might upon his information: But did therefore no loss accrue to the public? On the contrary, the public would suffer a loss of one per cent. upon the discount of such bills. But we are desired to refer this to a committee to obtain further evidence. What further evidence is necessary to enable us to decide upon the breach of law, which the noble lord himself confessed? But we are not, it is said, to act judicially without examination: as far, however, as the confession of lord Melville went, he had been examined, he had been tried. He would defy any one to say that the house had it in its power to inflict punishment on such delinquents as lord Melville and Mr. Trotter: the house was now only in the situation of a grand jury, inquiring whether there was ground to find a bill: and whether the house should determine on any prosecution with a view to punishment, either by moving an impeachment, or directing the attorney general to prosecute, or by preparing a bill of pains and penalties, was an after consideration. It was strange to hear it asserted, that the accused was not guilty, because no loss accrued from this scandalous transaction. To those to whom the loss of honour was nothing, it might perhaps be said that no loss had arisen. But what was the loss of honour to that government, which, after such an instance of delinquency, should still preserve its connexion with the delinquent? And what the loss of character and honour to that house, should it attempt by its vote to screen such a delinquent? Infinitely more than any sum of money could amount to! In spite of the assertion of the master of the rolls, no further inquiry, he said, was wanted. It never could be pretended that the violation

violation of this law was not a most serious offence. There were, indeed, many cases in which severe punishments attached to offences to which the charge of moral turpitude did not apply, but which were criminal in consequence of the precept of the law. Such were many of the offences against our revenue laws. Not two years ago, an act was passed declaring a man guilty of felony without benefit of clergy, if paper of a certain sort should be found in his possession, this sort of paper being used for bank notes. Here a man could not be presumed to have such paper in his possession but with a criminal intention. The breach therefore of the act was proof against him. The 25th of the king was drawn up upon a similar principle; the breach of it was to be deemed the proof of criminal intention. Upon this proof, which arose out of the reason of the law, he had no hesitation in deeming the noble lord guilty. Whatever delay might take place, there was only one way of confirming still further the guilt of lord Melville, and that was in case Trotter should *peach*: but there was no imaginable mode of evidence which could refute that which lord Melville himself confessed. Whether lord Melville participated in the profits made by Trotter could not by any direct evidence before them be said; but, certainly, there was strong ground of suspicion. The noble lord retained the office of treasurer of the navy for many years after he was appointed secretary of state. It was, indeed, said by his friends, that although he held two offices, he received but one salary. Why then should the noble lord so fondly cling to this office of his friend Mr. Trotter? There were many persons amongst his own relations who would have gladly occupied that situation. But, no, lord Melville was particularly attached to it, and would common sense make no inference from that attachment? It had been observed, that the accounts should be carefully examined, and that it was harsh at once to decide upon the character of an individual. These obscure accounts could not, it should seem, be elucidated even by a committee: the very parties making them professed not to understand them. And upon whose character were they to decide? Not upon lord Melville's, for that was gone, but upon the character of the house and the government, which must depend upon the vote of that night. It was dreadful to think that the most honourable claims of the most honourable profession were to be decided upon by a man whose character was so lost in public estimation. No vote of that night could restore his character.

Mr. Fox spoke in terms of high panegyric of the speech of his noble friend, lord Henry Petty. He recollected the first essay of the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, when he made his entré in that house. With what pleasure did the house listen to his eloquence in favour of reform upon that occasion! but how soon was the promise of his early years abandoned! 'Quantum mutatus ab illo!' Let the speech which the right honourable gentleman delivered on that occasion be contrasted with that of this evening, and what a change would be found! Suppose the committee were agreed to, what defence could be imagined for the accused? Was it any thing like that mentioned with respect to small payments, which the house had

heard from the present treasurer of the navy? If nothing better could be devised, it would amount to no defence, for the small payments should be made by the sub-accountants; the treasurer of the navy or the paymaster had nothing to do with them. What was stated as to the one million was also nothing in avail, for that might as well have been paid from the bank. Before he sat down, Mr. Fox made other remarks upon the minuter parts of the case, and dwelt forcibly upon lord Melville's refusal to answer, lest he should criminate himself. Again: the noble lord had to an interrogatory replied, 'Not to the best of his recollection.' There ought to have been no recollection on such a subject; he should have been confident: to mention recollection is in many cases to betray oneself. If a man were asked, whether on such a night he was in a certain room with John a Noakes, he might be allowed to answer that to the best of his recollection he was not. But if he were asked whether John a Noakes did not charge him with an attempt to pick his pocket, and kicked him out of the room, what would be the inference if he were to answer that John a Noakes did not 'to the best of his recollection?' The noble lord, too, offered to swear positively as to that period when sir Andrew Douglas was paymaster, who is dead; but his offer did not extend at all to the period of Mr. Trotter's paymastership, who is alive. Mr. Fox made an animated appeal to the feelings and pride of the house, and particularly to those of Mr. Pitt, advising him not to risk his remaining reputation upon this occasion; not to take this card for his last.—Lord Castlereagh in emphatic language exhorted the house to reflect, that besides the duty which they owed to the country, there was also another duty incumbent upon them, that of doing individual justice to an old and faithful servant of the public.—Lord Andover also said a few words.—Mr. Wilberforce had listtened with the most serious attention to the debate, and more especially to the arguments in favour of the amendment urged by his friends the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the rolls, and Mr. Canning. He was, however, compelled to dissent from them. "If we were speaking of *shades of criminality*, if any thing of *real* intricacy were before us, in the ultimate conclusions of my friends I should agree. But with lord Melville's direct confession before us, 'that he knowingly allowed his agent to apply against law the public money to his own emolument,' how can a doubt be entertained as to what course should be pursued by this house? It is not now necessary to inquire whether or not the noble lord has applied the public money to his own use. I cannot indeed persuade myself that there has been any direct participation of gains between him and Mr. Trotter; but truth compels me at the same time to add, that I conceive he may probably have derived accommodations from Mr. Trotter's possession of public money. He knew his agent had a lucrative situation, and that he might therefore draw upon him freely. Mr. Trotter himself states, that he thought nothing of such trifling advances as from 10 to 20,000*l.* sums, which to men like myself cannot seem quite so trifling. This however is at present of no importance: whether lord Melville did or did not receive emolument, unless we administer

minister a remedy to what confessedly has been done, a door will be opened to every excess of abuse. How can you ever expect to come nearer to a minister of state, in such a case as this, than to his confidential agent? If we permit the secretary to be corrupt, the public will be at no loss what judgment to form of the principal. In opposition to the argument, that no loss has been sustained, I must maintain that there is no saying to what extent that loss may have amounted. Remember the immense scale of our naval and military operations, and then estimate the effects which must be produced throughout the whole system, by having a man at the head of it who habitually connived at his agent's misapplication of the public money to his own emolument. Beautifully as well as justly was it remarked by a noble lord opposite (lord Henry Petty), the injury which we have sustained by this transaction is not to be measured by the pecuniary loss we may appear to have suffered; our loss, unless we now retrieve it, will be the loss of character, a loss which money can neither estimate nor compensate. When the state of our country has been compared with that of foreign nations, knowing as I did even the acknowledged purity of our government, I have held my head high; but how can I do so after this night, if such misconduct as is now revealed be suffered to pass unpunished? In the present circumstances of this country, it has been justly stated what fatal effects might be produced by that loss which the house of commons would sustain of the confidence and affection of the people. It was a just and wise observation of the great lord Clarendon, that the levying of the ship-money by the ill-fated Charles, did not of itself inflame the popular humours near so much as the next measure which followed, the decision of the judges in favour of that arbitrary imposition. The people resented, indeed, the encroachment on their property; but various considerations here suggested themselves to palliate the evil: the king's necessities, they trusted, which had forced him to this desperate measure, would soon be at an end, and then the evil would cease. But when the very tribunals to which they looked for the redress of this grievance, had established and sanctioned it, in manifest contradiction to the law of the land, as well as to common sense and common feeling, the dissatisfaction of the people became general and extreme, and was no longer allayed by the hope of a legal remedy. Let me further remark, that it is the more necessary for us to interpose, because, according to the ablest writers who have studied and written concerning the British constitution, it is in this quarter that we are to apprehend danger; on this hand that we are to oppose a bar against its entrance. Should it ever again happen that any monarch, like the unhappy Charles, should wish to attack the public liberties, it is not prerogative of which we should have reason to be afraid, but influence operating through the medium of parliament. Knowing this, let us ever vindicate to the house of commons its true and appropriate character; and instead of conniving at abuses and sheltering offenders, let us ever be vigilant and active in redressing and punishing them. But my learned friends below me have argued much

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from the practice in the courts of law. I am always willing to listen to their legal analogies: but let us not be so hampered with them as to forget our true character and plain duty; let not the *forms* of law be adduced to counteract the clear principles of eternal and immutable justice. We have here a confession upon oath, which no subsequent proceedings can refute or qualify, and can we doubt what judgment we are to pronounce? The instances of the sheriffs of Middlesex have been quoted, and, in earlier times, those of the duke of Marlborough and sir Robert Walpole; but had any of these persons plainly and unequivocally acknowledged their guilt? But my right honourable friend presses us to constitute a committee to investigate all the circumstances of the case, and then to make a report on the whole of the noble lord's conduct. First, I frankly own that I should feel a strong repugnance to such a committee, on the ground of its proceedings not being upon oath. Any one who will carefully read Mr. Trotter's examination, must be convinced that he is a witness in whose case one would wish for that security for truth which is obtained by the fear of the penalties of perjury: I confess I should greatly prefer sending back the parties for further inquiry to the commissioners; a proposition which I believe an honourable friend opposite to me (Mr. Bankes) had intended to submit to your consideration. But my right honourable friend says, that it might appear from the report of a committee, that the number of days during which Mr. Trotter profited from the public money was smaller than the commissioners had supposed: but what is that to the purpose of our present discussion? It is to the *principle* to which our attention should be directed. Besides, who can foresee the length to which the proceeding of such a committee may be spun out? And, I own, I think, where the guilt of a delinquent is clear, we ought not to repress or disappoint that honest warmth, which, in common with the public, we ourselves feel on the discovery of these abuses. My honourable friends say that we ought not to be carried away by any popular cry. But the disapprobation at present felt and expressed is not that of the mob, but of that bulk of the middle classes of men in this country which may most properly be called the voice of the people, and in whom is generally to be found the largest share of both good sense and integrity. It grieves me much that there should this night be among us any difference of opinion. I know the purity of my right honourable friend below me, and I firmly believe that my other official friends who are beside me have been equally free from every taint of corruption. I grieve for the task imposed on them; and I must say, that it is a necessity from which the noble lord himself should have relieved them, by voluntarily retiring from office whilst his cause was in a course of trial. If, as has been justly observed, every naval and military commander, who has merely been unfortunate, quits his situation till his case shall have been investigated, surely the noble lord might have been expected to do the same. Far be it from me to aggravate the noble lord's misconduct; I am happy in declaring that instances of his having acted in the most upright and honourable manner have fallen under my own notice. But

we have now before us a plain palpable delinquency, which no former good conduct can warrant our passing by. We cannot turn away from it without dishonour: it is not lord Melville only, but we ourselves, who are on our trial; and we must, this night, either subject ourselves to the just suspicion of being disposed to shelter a great public delinquent, or we shall teach our country to look up to us for the redress of grievances and the reform of abuses, and thereby establish ourselves more firmly than ever in the confidence and affection of the great body of our constituents."

Sir C. Price, as a magistrate and a man, felt himself fully justified in declaring, that if lord Melville had been free from criminality, he would have answered more unequivocally than he had done: sir C. Price therefore supported the original motion. Mr. Wallace (one of the lords of the admiralty) opposed it, and defended lord Melville. Lord Archibald Hamilton said, he rose at that late hour to remark, that no one Scots member had spoken against the nefarious proceedings of the two Scotsmen whose conduct had been the subject of the debate. He rose to say, that *he* should vote for the original motion. The house then divided. For the previous question 216. Against it 216. The speaker then gave his casting vote against Mr. Pitt's motion. The original motion was therefore put, and agreed to without a division. All the other motions were put *seriatim*, till they came to the eleventh, containing the censure on lord Melville. Mr. Pitt here moved an amendment to leave out the last words 'gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty,' and to insert the words 'contrary to the statute.' Mr. Grey insisted that it would be a shameful dereliction of their duty not to say that the connivance of lord Melville towards Mr. Trotter was a gross violation of law and a high breach of duty. Mr. Wilberforce conjured his right honourable friend not to press an amendment so utterly at variance with the common sense and common feelings of men. Mr. Pitt was willing to withdraw his amendment, and only move to insert after the words "for purposes of private interest or emolument," the words 'to Mr. Trotter,' because, he said, there was no proof or confession that lord Melville connived at the drawing out of the money for his own interest or emolument: lord Melville's own letter indeed denied it. Sir William Pulteney thought this alteration not unreasonable, provided the words, 'as acknowledged by lord Melville,' were inserted. Mr. Whitbread had no objection to this amendment, and the motion was read from the chair thus, "that the right honourable lord viscount Melville having been privy to and connived at the withdrawing from the bank of England *(as acknowledged by lord Melville)* for purposes of private interest or emolument *to Mr. Trotter*, sums issued," &c.—Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan severally objected to the amendment. Mr. Bastard and Mr. T. Grenville declared it was impossible for any gentleman to support it. On the question being put on the motion as it originally stood, the speaker declared that the ayes had it, and Mr. Pitt did not divide the house. The other two motions were then carried. Upon Mr. Pitt's moving that the house should adjourn to Wednesday, Mr. Fox submitted to

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the good sense of the commons, whether in so critical a moment they should adjourn over a single day;—they should recollect, he said, that the country was now in the hands of a disgraced ministry. At five o'clock, however, in the morning the house adjourned to the following Wednesday.

We have felt it to be our duty to give an account of the above debate, something more at large than it is usually necessary for us to do. A business of more importance has rarely been submitted to the consideration of the representatives of the people; with whom the weight of argument in debate is to be found, it will be for our readers to determine for themselves. Of the speakers, in what may fairly be considered the support of lord Melville, Mr. Canning appears to us to have been the most able and argumentative; and we are the more willing to do justice to that gentleman on this occasion, because it has been usually understood that, in the subsequent discussions relative to this transaction, he by his unguardedness gave considerable displeasure to the house.

On Wednesday April the 10th, the chancellor of the exchequer arose to state that lord Melville had tendered his resignation of the office of first lord of the admiralty, which resignation his majesty had been graciously pleased to accept. Upon the motion of Mr. Whitbread, the resolutions which the house had come to respecting lord Melville on Monday were read, and that gentleman then proceeded to observe: that had the issue of the debate of Monday been merely of a personal or party nature, he might be satisfied with lord Melville's removal from the responsibility, dignity and emolument, attached to the situation which he had resigned—the humiliation of the individual was complete indeed. But there was a duty still remaining to the public. Lord Melville had done that which might be naturally expected; he had resigned; but what security had the country that he might not be restored to-morrow to the same office, or be placed in some other high and confidential situation? Was it fit that even the possibility of such an event should not be guarded against? Having done so much, having exerted so much independence, having deserved and having received the thanks deserved in the general exultation of the country, ought not the house to take another step to complete their triumph? ought not lord Melville to be prevented from ever again polluting with his presence the councils of his majesty? This he thought so necessary, that previous to any other proceedings he should move, "That an address should be submitted by the house to the throne, praying his majesty to deprive the noble lord of every civil office he holds during the pleasure of the crown, and to dismiss him from the councils of the kingdom for ever." "I ask the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Pitt) whether he is prepared to give a pledge to this effect? I also ask, whether the vote of this house has been treated with due deference in another quarter; whether Trotter has been dismissed? (Mr. Canning answered, Yes.) whether Wilson has been dismissed? (Mr. Canning replied, No.) Whether or not it be the intention of the right honourable gentleman to dismiss Wilson, sure I am that he *ought* to be dismissed, and that from his conduct before the commissioners

missioners, he is unfit to hold a public office. He is evidently the accomplice of lord Melville and Trotter. With respect to the course of proceeding I mean to follow hereafter against lord Melville and Trotter, I give notice that it is my intention to move that the attorney-general shall be directed to take measures to compel the delinquents to give an account of the moneys they have received, and to refund the profits obtained by the misappropriation of them: there will also be other proceedings necessary. There are many topics connected with the tenth report, which yet are to be discussed. It is stated in the report, that sums of money have been transferred from the treasurer of the navy to other services, and in the illegality of such conduct the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer has confessed, that to a certain extent he has been a party: the purpose for which transfers were made might be meritorious, but still the transfer itself is a violation of law. Nothing can be of more importance than that the public money should not be disposed of by any other authority than by the vote of parliament; yet here is a direct avowed assumption of that authority: this, therefore, will require examination, especially as no transfer or even negotiation for a transfer seems to have occurred, except whilst lord Melville was in office. With respect also to the conduct of the bank of England, it will be necessary to institute some inquiry, as it seems to have been understood by the commissioners that the cashier of the bank had not sufficient vouchers according to the act for the money advanced to Mr. Trotter. It is said also, that the chancellor of the exchequer was for years apprised of the irregular manner in which the public money was drawn from the bank by Trotter, and yet never attempted to put a stop to the practice. The case of Jellicoe, also, I shall propose to be referred to the committee. I think I am justified in believing that the commissioners of the treasury have granted to lord Melville a release for the money lost by Jellicoe on very false grounds; perhaps, also, evidence may be found by the committee to ascertain whether lord Melville had any participation of the profits resulting from the use which Trotter made of the public money. The suspicion upon my own mind arises from the fond attachment with which the noble lord so long and under various changes of circumstances clung to the office of treasurer of the navy: though so frequently heard to complain in this house of the great fatigue he had to encounter, yet lord Melville still thought proper to add to the presidentship of the board of control, and treasurership of the navy, &c., that of minister of war. I mean not to say that the office of treasurer of the navy is unnecessary, but certainly it appears that lord Melville had little in that office to perform. He then found it inconvenient to accept the place of secretary of state, the salary of which he declined, retaining the salary of treasurer of the navy, although the salary of the one was as good as the other; the salary of each being 4,000*l.* per annum. What reason for this preference can be assigned, but that the one was likely to be more productive than the other? These are the circumstances which have urged me to suspect lord Melville of a participation in the profits of Trotter. One thing, however, is

clear, that he has sanctioned the misapplication of public money: after this, it would be inconsistent with the dignity of the country to allow such a man as lord Melville to remain in any office under the crown from which he can be removed. The removal from the presidency of the admiralty is no doubt a great humiliation; but it still is not enough to satisfy the ends of justice. Example is the great end we should have in view. Independently of the offices and emoluments held by lord Melville, I understand since his last accession to administration, even within the last year, he has had 1,500*l.* a year conferred on him for life, in addition to a patent office he holds in Scotland. The noble lord, it was said, had retired from public affairs for life. Circumstances, however, (not of the country) but of the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, drew the noble lord from his retirement, and he became a member of the administration formed by the right honourable gentleman. The noble lord therefore was appointed to an office the first in rank, power and patronage in the country, with the exception of that only one which is held by the right honourable gentleman himself. That, however, was not sufficient for lord Melville: he was induced to accept it only by the grant of 1,500*l.* for life alluded to. Previous to this addition, a grant was made to lady Melville out of the public money: this of course must be considered as a compliment to his lordship; the merits of lady Melville are out of the question. I have reason, however, to doubt whether this grant be valid; there is something singularly mysterious about it; and I suspect that they who set their names to it were not actually aware of its real nature. If this grant of 1,500*l.* per annum be revocable, it certainly ought to be revoked under the motion which I now mean to make." Mr. Whitbread then stated that he looked to the support of many gentlemen who dissented from his first motion; because, now the house had declared its resolution, it was proper to pursue that resolution with spirit and consistency. He concluded with moving an address, "that his majesty would be graciously pleased to dismiss lord Melville from all offices held by him during pleasure, and also from his councils and presence for ever."

Mr. Canning said, that however strongly the honourable gentleman had expressed himself, as to the desire he felt that the house should on this occasion attend only to the call of impartial justice, yet, from the topics which he had introduced, he had betrayed motives of a kind little consonant with moderation. "What measure of justice is it the honourable gentleman would deal out on this occasion? In the interval that has elapsed since the house last separated, lord Melville has thought proper to resign his high situation. Yet this the honourable gentleman seems to consider as a subterfuge, as a mode of evading justice. What would the honourable gentleman's expressions have been, if lord Melville, in defiance to the house, had not resigned? What course is it that the noble lord should pursue? I have told the honourable gentleman that I have dismissed Mr. Trotter. I have done so because, after the decision of the house on Monday, I felt it to be my duty to dismiss him. Before the judgment of the house I considered Mr. Trotter as

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at most only on his trial—it was not for me to prejudge his cause. Mr. Wilson holds only a secondary station in the navy-pay-office; to him I do not think any imputation attaches which would warrant me in acting towards him as the honourable gentleman suggests. I consider Wilson as an industrious and most deserving servant of the public. But it is said, he gave a reluctant testimony before the commissioners. Mr. Wilson acted occasionally in the absence of the paymaster, and used to sign drafts in the usual form on the bank for the money wanted for the office. If there was any legal guilt in the manner of executing this duty of the paymaster, Mr. Wilson, as far as he acted in this respect for his principal, participated in that legal guilt, and was liable, or thought himself liable, to whatever might be the legal consequences: that he had ever so acted with a view to private emolument, his own evidence upon oath denies. Even, therefore, though the charge of legal guilt might attach to this man, and though fear induced him to avoid answering interrogatories; still, thinking him free from all imputation on the score of morality, I see no reason (unless the house be of a different opinion) to dismiss him. To return, however, to the question: The honourable gentleman seems to me to have cast off all semblance of moderation. He calls for justice and for punishment —Has the noble lord then suffered no punishment? Has he not already suffered enough to disarm any set of men not actuated by party feeling? And against whom is this enmity directed? Against a man never even suspected of having been himself a bitter political enemy (*a cry of 'hear' from the ministerial benches*). The honourable gentleman has congratulated his country on the public virtue which has on this occasion been manifested. If he means the virtue shown by the house of commons, I accede to his praise; to the pure motives of the house I cordially subscribe: but if the honourable gentleman means to compliment himself on the part which he has taken, or which he takes this night, I can only say that he is claiming credit for an exertion of virtue much I think beyond justice, and much beyond the usual practice of the country and the times in which we live: he must have gone back to Greece or Rome to find models for such a sort of virtue: there, when a great political delinquent was to be brought to justice, the accuser was not generally found amongst those who had received any injury from the accused; but amongst those whom he had served. And when I look back to the proceedings of the year 1795; when I recollect the serious charges which were then brought forward against two eminent commanders; when I recollect that, in the debates which arose upon those charges, their most active defender was that very person, that same noble lord who is now the theme of the honourable gentleman's rigorous and overstrained invective —and when I see him prostrate at the foot of the commons, and yet in his defenceless state hunted down by the friends of sir John Jervis and sir Charles Grey,—I cannot refuse to the honourable gentleman the praise of Spartan inflexibility, of more than Roman virtue: but, while humbly and at a distance I admire the exertion of these high qualities in him, I pray to Heaven to spare me the pain of ever being

called upon to imitate his example." Mr. Grey felt himself called upon to reply to some of the singular observations of the treasurer of the navy. He denied that he felt any improper warmth against lord Melville. He wished also to remind the house of the circumstances to which the honourable gentleman had alluded. "Surely it is sufficiently in recollection that the noble lords being in the service of government had received from that government only bare justice. On the return of these commanders from the West Indies some dissatisfaction arose, and an inquiry was proposed by some members of this house. Did these gentlemen fly from justice on that occasion? On the contrary, did not they court investigation? The right hon. gentleman has spoken as if these noble persons received favours from the noble lord who appeared in their defence. I utterly disclaim the existence of such favours: the noble lord defended them, because they had served with credit and honour those by whom they had been employed. And am I then to hold myself under obligations to the noble lord for what he did upon that occasion? and am I to understand that he did not really think the noble persons free from guilt? Some merit, however, is taken for the noble lord, because those persons were employed in the service of their country when they were known not to be favourable to administration. Upon this it is enough for me to say, that to employ naval and military men of different parties is no proof of the moderation of ministers. They are compelled to make use of the professional services of distinguished and skilful men, whether they are willing or unwilling. Ministers could hardly be guilty of a greater crime than refusing to make use of ability, because possessed by those who differed from them in political opinion. The right honourable gentleman has represented the defence of these persons as a work of difficulty. As I remember, only sixteen members could be found to support the charge. Nothing could be less intricate than the case, and nothing therefore easier than the defence. The right honourable gentleman's allusion was, I think, at once unwise and impolitic. With respect to lord Melville, I have no vindictive feelings. It is with a view only to the ends of justice that I support the motion of my honourable friend Mr. Whitbread. He has himself declared, that if a satisfactory assurance be given that lord Melville has closed his political career, he has no wish to press his motion. Surely the mere notification of his having resigned his presidency of the admiralty is under the present circumstances not enough. It is a mere matter of course. The house will recollect that at this very time he still continues a privy counsellor, and that one part of my honourable friend's motion is that he be dismissed from that situation. He is still possessed of several lucrative offices held during the pleasure of the crown; —and of those it is not too much to say he ought now to be deprived.

Mr. Grey then alluded to a reflection which the treasurer of the navy had seemed to cast upon an honourable and learned friend of his (Mr. Ponsonby), whom he had intimated to be acting inconsistently with the liberality of a British lawyer. That honourable and learned gentleman was well able to defend himself; but Mr. Grey could

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not help observing, that there was nothing despotic or unjust in putting a person accused out of that employment in which he was accused of having misconducted himself. Here the house was not talking of a person accused merely, but of a person found guilty. Would it have been possible to have retained, under the circumstances of the case, Trotter still in office? He thought not. He decidedly supported his honourable friend Mr. Whitbread.—Mr. G. Ponsonby followed. "The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) has said, that if I had been a British lawyer I never could have held the doctrines, which upon a former occasion I felt it my duty to deliver. I have at no period of my life been supposed to hold despotic or oppressive doctrines, nor do I think I did so upon that occasion. I maintained, that Mr. Trotter had by his own evidence proved his guilt, and that the testimony of his friend and patron, lord Melville, instead of weakening, confirmed this opinion. I then asked, if after such evidence Mr. Trotter ought not to be suspended?" The learned gentleman dwelt long upon the impropriety of lord Melville's influence still continuing to operate in the state. Mr. Canning, in explanation, insisted that the noble lord was as effectually excluded from his majesty's councils by what had already taken place, as he could be by any resolution of the house to that effect. Mr. S. Thornton complained that the bank had been implicated in the debate (and even he himself as a bank-director) without any reasonable foundation. This had arisen from an inaccuracy in the report relative to the evidence respecting the mode of deliveries at the bank. No money was ever drawn at the bank without the sums having been particularly specified, and the drafts were never answered unless brought by particular persons known to be authorised by the pay-master. There were six of these, of whom the deputy-pay-master was one. Mr. Thornton had voted in favour of the resolutions against lord Melville, because the noble lord, he thought, had committed abuses: but he was unwilling to go further till he had more evidence than was yet before the house, of the *motives* which had actuated his lordship. Mr. Barham condemned the allusion made by Mr. Canning to the honourable persons whose naval and military conduct had been the subject of inquiry in the beginning of the late war. He had felt it his duty to take a part in the debate upon that occasion painful to his feelings: the two noble lords, however, had been acquitted by the house, and had since amply justified the good opinion of the public. Mr. Barham thought it necessary, as a support to the resolutions passed by the house, to vote for the present motion.

Mr. Bankes disavowed all party-connexion which was at all likely to bias his judgment. He thought that for the present enough had been done. The step now proposed he considered as contrary to precedent. In the case of sir Robert Walpole, and that of lord Ranelagh, no such measure had been adopted. If the matter too was hereafter to undergo a full discussion, as intimated, to take any step now was unnecessary.—Mr. Windham differed from Mr. Bankes: if the motion came to a vote, he should find himself compelled to support it; but if the

right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer would give a pledge that the noble lord should not be restored to any place of trust, he should not oppose withdrawing the motion. The chancellor of the exchequer wished that the noble lord should be treated as far as possible with feelings of liberality; and if such a pledge as that alluded to would prevent the motion from being persevered in, he should have no hesitation in saying, that all idea of the noble lord's return power was completely annihilated. When he made this frank declaration, he wished it to be understood that this could only hold upon the supposition that the vote of Monday should not, upon inquiry, be deemed premature. In no other case was it possible that any minister should think of recommending the noble lord to a share in his majesty's councils. He trusted the motion would not be persevered in.—Mr. Fox adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Bankes, who had owned, that had the present motion been made instantly after the vote of Monday, he should have considered it as a mere corollary to the resolutions of the house. He could not see why it was not equally a corollary now. If the support of the honourable gentleman was now lost, it was merely because from the lateness of the hour his friend, Mr. Whitbread, had declined pressing the house further on that evening, and had yielded to the argument *ad verecundiam*, which was used towards him upon that occasion, when he was told that what was now asked must necessarily, and *ex officio*, be adopted. Mr. Fox then noticed the observations made by the treasurer of the navy, which he censured as highly extravagant and injudicious. He might be thought, in what he was going to say, bitter and rancorous; but he could never sit and patiently hear the indecent panegyrics on lord Melville's conduct. He was at a loss where to find the circumstances which made unusual lenity so necessary. "Is this motive to peculiar lenity to be found in the eagerness which his lordship has ever shown to heap up emoluments and systematize corruption? Is it in the gift of the chamberlainship of Fife, granted to his wife, with arrears to a great amount, procured under false pretences? Is it in procuring, a year ago, fifteen hundred a year in addition, not to the salary of the first lord of the admiralty, which is inadequately paid, but in addition to his salary as lord privy seal of Scotland? But great stress has been laid on his discovering no political or party prejudices in the appointment of officers either for naval or military service. I deny that there is any merit in this supposed impartiality; it is what every minister is obliged to keep an appearance of, or he would meet with instant disgrace. Lord North sent sir Charles Saunders and admiral Keppel to Falkland Islands. But I cannot hear it said, either, that the noble lord was free from party violence, without reminding the house of some circumstances which demonstrate the existence of party-spirit in all its most intolerant and disgusting features. In the late war, when the fear of invasion was at its height, a numerous and loyal body of men in Tavistock made a tender of their services: this tender was refused by this moderate lord Melville, because the corps, when raised, was to be commanded by the duke of Bedford. There

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is another circumstance also indicatory of his lordship's meek forbearance and superiority to the angry passions:—it is well known that the dean of the faculty of advocates in Edinburgh is generally the most eminent person in his profession, and that it is not customary to interfere with him on political considerations; yet this mild and gentle lord Melville actually did interfere, and by employing all the influence of government against the honourable Henry Erskine, a gentleman confessedly the most eminent at the Scotch bar, he was actually dispossessed of a situation which he had for many years held with the greatest honour and credit. So much for the boasted liberality of the noble lord, which the house was called on to look to for a motive to influence their decision. As to the favour done to two noble lords, on which also much stress has been rested, I entirely agree with the observations of my honourable friend Mr. Grey; I say with him, that sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis were under no obligations to the noble lord for his defence of them; they had performed a difficult service in the West Indies with much gallantry: some misunderstanding, however, having arisen, a charge was preferred against them in this house. There were three divisions, when the minority was successively thirteen, fourteen, and seventeen; and this was the formidable phalanx which the noble lord had so much merit in combating! I take it for granted that he believed the charge to be false; and if he believed it to be unfounded, what merit had he in defending the gallant officers? If this be merit, it is impossible to say how far the line of obligation may be extended. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Thornton) says that he voted for the motion of Monday, conceiving the noble lord guilty of a certain degree of negligence and inattention; yet the language of our resolution is, that he has been guilty of a gross violation of an act of parliament, and a high breach of duty. Surely, this heavy charge is not to be confounded with inattention and negligence. With respect to the resolutions, it appears to me that they complete the criminal charge against the noble lord, and I am not at present for pressing any further proceedings if the attorney-general is to proceed against him for refunding the money derived from profits of money misapplied. This will be by civil and not by criminal action, for recovery of money is always ranked among civil actions; the same observation applies to any action for recovering grants obtained under false pretences. In the mean time, on the grounds of the pledge which the right honourable gentleman has this night so distinctly given, I have little disposition to press the present motion. During his majesty's long reign, only the duke of Devonshire and myself have been dismissed from his majesty's councils, and we want no such associate as the noble lord. I had forgotten Mr. Grattan, who had the like fortune in Ireland. None of us could be proud of any connexion with such a man as lord Melville has shown himself to be through his whole career of life. I have said that I would not now press the motion to a division, but I should be grieved to see the resolutions passed without being followed with some lasting result. Such a work as that of Monday

must not be suffered to pass away unimproved. The public has received our work with the warmest gratitude; but is there no part of it to belong to the government? Is his majesty to have no opportunity of manifesting his paternal interest on the subject? I admire this house as the corner-stone of the constitution; as the source of all reforms and improvements; as the balance by which the constitution is kept in purity and vigour; but I do not wish to exclude the monarchy from its proper share of every beneficent work. I think our resolutions ought to be presented to the throne: like us, his majesty has read the report, but he has not hitherto had an opportunity of expressing his feelings on the subject. I strongly wish to impress this on the minds of ministers. They are bound to carry the resolutions to the throne; they owe it as a sacred duty to the king whom they serve." After a few other observations, Mr. Fox was willing to withdraw the motion then, on an understanding that the whole matter should be hereafter investigated.

Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. David Scott severally expressed their inclination that the motion should be withdrawn. The latter gentleman insisted that Mr. Henry Erskine was not deprived of his situation in Scotland by the influence of lord Melville. It was an elective office, and the electors saw reason to choose another individual to fill it. Mr. Kinnard, on the contrary, asserted that the dismission was owing to lord Melville; he trusted the time was not far distant when Scotland would be able to shake off the yoke of the noble lord.

Mr. William Dundas did not expect that he should have been called upon to make any observations in the course of the present question. He was impelled, however, to ask how the honourable gentleman had discovered that lord Melville had exerted his political influence in the manner alleged? Was it by residing at his lordship's country-house for weeks and months, by mixing in his convivial moments, that he had acquired that knowledge? He also insisted, that the removal complained of arose from the minds and feelings of the electors themselves. Mr. Fox explained, that the observations made on his side of the house had been provoked by what had fallen from the other side. Mr. Kinnard also explained. Mr. Ellison expressed his intention to vote for the motion, should it be persevered in. Mr. Whitbread closed the debate. He had not blamed lord Melville for retiring; Mr. Trotter, however, had been dismissed, lord Melville had only resigned. When the adjournment was proposed on Monday, the house certainly did not agree to it, with a view to give time for lord Melville's resignation. He was conscious that the sense of the house of commons was with him, in the sentiment that his lordship should never again hold any office of trust. He wished, therefore, that this opinion should in some way or other appear on the journals of the house. The parallels which had been set up, as to motions against ministers being allowed to drop on their resignation, did not apply. They were grounded on incapacity, this was founded on delinquency. In common cases, to be expunged from the list of the privy council was no disgrace; it had occurred to his honourable friend Mr. Fox.

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The right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer had recommended it as a measure fit for his majesty's adoption. He had since, however, recommended to his majesty not only to restore him to that honour, but to promote him to the highest confidence. He had asked pardon for his offence of God and man. But could, or ought, such a recommendation ever avail in favour of lord Melville? Mr. Whitbread made some further observations with respect to Wilson. After what had passed, he should for the present withdraw his motion: but he suggested that a copy of the resolutions of Monday should be laid before his majesty without comment. He moved that the resolutions be carried up by the whole house. Mr. Pitt thought this formality might be dispensed with. It was ordered that the resolutions be carried up by the whole house. On Thursday, April 11th, the house waited upon his majesty with a copy of the resolutions. On Thursday, April 25th, the speaker informed the house upon its meeting, that his majesty had graciously returned the following answer:

"Gentlemen,

"I shall on all occasions receive with the greatest attention, any representation of my commons; and I am fully sensible of the importance of the matter which is the subject of your resolutions."

On the same day was discussed, upon the motion of Mr. Grey, what was considered by that gentleman, and ultimately by the house, as a libel on their proceedings. The editor of the Oracle, a newspaper in which the paragraph complained of had appeared, was ordered to attend at the bar. Upon his attendance on the day appointed, he was dismissed upon paying his fees, having previously made his excuses to the house. The paragraph was certainly insolent and foolish: whether, however, the house consulted its true dignity by noticing it, might perhaps be doubted: it was asserted, however, that the writer was in the pay of government.

Mr. Whitbread, after the disposal of Mr. Grey's motion, again resumed the important business of lord Melville. He had not yet observed that the erasure of lord Melville's name from the list of the privy-council had been announced in the gazette. Was it or was it not the intention of the minister to advise his majesty to that measure?—The chancellor of the exchequer did not feel himself bound, in consequence of any thing that had occurred in that house on the day when the resolutions of parliament had been ordered to be laid before his majesty, to give such advice to his majesty as that which the honourable gentleman suggested. A motion to address the sovereign had been made, and had afterwards been withdrawn because it seemed to be thought that the house was not in a condition at the moment to proceed to such an extremity. It was then argued, that a removal from any place of trust and confidence would be sufficient till further light was thrown upon the subject, by its having been ascertained by a select committee how far the noble lord was implicated in the business. He thought, too that he was justified in assuring the house that no advice should be given as to the restoration of the noble lord to office: but he did not understand it

to have been the opinion and sense of the house but that that step would alone be satisfactory.

Mr. Whitbread thought that a sense of duty should have dictated other conduct. If the right honourable gentleman thought that he had sufficiently fulfilled his duty by allowing things to remain as they were, he felt that he should not discharge his own without giving notice of a motion similar to that which he had formerly withdrawn. He then fixed a day for that purpose. Mr. Whitbread next proceeded to call the attention of the house to the subject of the motions of which he had formerly given notice; and moved for the appointment of a committee to make further inquiry into the matters contained in the tenth report. The chancellor of the exchequer denied that he had at any time displayed, as insinuated by the honourable member, a disposition to take out of the hands of those originally beginning the measure, the conduct of such measure afterwards. To the motion of the honourable gentleman he felt no objection. He rejoiced in the appointment of a committee, most especially, because, in consequence his own actions would become a subject of inquiry. He wished those acts to speak for themselves. As to another part of the motion, he did not think it would be proper to refer the whole of the report of the commissioners to a committee, as he understood that a second motion was to be made, directing a prosecution by the attorney-general. If the inquiry was to be prosecuted by a bill of discovery, as to the question of participation, it would be improper to refer that part of the report to a committee, or to establish two concurrent and collateral investigations. Mr. Pitt then moved, as an amendment, "That a select committee be appointed to consider further of the matter contained in the tenth report, so far as the same relates to the application of sums granted for navy-services to other branches of the public service; as also to the irregularities committed in the mode of drawing the money granted for the service of the navy from the bank, and to any communications that might have been made to the chancellor of the exchequer, or the lords of the treasury, relative to such irregularities; and to the proceeding that might have been taken for the recovery of the arrears due of the late Mr. Jellicoe."

Mr. Fox agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that if a prosecution by the attorney-general should be ordered by the house, the committee should not interfere with the matter of that prosecution; there were other parts, however, of the report that *should* be investigated. He thought the house ought to adopt some course for admonishing, as a milder term than censuring, the right honourable the treasurer of the navy for having done as much as in him lay to screen Mr. Wilson. The more important part, however, of the business before the house was, as to the inquiry into abuses; and though the naval and military expenditure ought to be the chief object, still there were other branches fit to be considered. If the house should accede to the motion of the right honourable gentleman for the committee, he trusted that the members of it would act with the same ability, integrity and pertinacity that the naval commission-

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ers had displayed. As to the bill which was to be brought in by the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, the house should look upon it with jealousy. When it was considered that the bill was to be brought in by a man who was the protector of public delinquents, he could not help thinking that it was in unfortunate hands. The right honourable gentleman had been minister during the whole time the abuses were carrying on; he could not, therefore, think him the proper person to bring in such a measure. He trusted the house would take care to have proper persons appointed in the committee. If the right honourable gentleman had had the appointing of the five commissioners of naval inquiry, would a tenth report have existed? He hoped that the gentlemen who should be appointed would do their duty. He was inclined to think that the inquiry should be restricted by the words of the amendment: but he submitted to his honourable friend Mr. Whitbread, whether his motion for the prosecution would not be better postponed till after the committee should have made its report, and ascertained what persons had been connected with the delinquent.—Mr. Sheridan perfectly coincided with the position, that if they were to go into an inquiry, the prosecution should be suspended until after the committee should have made its report: as to the notice that had been given by the right honourable gentleman who was to be the patron of reform, he did not think him the most proper person to bring the matter forward. The gentleman had expressed his desire to have the committee appointed in order to clear up the imputation against himself; the motive was honourable, but until the report should be made by the committee the right honourable gentleman must himself be considered as on his trial; and therefore was not the fittest person to institute an inquiry. The motion was to include the military expenditure in all its branches; this embraced a number of important inquiries, the barrack department particularly; but, with all these departments the first lord of the treasury was intimately connected, and would be the person called upon for information by the commissioners. Was not the treasury itself a fit object of inquiry? The investigation he thought should be general; but the right honourable gentleman was not the fit person to institute the measure.

The chancellor of the exchequer disclaimed every idea of being implicated in any of the charges adduced by the tenth report. Mr. Fox allowed that there was no passage which directly implicated the right honourable gentleman; but the article relative to money for secret service, though it did not mention him by name, would certainly lead to a decision how far he was involved.—Mr. Grey was of opinion that it would be impossible to carry on two inquiries together: there was presumptive evidence for concluding that lord Melville had participated in the emoluments diverted from the public service, and he had, therefore, been of opinion at one time that it would be better to refer this part of the business to the attorney-general, and to appoint a committee to go on to the other objects of inquiry: but, if the house wished that the whole should be referred to a committee previous to any legal inquiry, he should willingly

willingly accede to it.—The master of the rolls declared it to be the practice of the house, that whenever any point was determined by them to be referred to a court of law, all further inquiry and investigation cease. In that case partial inquiry might take place, to ascertain whether or not it was proper to prosecute, but nothing further. Mr. Fox saw nothing improper in uniting the inquiry by a committee with the prosecution at law, and cited several precedents favourable to his opinion. In the further progress of a loose and desultory debate, the speakers were, Mr. Ponsonby, lord Henry Petty, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Windham, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Bankes, Mr. serjeant Best, and sir J. C. Hippisley. The latter gentleman contradicted, upon his own knowledge, the fortune which rumour had asserted to have been amassed by Mr. Trotter. His property did not exceed 1,200*l.* per annum, and his buildings were on a very trifling scale. Mr. Tierney was of opinion that Trotter should be prosecuted by the attorney-general. With respect to other points, he wished that the house should retain in its own hands the whole power of inquiry. The attorney-general stated the difficulties likely to arise in the prosecution. Mr. Fox and Mr. Whitbread closed the discussion. For Mr. Pitt's amendment, 229; for Mr. Whitbread's motion, 151—Majority 78. A further division took place as to the appointment of a committee. Mr. Pitt moved that it should be determined by ballot; his motion was carried by a majority of 131.

On Monday April 29th, after some previous business, Mr. Spencer Stanhope rose to move that the attorney-general be instructed to commence a prosecution against lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, for ascertaining and recovering for the use of the public the profits arising from such moneys as had come into their hands for naval services since January 1786. The honourable gentleman expressed a hope that lord Melville would clear himself from any participation in the transaction. He stated that he had voted in favour of lord Melville on the previous divisions, being an enemy to the system of cutting off a man's head and trying him afterwards; and that he thought an investigation in the exchequer the only fair mode of bringing the question to an issue. Sir R. Buxton seconded the motion. Owing to indisposition he had not been able to vote on the first night, when the question was agitated, though he should have voted with the majority, as he considered the case to be very bad against the noble lord. Mr. Bankes regretted that this motion was made. He was persuaded, that could the house now revise their vote of the preceding night, the result would be very different. Many gentlemen now saw the propriety of enlarging the powers of the committee; many difficulties offered themselves in the way of a decision on the subject in a civil court; the opportunity of demurring, the doubt how far money not intrusted to the parties for the sake of gain could be sued for; the mixture of the property, and the intricacy and perplexed state of the accounts, left little expectation of a proper issue. He therefore submitted, that a prosecution of a criminal nature founded on the violation of an act of parliament, would be a course more expeditious, less uncertain, and more

more consistent with the dignity of the house; he moved, therefore, an amendment to that effect. Mr. Windham seconded the amendment, as no other alternative now offered but a choice between a civil and a criminal process. The master of the rolls thought it would be easier to procure evidence to sustain a civil action, than to support with effect a criminal proceeding: if no evidence on a criminal trial appeared of corrupt participation, the court of king's bench could scarcely do more than impose a small fine.

Dr. Lawrence, sir J. Newport, Mr. Fox and Mr. Grenville supported the amendment.

Mr. Sheridan noticed a mistake into which it appeared to him the mover had fallen; he had said that he did not believe that lord Melville had participated with Mr. Trotter, (and certainly there was no evidence of such participation,) and yet he spoke of his being compellable to refund by a civil action. If he had not participated, Mr. Sheridan did not see how he had become liable to refund; if he was innocent of any corrupt participation, then a civil action ought not to be brought: if he were guilty, a criminal prosecution would best answer the ends of justice.—Mr. Wilberforce expressed his sorrow that he had been prevented from attending the preceding night. The present mover did not seem to have attended to the circumstances of the case. He did not think the present motion calculated to produce any good effect. He sincerely regretted that the powers of the committee had been restricted; on the investigation there to be made, the public might have relied for success: any other mode must be open to disappointments, inconvenience and delay. The attention of the public was fixed on their proceedings, and on the courts of judicature to which they should resort for justice and punishment of the offenders. It was not money that the house and the country sought for in this instance; it was for the adoption of that proceeding which should best consult the honour and dignity of parliament and of the nation. It was of the utmost importance for parliament to take care that they did not go to demand the opinion of a court of judicature, in that part of the case in which there was a chance of failure. He confessed he had had doubts, although the spirit of the law was unquestionably with them, whether it was equally clear that the letter of the law was so too. As no gentlemen, however, had started any doubt on the subject, he should hope there was no risk of failure. Failure was at this moment greatly to be deprecated. It was not against the courts of law alone that the obloquy would attach, it would extend also to parliament. He was not anxious for popularity; he was solely solicitous to preserve unbroken those bonds of esteem, affection and confidence, which he hoped would always continue to subsist between the people and the parliament. He, as the best measure which now remained to be adopted, gave the amendment his support. The chancellor of the exchequer remarked the difference of opinion which now prevailed as to the mode of proceeding. It was the proposal of Mr. Whitbread, after mature consideration, that a civil suit against lord Melville and Mr. Trotter should take place, and now that course was rejected as nugatory. As to accompanying

panying that mode of proceeding with a committee of further inquiry, he begged leave to say that he had never stated himself willing to add to the powers of the committee that of inquiring into the affairs of lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, if a legal course of proceeding was adopted: he had only said, that if any important point deserved to be inquired into by the committee, he had no objections that it should be referred to it; but certainly no part that was to be investigated either by a civil or a penal proceeding. The real question was now between two modes of proceeding: the civil suit was that which promised most success, if indeed lord Melville had partaken with Mr. Trotter: as to a criminal proceeding, he conceived that the house on the tenth report had evinced a disinclination to any further step of vengeance, and had thought that the wound already inflicted on the noble lord was punishment enough.—Mr. Whitbread vindicated the course he had pursued; he had not abandoned the mode of proceeding by suit, but on a former night he did not move to that effect, because he saw that it was seized upon as a screen for lord Melville. He now voted for the amendment, as the only way left to him of obtaining public justice. The attorney-general explained what he had said on a former night: he had never said that a proceeding in exchequer would be ineffectual; it would be attended with difficulty, but less difficulty than in a committee or in a criminal form: as to the court of king's bench imposing a fine adequate to the profits, if any, made by lord Melville, that could not be, as there would there be no means of ascertaining the extent of them, and of fixing the fine accordingly. A civil suit was far more likely than a criminal one to satisfy the ends of justice. Mr. Tierney denied that the inquisitorial powers of the house were as limited as had been insinuated; the house was possessed of the highest inquisitorial power, and was most adequate to the examination of abuses and offences; it ought to have retained the case in its own hands; but not having done this, nothing remained but the choice between two modes of proceeding. Lord Melville had not been punished, nor had the house expressed any determination to do nothing further. The house had resolved that lord Melville had been guilty of a gross violation of law, and their honour and dignity required that they should do something to give effect to those resolutions. There was no precedent of a cabinet minister found guilty of a violation of law, and suspected of making use of the public money, being referred to the attorney-general. He regretted it was to be done now; but something was due to public justice, to the expectation of the nation; and that could only be satisfied by a criminal prosecution, which, if it did not procure the restitution of money, would in all probability obtain the punishment of the delinquents. The house then divided; for the original motion for a civil suit, 223; for Mr. Bankes's amendment, 128.—Majority, 95.

On the following day, a debate of some length took place as to the persons chosen on the preceding evening to form the committee of inquiry; and Mr. Whitbread moved, after some preliminary observations, That the name of lord viscount Castlereagh be struck off the list. The master

of

of the rolls entered into a detailed vindication of himself. As it is our wish to give at one general view the whole of the transactions relative to *lord Melville*, we shall only incidentally and partially notice the present debate, and hasten to relate what still remains of importance to be told with respect to this interesting business. The name of Mr. Baker (of Hertford) which was proposed to be substituted for that of lord Castlereagh, was objected to by the ministerial side of the house. Mr. Windham said that it was his intention to propose that his own name should be struck off from the committee, upon nearly the same grounds that the noble lord who was the subject of the motion was, in his opinion, ineligible; namely, the friendly and intimate intercourse which he had had with the right honourable gentleman whose conduct was to be investigated. The inquiry of the committee into the tenth report would certainly be likely to implicate the chancellor of the exchequer; it was a duty, therefore, which he himself did not wish to undertake; the committee ought to be composed not merely of impartial unprejudiced persons, but of those who would be zealous and active in their researches, who would, in fact, be a vigorous and accusing committee: they should not consist of a certain number of members from each side of the house, of a mere junction of the salt and alkali, to neutralize the vigour and resolution that was necessary to probe this important case to the bottom; the committee was not meant for judicial decision, but to collect and bring forth all the grounds for a charge, to be submitted to the consideration of the house. Was it not then singular, that one of the persons accused should himself nominate the committee that was to examine the grounds of the decision? When a friend was thus appointed to pursue such examination, he must be a sturdy moralist to use the necessary diligence in order to seek out facts likely to lead to conviction. The trial was too severe for any man, and the confidence was too much for the house to repose. He was not willing to encounter the trial himself. He once acted with the right honourable gentleman, although he now disagreed with him; and indeed, to speak correctly, he did not, even when he appeared to act with the right honourable gentleman, entirely agree with him. The agreement was comparative rather than absolute, rather with reference to the sentiments of those then opposed to the right honourable gentleman, and with whom he now concurred, than from a complete coincidence in the views entertained by the right honourable gentleman: still his connexion had been such that he did not wish to be a member of a committee appointed to arraign his conduct. Mr. Windham, though little inclined to enforce a devoted reverence for public opinion on points of war and peace, yet upon such an occasion as this would maintain that the public was entitled to particular attention. The public was the party to be satisfied, for it was the property of the public that had been misapplied. The constitution of this committee ought to be such as not to admit of any suspicion.

Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Grey, and the attorney-general, and Mr. R. Thornton severally spoke: the latter gentleman defended the list of the committee, as it stood. For the question 86; against it 219.—

Majority 133. Mr. Windham then moved that his own name be struck out: Ayes 80; Noes 207.—Majority 127.

It was not till the 6th of May that Mr. Whitbread renewed his motion as to the erasure of lord Melville's name from the list of privy counsellors. He rose, he said, to call the attention of the house to the further consideration of his majesty's answer to the resolutions relative to lord Melville. The chancellor of the exchequer observed, in interruption, that he had a communication to make, which he believed would satisfy the house and the honourable gentleman, and he submitted, whether this ought not to take precedence of any other question. Mr. Whitbread resuming, insisted that whatsoever it might be, it would come more properly before the house after his motion should have been made. The honourable member then said, that had he on the morning of the 9th of April brought forward his present proposition, or even, supposing lord Melville to be a commoner, had he moved his expulsion, he was confident the motion would have been adopted. He had since expected, that in deference to the house some other measure would have been advised by ministers: a month had now elapsed, and still his lordship's name was unerased from the books of the privy council: there, indeed, did not seem any intention to recommend such a step, and therefore it became necessary formally to bring it forward in that house. The chancellor of the exchequer, when he interrupted the honourable gentleman, had done it with a view to communicate to the house that his majesty had acceded to the advice which his ministers had humbly felt it their duty to give; and that the business would be finally executed on the first day that a council is held for general purposes. "Having said this, I shall, with the permission of the house, say a few words on the circumstances under which I formerly resisted this proposition, and those under which I have felt myself bound to yield to it. On the discussion which formerly took place I stated, that lord Melville having resigned his official situation, and all prospect or hope of his return to office being extinct so long as the resolutions of the 8th of April remained in full force, it did not seem to be the sense of the house that the present motion should be insisted on. Even gentlemen on the other side did not seem to wish that the motion should be pushed to a division. It appeared generally to be felt that enough had been done. The motion was accordingly withdrawn, and in the room of it the house agreed to lay the resolutions before his majesty. By following this course, it was imagined that the same result would be obtained, without wounding the feelings of the noble lord, who already was sufficiently afflicted by the general decision of the house. I did not, therefore, feel that I was actually expected to advise his majesty to erase the name of lord Melville from the list of privy-counsellors. Had I conceived such to be the wish of this house, I should unquestionably have bowed to it. Since that time, and in consequence of the honourable member's notice, that his motion would be renewed, I have had occasion to ascertain the sentiments of respectable gentlemen on both sides of the house, and I see reason to believe that the

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step desired by the honourable gentleman is considered, generally, as expedient. I have therefore felt it my duty to give advice of that nature, and I am not ashamed to confess that I have not done so without a bitter pang. I will not erase from my bosom feelings of private friendship, but I cannot suffer these feelings to interfere with what I find to be the declared sense of a majority of this house. After what I have said, the honourable gentleman will see, I trust, the propriety of withdrawing his motion. Every public object is obtained; and I am sure the honourable gentleman has candour and humanity enough not to press discussions, the only effect of which must be to wound the already severely afflicted feelings of a depressed individual." Mr. Fox would have felt it more satisfactory to the country, had the event now announced taken place in a manner more congenial to public justice. It did not appear on the part of his majesty's ministers as the voluntary act of men who wished to punish guilt. They hardly would admit that the conduct of lord Melville deserved the character of guilt. On the contrary, they not long since insisted that he was guilty only of a breach of the intention of an act of parliament. Now, indeed, a change has taken place in the tone of the right honourable gentleman, and he has said that it has changed out of respect to the house. But was not the sense of the house sufficiently known some weeks ago? Where did the right honourable gentleman ascertain the sense of the house? Perhaps he had been canvassing among individuals, and was not likely to succeed in pressing an opposition to the motion. It had been said that the decision which led to the result the house had just heard, was the effect of something that had occurred among ministers about a week since; that it was most certainly a compromise; if the change in the resolution of ministers arose from a wish to comply with the sense of the house, it must have taken place much sooner. Lord Melville was to be protected to the last moment; for, although the motion before the house had been announced some time since, a compliance with its object, which was the object of justice, was only communicated to the house the moment it was about to be submitted; a thing though speedily done, yet tardily begun. It was quite obvious that ministers yielded most reluctantly, and that the voice of the country would not have been obeyed had ministers the power to resist.—The chancellor of the exchequer said, that as to the allusions of the honourable gentleman to what he called a canvass of the members, he saw nothing censurable in availing himself of his extensive intercourse to ascertain their sentiments upon any public question. This was a right which belonged to every one in that house: when he found that any particular proceeding was wished for by a majority, he thought it but right and respectful to adopt it at once, and prevent the necessity of debate. What he had done he by no means thought inconsistent with his official duty. He added, that there was not one word in the resolutions recommending the removal of lord Melville's name from his majesty's council.—The secretary at war confirmed Mr. Pitt's statement of the sense of the house on the 10th of April, and begged the

house to recollect the expressions of the honourable gentleman opposite: Did he not say, that he gloried in being, with the duke of Devonshire, the only example of such a punishment in the present reign, and that he did not wish to have such an associate as lord Melville, in what he called a distinction and an honour? The honourable gentleman who began the debate, in a manner which had little in it of liberality, pressed upon lord Melville as if he had shared the plunder of the nation, or participated in public robbery: if he meant so to charge him, let him bring forward his accusation, and it should be met. The extent of lord Melville's misconduct is, that he suffered Trotter to make interest of the public money, and he has thereby certainly incurred the displeasure of the house. A house of commons, however, has not always been as rigid, or as strictly just, as in the case of lord Melville. Is it necessary to say, that lord Holland retired from the office of paymaster of the army in 1765, and for 17 years, till the year 1782, was in the undisturbed enjoyment, *out of office*, of 13,000*l.* per annum of interest of public money remaining in his hands, or in those of his executors? If report may be believed, the honourable gentleman opposite has in his youthful speculations, as he calls them, or, as in plainer English they would be called, gambling, lost sums so large as no common private fortune could supply. Did he, when 200,000*l.* were to be supplied, imagine that lord Holland was not indebted to the public purse to enable him to defray the extravagancies of his early life? If these remarks are thought severe, let it not be forgotten that only from provocation, seldom surpassed, they have been called forth.—Mr. Fox: "As the right honourable gentleman has thought proper so pointedly to allude to the conduct of my father, I hope for the indulgence of the house while I submit a few observations; for, although a considerable time has elapsed since the death of the person to whom the right honourable gentleman alludes, I cannot but feel a high interest in what concerns his reputation. What the right honourable gentleman could mean by calling him, in this instance, to my recollection, unless to create an uneasiness in my breast, I am at a loss to imagine. For how does the case of my father apply to lord Melville? There was no law to forbid the paymaster of the army to apply the balances remaining in his hands to any purpose of private emolument in the way described. At the time lord Holland held that office, taking the fact as alleged by the right honourable gentleman, the difference between lord Holland and lord Melville is this: that the conduct of the former was not against law, while that of the other was in the very teeth of a law proposed by himself (a cry of *hear! hear!*). That the practice which obtained in the office of paymaster of the army was generally right, I am not going to argue: but it must be in the recollection of the house, that at the time the practice was under discussion, very different opinions prevailed among the most eminent lawyers in the country upon this question, whether the paymasters were accountable to the public for the interest arising out of the balances remaining in their hands. The negative of this proposition was maintained by many persons

of high consideration, but most certainly the weight of eminence and authority was on the other side; for it was held that the balances were not the property of the public, but that of the public creditors. This was repeatedly discussed in the house under various administrations. I will not mention that of the marquis of Rockingham; but it was very fully canvassed during the administration of lord North, when no feeling of favour towards me could exist. The result was, that the committee reported that the practice was regarded as a privilege belonging to the office of paymaster to the army, and that it had generally prevailed with those who held that office, with the exception of the father of the gentleman opposite to me (lord Chatham), and perhaps another. Had it been deemed a criminal act, no doubt some prosecution would have been instituted. But the feeling was different, the house felt it so, and evinced its sentiment afterwards by granting an increase of the salary attached to the office, in lieu of such privilege. Recollecting all this, and knowing that the practice existed up to the time of the increase of salary on the appointment of Mr. Burke and Mr. Barré, I see no analogy between the case of lord Holland and lord Melville. With respect to what the honourable gentleman has said of my early life, I have, I am sorry to say, as he terms it, gambled a good deal. I feel that I continued that practice much too long, and lost a considerable sum of money. My father certainly left me a large fortune; but how the right honourable gentleman can infer that my manner of spending that fortune can afford proof of my connivance in what he considers as my father's improper mode of obtaining it, or that I was a party to the misappropriation of public money, I leave it to the house to conjecture. That those who are related to lord Melville should feel affected by the disgrace into which he has fallen, is natural; but yet I think that such feelings should not be suffered to stand in the way of a great public duty, and, indeed, it would be more delicate not to express them at all." Mr. Fox concluded by saying, that if it were the object of the right honourable gentleman to wound his feelings, he had completely failed; and he repeated, that if the right honourable gentleman had succeeded in fixing an imputation upon the conduct of lord Holland, that success would only have tended to aggravate the case of lord Melville.

Mr. Whitbread inquired whether lord Melville held any place of profit during the pleasure of the crown, and was answered 'None but for life.' Mr. Whitbread then withdrew his motion.—The committee on the tenth report had, before the discussion which we have just detailed, been occupied sedulously in its researches: and Mr. Whitbread, in consequence of what had passed there, now considered himself justified in giving notice of an intention finally to move for an impeachment. This notice was met on the part of Mr. Robert Dundas, by a requisition that lord Melville should be admitted and heard by the house on the subject of the reports previous to the motion. Leave to appear was given by the house of lords to their fellow peer, according to precedent; and on the 11th of June lord Melville, escorted by the serjeant at arms, advanced within the bar of the house of commons, where a

chair was placed for his reception. After a short pause his lordship began his address.

He expressed his satisfaction, that an opportunity was at length given him to defend his character, an opportunity which he had in vain asked for at the hands of the commissioners. That the house might be put in possession of what had passed betwixt the commissioners and himself, he began by reading several letters, particularly one from the former, dated April 2, 1805, in which they refused to re-examine him, for the purpose of making what they termed a supplemental report. He also explained his own eagerness to have been examined before the select committee, which was opposed by the orders of the house of lords, there existing one which forbade his appearance. He commented also upon the inconvenience under which he even now laboured, as he was permitted to attend only under a limitation that he should defend himself on such points as to which the house of commons had not previously passed any accusatory or criminatory resolutions. He was circumscribed, therefore, from entering into any defence with respect to the resolutions passed on the 8th of April. Those resolutions are fourteen in number, to which another was added on the 29th, 'That the attorney-general be directed to take such measures as may appear to him to be most effectual for ascertaining and recovering sums due to the public from lord viscount Melville, or Alexander Trotter esq., in respect to any profits derived by them from money issued for naval purposes, and that may have come into their hands subsequent to the 1st day of January 1786.' "The 12th, 13th, and 14th are chiefly deserving of attention; the previous ones being merely statements of facts. From the terms of the 12th resolution, it is necessary to couple it with the 13th, and the joint import is then, That Mr. Trotter, at various times, by a manifest evasion of the act, did draw from the bank and invest in exchequer and navy bills, and lend upon the security of stock, and employ in discounting private bills, and in the purchase of bank and East India stock, large sums of public money for the purposes of private emolument, and in doing so acted with my knowledge and consent, being my private agent: and the charge implies, though it does not expressly say, that Mr. Trotter, so acting as my private agent, did occasionally lay out 10 or 20,000*l.* for my use and benefit. Upon this I must say that this is erroneous in every particular. I never knew that Mr. Trotter had drawn any money out in manifest evasion of the act: I never knew that he had invested money in exchequer or navy bills; I never knew that he had lent upon the security of stock; I never knew that he had employed any money in the discount of private bills; I never knew that he employed any money in the purchase of bank or India stock. If such transactions existed, they were not, as stated, with my privity and consent. I need not, therefore, stop to express the indignation I felt when I found that not only that knowledge was imputed to me; but that it was even surmised that Mr. Trotter, in the execution of those transactions, enjoyed the benefit of my confidential knowledge of the secrets of government. Another charge I must notice, and which I had noticed

ticed and positively denied before the resolutions of the 8th of April, that I had ever participated in profits supposed to have been made by Mr. Trotter. I have reason too to know, that he, had he been asked, would have wholly denied such a participation. What, indeed, would at once refute any such insinuation is, that every sum advanced to me by Mr. Trotter has been repaid to the uttermost farthing. When I came into the navy pay-office I found Mr. Trotter there, having been introduced to it in consequence of his relationship to the late sir Gilbert Elliot and Mr. Coutts; he attracted my countenance by his zeal in pointing out to me the means that were often used to deprive the seamen and their families of the full amount of what they were justly entitled to; he enabled me to make the regulations which afterwards were sanctioned by parliament. Upon the death of Mr. Douglas I was led to appoint him to the office of paymaster. From being near me he naturally became the channel through which I transacted much public and private business, and I must say, that, however some parts of his conduct may have recently brought upon me much disquietude and anxiety, still the pay-office was conducted, for a period of fourteen years, without one payment being a moment delayed at the treasurer's office: and an account of not less than one hundred and thirty-four millions sterling has been closed, without the loss of one farthing having arisen to the public during the whole of that time. I now proceed to the 14th resolution, which embraces my supposed connivance at Trotter's conduct, and also the violation of the act of parliament. If it is meant to say, that Mr. Trotter had any authority from me to draw sums indiscriminately from the bank for his own use or emolument, I must deny that to such transactions I was ever privy: but, if it is meant that after the money was drawn from the bank by assignments, under the orders of the competent boards, it was illegal to put it into the hands of Mr. Coutts, I am yet, after all I have heard, to learn that it was a breach of the statute. That an indiscriminate power of drawing from the bank was given by me to Mr. Trotter, cannot be alleged by any person who attends to the real import of my evidence: the plain import of my answer to the questions of the commissioners is, that when the money was legally, and in the terms of the act of parliament, drawn from the bank, I permitted Mr. Trotter to lodge such balance of the money assigned as was not called for by the persons entitled to receive it. Now, as to the violation of the act of parliament, I contend, that there is not one clause of the act prohibitory of the permission to lodge assigned money in the hands of a private banker till applied for by the person entitled to it. This point I wish to be considered as at present altogether unconnected with the use made of the money when so lodged. Suppose, that, instead of lodging the money of the description I have stated in a private banker's hands, the practice had been to open a separate account in the bank of England for the deposit of such assigned money till called for; nobody, surely, would have contended that in such an arrangement the treasurer of the navy would have violated either the spirit or letter of the act: and yet, if no draft could

be made except on the general account raised at the bank in the name of the treasurer, the violation would equally exist in the supposed as in the real case. The fact is, that the law of 1785 was not intended to embrace all regulations for the conduct of that great machine which has now become necessary for the regular payment of the naval service; its single object was to convert the treasurer's account from a personal to an official account, and thereby to obviate an abuse whereby ex-treasurers of the navy had large balances in their hands, and remained great public accountants many years after they were out of office."—The noble lord in this part of his address adopted the line of argument made use of on a former night by Mr. Canning, as to the great difference existing between the army pay-office and the navy-office, and the necessity of the payments of the latter taking place in most minute sums. He observed also, that the practice of lodging naval money in the hands of Mr. Coutts continued for two years after he was out of office; and it was altered ultimately by Mr. Bathurst, not on a clear opinion formed by him of its illegality, but only because he thought the alteration expedient. His lordship therefore thought, even had he violated the law, that still there could have been no gross violation; that, even though there had been a breach, yet there was no high breach of duty.—"Having endeavoured, as clearly as I can, to explain the grounds upon which no illegality is imputable, I trust the nature and extent of the benefit which I conceive the paymaster might derive, from lodging the money thus drawn from the bank in the hands of messrs. Coutts, will be immediately perceived. I conceived the advantage to arise from an understanding between him and the partners of that house, as to the benefit they might respectively derive from the customary use of money while in their hands; and such an arrangement between them could not prevent the paymaster from drawing at any moment from Coutts's house any sum requisite for the discharge of claims to which that deposit money was liable. This is a state of the case, and of the impressions I had of it; and when I did not interpose to prevent the paymaster's enjoying such emolument, I did not conceive myself to be infringing any act of parliament, nor did I feel that I was incurring, either for the public or myself, the smallest degree of risk. I never felt it to be a clandestine or mysterious arrangement, or one which I might not put an end to at any moment I found expedient. Knowing that the paymaster had this advantage, I did not think it necessary to attend to a recommendation in the year 1786, of former commissioners, that the paymaster's salary should be augmented from 500*l.* to 800*l.* per annum; nor, in fact, was any addition made till the year 1800, when a still further increase of business arising in consequence of the adoption of many new and beneficial regulations, that larger allowance then took place. I must for a few minutes recall the attention of the house to the insinuation, that my authorising the lodging of naval money in the house of messrs. Coutts could only proceed from an intention of its being appropriated to private emolument. Previously to the year 1786, the navy-pay-office was situated in the city, in

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the neighbourhood of the bank; and it was only in consequence of its removal to Somerset Place that the suggestion was made to me, of the convenience of placing the money, when drawn from the bank, at some banker's in the neighbourhood. I think, indeed, I could prove that both the convenience and the security of the public would be better consulted by the accounts of the sub-accountants being placed in a situation liable to the daily inspection of the paymaster, than by having them raised in their separate names, at so great a distance from the means of such habitual examination. Having in the course of this statement given an open explanation of the circumstances connected with the purport of the resolutions of the 8th of April, I am aware it may naturally be asked, why I made any reserve in the answers I gave, when examined by the commissioners of naval inquiry. Having been asked this by many of my private friends, I can the more readily suppose the question to arise in the minds of others. I gladly seize this opportunity to premise, that the real import of my examination before the commissioners has been either much misunderstood or grossly misrepresented. It has been affirmed, that I refused to answer whether I had derived profit from the public money in the hands of the treasurer. I have done no such thing: the commissioners, in their letter of the 26th of June, call upon me to give them an account of certain particulars in detail, which it was literally impossible for me to do; and I added, I should think it my duty to withhold the information required, alluding to sums, which had been occasionally withdrawn for other public purposes, not naval. I heard no more from the commissioners for the space of four months, during which period they had become possessed of all Mr. Trotter's private accounts with the house of Messrs. Coutts. On the 2d of November, 1804, I received a summons from the commissioners, requesting my attendance; I attended, and underwent an examination by questions obviously prepared with much previous consideration. Having related these circumstances, and not being in possession myself of any of the accounts, the house will, I think, perceive how much the terms of my evidence have been misunderstood, if it is supposed that I had refused in general to answer whether I had derived benefit from the public money. At the time of that question being put, I had received the unexpected information, that Mr. Trotter, in the advances he had made to me on the account current of my affairs, had made them without discriminating whether they were from private funds, or from his public balances: from the knowledge of this blended account, I was induced to adopt a degree of reserve beyond what the occasion called for, instead of answering directly in the negative. A great deal of acrimony and ingenuity has been resorted to in the interpretation of another answer. When I was questioned whether I directed or authorised Mr. Trotter to lay out or apply any of the money issued for carrying on the current service of the navy, since the 1st of January 1786, for my benefit or advantage, I replied, that to the best of my recollection I never did. I certainly might, and ought to have answered simply, that I never did; my having prefixed the other useless words, arose out of a mode of expression customary with me, in speaking of past transac-

tions. Upon another topic, much asperity has been founded on the ground of my having declined to answer questions to criminate myself. This charge is the more extraordinary, since my accusers have rested the whole of their charge on what they have been pleased to call my confession. I certainly never made use of the clause in the act of parliament, for any personal reason, but solely to protect me from any of those irregularities which may be supposed to be committed in applying for a time any of the naval money to other public services. Indeed, if I had disclosed any of those transactions, I should have felt myself guilty, not only of a breach of public duty, but a most unwarrantable breach of private honour. It has also been urged against me from different quarters, that I could have had no other motive for remaining treasurer of the navy, after I became secretary of state, except the unlawful gains I am supposed to have made by that situation. There is one who hears me, and others with whom I have now no connexion in politics, who can bear testimony that I never was one hour secretary of state with my own inclination. Under the original institution of the board of India commissioners, the treasurership of the navy was understood to be the appropriate situation of the person who was to take the leading part in the management and control of the affairs in India. I had acted in that character for many years, and perhaps may have had the vanity to think, that by a successful administration of that great concern I had done essential service to my country; I had therefore a predilection for the Indian department, and it was the only one in which I wished to be employed. On this ground I declined accepting the seals of the home department, at the time lord Grenville was appointed; and when at a later period I was induced to accept them, it was with an assurance that I should only hold them for a few months, till the return from abroad of a noble lord for whom they were destined. He did not return at the time expected, and the state of the country rendered it impossible for me to decline obeying the command of my sovereign, by remaining in the home department. When the duke of Portland was appointed to that situation, I again made it my request, that I might confine myself to the affairs of India, and I again only desisted, from being specially commanded by his majesty to do so. The result of what I have stated on this topic, is, that I never had any predilection for the office of treasurer of the navy, excepting so far as it was the situation at that time appropriated to the person at the head of the administration of India.—I now proceed to observe upon the report of the committee of the house of commons. It begins by stating the substance of Mr. Trotter's evidence respecting his advances to me; upon which I must at once observe, that it is impossible for me to analyse any of the statements given by Mr. Trotter. None of the public accounts of the office ever were in my custody or possession; and from the day I transferred my balances to my successor, I considered my connexion with the pay-office wholly to have ceased, as much as if it had never existed. I for many years past have considered the vouchers of my settled accounts with Mr. Trotter, in the management of my private affairs, as not being of the smallest use, nor have I ever thought of preserving them: I have indeed

had an opportunity of looking into Mr. Trotter's accounts with Messrs. Coutts; but the bare inspection of them is sufficient to convince every person of the impossibility of deriving any information from them. I only therefore can affirm generally, that I am not indebted in one shilling either to Mr. Trotter or the public. Upon any anterior details into which Mr. Trotter may have entered, or may hereafter enter, any distinct explanation on my part is utterly impossible. I mean not to insinuate any intention on the part of Mr. Trotter to state any thing differently from what his recollection may have suggested at the moment; at the same time, it appears he has nothing to resort to but his memory, and both himself and his friends know that for a considerable time past that could not be relied on, as firmly as some years ago. An instance of this occurs in what he says about a Mr. Tweedie, whom he considers as having been employed by me confidentially, when he certainly never acted in any other shape than as a messenger between him and myself.—I proceed now to other points; and I must remark that whilst I was treasurer of the navy, I was at the same time the confidential adviser of government in every thing relating to the affairs in Scotland; in that capacity every person must feel the impossibility of being so without having recourse to the expenditure of occasional sums for the purposes of government; and however satisfied my own conviction may have been, and however clear the necessity and propriety of the expenditure in the instances in which it occurred, every one must be aware that it is impossible they should be detailed without great public and personal inconvenience; and I affirm that the 10,000*l.* which came into my hands during the paymastership of Mr. Douglas, was neither used, nor meant to be used, for any object of personal profit or emolument. But I cannot enter into a more minute explanation, either with regard to that sum or another of about a similar amount at a later period, without incurring a charge of a great breach as well of public duty as of private honour. There is one striking circumstance in this business, on which I may fairly rest in appealing to the candour of the house:—In my letter on the 30th of June last, to the commissioners of naval inquiry, though I referred to the whole, I certainly had particularly in contemplation a sum of 40,000*l.* advanced to Mr. Pitt, for purposes explained in the report of the committee of the house of commons. This sum formed two thirds of the whole; yet if Mr. Pitt had not thought it expedient to divulge the transaction, I should have thought it my duty never to have made such a discovery, from any personal consideration either of fame or safety: and yet it is obvious to what an extent of additional suspicion and obloquy I should have been exposed by the concealment. It will be recollected, that with regard to the 10,000*l.* put into my hands by Mr. Douglas, there is no room for any charge of violation of an act of parliament, as it took place before the existence of any act professing to make new regulations. The explanation which I have now given applies to 20,000*l.* of the sum mentioned in the report; and, with the addition of whatever sum Mr. Trotter was at any time in advance for me, in his account current, forms the aggregate of any advance he may have made to me, in so far

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as I can speak from the conviction of my own mind. There is some confusion in Mr. Trotter's memory, when he talks of twenty-two thousand or twenty-three thousand pounds as distinct from the advances of 'from ten thousand to twenty thousand pounds on his account current.' Either the one or other of these sums must be overstated. It is true, I have no materials or documents by which I can either assist or correct his recollection. I was perfectly aware that I was accountable to the public for the repayment of about twenty thousand pounds, drawn for confidential purposes, exclusive of the forty thousand to be immediately mentioned. But Mr. Trotter was wholly ignorant of those appropriations; and if he endeavoured to form a conjecture concerning them, it would have only served to mislead and confuse him.

"I shall now advert to a sum mentioned by Mr. Trotter, as borrowed at my direction and on my account. My own recollection is clear that it was a sum of twenty thousand pounds, and the annual interest paid upon a thousand pounds. He however states it to be twenty-two or twenty-three: if the three thousand pounds in addition was any advance on my account, it must have been on his account current, or in some other way which it is now impossible for me to trace. Mr. Trotter says, in the report, that he was himself the lender, and upon his authority I suppose he was. I had no knowledge of that, however, at the time, nor did I know of it till within these few weeks. The next particular in the report is the loan of 40,000*l.* advanced for the relief of Messrs. Boyd and Co. I think it unimportant to say whether the suggestion originated with me or not. I certainly was fully persuaded of its necessity and propriety. It may be right for me to advert to this part of the report, as it mentions my not paying interest when I repaid the sums to Mr. Trotter detailed in the report. It will, I think, be expected that I should give reasons why no interest was paid: The sums would have yielded no interest had they remained in the bank, nor under the circumstances of the case did I imagine that the public would ever look for interest:—for the sum borrowed at my direction for myself, interest was regularly paid; and if I for years was subject to such a payment, it seems to afford a strong presumption that I was not in the habit of applying public money to my own private emolument. It has been inferred from the latitude of expression used by Mr. Trotter, that he was in the practice of occasionally making advances to me, to the extent of ten or twenty thousand pounds. He certainly could only mean to speak of the aggregate sum advanced on his account current with me, adding all the items together during the whole progress of the account; on which, he states, there was at different times a considerable balance in my favour, on which he did not pay any interest. And any consideration of interest can only apply to the sums which Mr. Trotter was in advance for me, on my private account current with him. One advance made to me was for one or two instalments on the loyalty loan; and when I subscribed, I certainly had not at my command that sum: it was expected, however, that men in public situations should give countenance to it, and I purchased to dispose of the stock again.

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The late Mr. Henry Drummond managed it for me. Mr. Trotter received of my private funds and from my salary not less, and probably more, than twenty thousand pounds, during the fourteen years he was in the navy-office; the general impression I had of the state of our accounts was such as to make interest upon any balance appear to me of little moment.—The second head of the inquiry in the report embraces the subject of a communication said to have been made by Mr. Raikes to Mr. Pitt. This is said to have taken place in 1797; and certainly my own recollection now is rather derived from Mr. Pitt, with whom I have conversed upon the subject lately, than from any impression on my own mind. Supposing, therefore, Mr. Pitt to have made the communication to me in the same terms in which Mr. Raikes made it to him, I was likely enough to have treated it as an idle rumour, arising from the permission I had given to Mr. Trotter to draw from the bank, and place in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, the sums necessary in the regular course of office. This would, and I dare say did account to me for the rumour, and I treated it lightly accordingly. The third head of inquiry referred to the committee, respects the loss sustained by Mr. Jellicoe. I own this is the point of all others with respect to which I am least anxious: my *fame*, not my *fortune*, is the object of consideration with me: when it is so clearly established that the loss had occurred previous to my having any connexion with the treasurership of the navy, I should feel myself grievously injured if his majesty had not been advised to give me the relief which I received. Had Jellicoe lived, I am impressed with a conviction that the public would, from the value of his invention, have been glad to have purchased the patent at a much higher price, than by the loss which has been sustained by its failure; and it should be recollected that the public even now enjoys the benefit of it, without any compensation, excepting so far as the loss in question can be considered as such. Before concluding the observations on the report of the committee, I must notice *that* which has operated, I hear, even on the minds of candid and honourable men; I mean the clause in the release produced by Mr. Trotter, relative to the destroying the vouchers of all pecuniary transactions between him and me. In examining this subject, it must immediately occur to observation, that I was at the distance of 400 miles when this release was prepared and transmitted to me for signature; there was nothing particularly to call my attention to this clause; nor did I think there was any thing more in it than a common form, expressive of an obligation on the parties, not to keep in their possession any receipts or other vouchers, which could be made the ground of a claim by the heirs of either party against the other. I was never consulted about the clause, as indeed my distance from the place where it was prepared has of course a tendency to show. Mr. Trotter himself is asked, 'Did lord Melville give any instructions for inserting the clause to destroy the vouchers?' and he answers, 'No.' 'Did you know of his having given such instructions to any one?' 'I did not.' Mr. Spottiswoode, who drew the release, having died within these few months, I am deprived of his evidence; but his partner

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and his son would probably have heard that particular instructions had been given, were the case so; and they know nothing of it: indeed, a charge grounded upon this is in itself absurd; if it means any thing, it must mean that Mr. Trotter and I, being conscious of some foul transactions, had resolved to destroy the evidence of them: yet, instead of destroying such evidence silently, we are supposed to be willing to record our intention in a formal deed, and to publish to every person who saw the deed the means we had taken to cover it again. The house, as I understood, has been desired to attend to the circumstance of its bearing date soon after the commission of naval inquiry was appointed; but if the parties concerned were panic-struck by a dread of the commissioners of naval inquiry, was it not natural for them immediately to have destroyed these dangerous documents of guilt, instead of entering into an obligation liable to all the objections and difficulties which have been pointed out? Surely the parties had no ground to imagine that this release would not be produced, as well as the documents meant to be destroyed; and certainly not one of the vouchers could have been dwelt upon with more ingenuity and asperity than this release has been. If indeed it was meant to impose any active obligation upon me, I have certainly been very remiss in the performance of it, since I never have destroyed a single paper, from a feeling that I was bound by this to do so. As to the act of parliament appointing the commissioners of naval inquiry, no one, I believe, imagined that any thing but the abuses in the dock-yard was the object of the appointment. At the time I was applied to for the release, I was living with my family, and amongst my friends in Scotland; and perhaps if I had continued in that secession from public business, no attack would ever have been directed against me."—His lordship, having finished his observations, concluded with much energy; he hoped that he had sufficiently refrained from any asperity of language expressive of his feelings; his enemies, he said, were mistaken if they supposed that his spirits were easily to be broken down, by any exertion of theirs; but he wished he could say that he was unassailable in other quarters. The lashes intended for him had cruelly lacerated the feelings of many valuable friends, and of others more nearly and dearly connected with him; he would not trouble the house with much on the motion which he heard was intended to be made; he could hardly, however, believe that either impeachment or indictment was seriously intended; such active steps as had been taken out of doors could never have been resorted to, had any legal proceedings been intended against him. Circumstances not in his power to control, debarred him from the possibility of uttering what it would be most his personal interest to disclose. He despaired not, even in his own time, to receive ample justice from his deluded country; he yet expected to be considered hereafter as a man who had, during a long life of public service, exerted his unremitting endeavours to promote the welfare and the essential interest of his country.—Lord Melville having retired, Mr. Whitbread rose and observed, that it was the cause of great satisfaction that the noble lord had taken an opportunity of being heard on the charges against him. He wished that it were compatible

patible with the forms of the house for his lordship to have remained, that he might reply to the arguments which would be urged in answer to what he had said. The noble lord had expressed his satisfaction that posterity would do him justice: it was impossible, however, for the house to take on this occasion the assertions of the noble lord as evidence against his own testimony on oath, and to the declarations of others under a similar sanction. An honourable gentleman, when notice was first given of his present motion, had asked, whether in bringing the motion forward he acted as the organ of the select committee? If there were to be any organ of the committee, it unquestionably must have been the chairman: the committee, however, had come to no decision on the subject; but, as a member of it, he looked upon himself as justified in submitting to the house of commons this motion, which he deemed to be not at all inconsistent with what had hitherto been done. A civil suit had been preferred, but certainly that did not exclude a prosecution in a criminal form. He should propose, upon the present occasion, to do that which lord Loughborough had done with respect to Mr. Hastings: when the impeachment was brought against him, a civil suit was also pending in the court of chancery; lord Loughborough directed the suit to be suspended till the impeachment should be decided. The additional circumstances that had now come out with respect to the tenth report, rendered it impossible for the house not to adopt some criminal proceeding. It might be said that the committee had no power to investigate the question of participation; and he admitted that no such power was delegated. That, however, which came out incidentally, and without seeking, warranted him in charging upon lord Melville, that he did participate; and it would have been a dereliction of duty in them, on such a case, not to have gone into it. He felt himself bound, as did indeed the whole committee, to report what had come out incidentally; and when that report is before the house, what course had the house to pursue, but that of impeachment? Yet they were now but on the brink and verge of discovery; more, much more, was yet to come. He called on the house to impeach lord Melville; first, on the ground of his connivance at a breach of trust; secondly, on that of participation with Mr. Trotter; thirdly, on his having obtained, under fraudulent pretexts, a release for certain sums of money due, of the late Mr. Adam Jellicoe. He should not dwell on the first charge; that had been before the house. What was added to it by the report of the select committee? That the power which lord Melville had given to Mr. Trotter had been delegated by the latter to Mr. Wilson, with whom he left blank drafts; so that, neither having a control over the other, the practice might be continued through all the clerks in office. The honourable member observed, that Wilson had been examined before the committee, and had undoubtedly conducted himself with propriety. He owed him that justice. The noble lord had said, that till this day he had no opportunity of being heard. Surely he *had* been heard by the commissioners: to be heard by the house, he had never requested till now; yet he might have done so before the passing of the resolutions of the

eighth of April. The charge of participation was now made directly, for the first time: what had been uttered by the noble lord had strengthened the impression on his mind, which first led him to make the charge. The noble lord had said, that the profit of Trotter was only meant by him to arise from what allowance Messrs. Coutts might have made him, for the money placed in their hands. Such allowance was never made by bankers in England; yet this was the noble lord's account of Trotter's participation. The excuse of the mixed account was a strange and idle one. All Trotter's funds must have been public money, or derived from the misapplication of public money. He had been recommended to lord Melville, and appointed to a place with a salary of 500*l.* per annum: it was impossible with such means he could have had money to lend to such an amount, of his own private acquisition: this lord Melville must have known. An argument was revived by his lordship, that no loss had been sustained; he would not repeat the answers given to it before. 2000*l.* a year salary, however, had been given to make amends for the public money being lodged in the bank. The condition had not been kept: that sum therefore for sixteen years was lost to the public. Amongst the aggravations that had been brought to light before the select committee, it had appeared that larger advances than were before known had been made to his lordship without interest; and yet his lordship had boldly told them, he would never reveal the application of the sums in question. Trotter's refusal to answer, which he maintained was the fact; the *habitual* mode of expression of his lordship; the burning the papers; the unusual clause in the release (for unusual it was),—all were presumptions against lord Meville. There was also another new circumstance, which afforded reason for thinking his lordship guilty; and Mr. Whitbread was the more ready to mention this, because it exonerated the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer from all knowledge of any emolument having been derived from public money. The noble lord, though a conversation had passed upon the subject betwixt himself and Mr. Pitt, had not mentioned to that gentleman, what he had told the commissioners, that the money was lodged in a private banker's hands. The right honourable gentleman, he thought, should, however, have made some further inquiry, and had been betrayed by his confidence in the noble lord. Mr. Whitbread adverted to the sums drawn by Mr. Tweedie, and contended that no account was given where or when the sums were received, or where and when they were paid. It was perfectly unexplained by lord Melville, to what public purpose he had applied the public money that had been from time to time advanced to him. In 1786, when Mr. Douglas was paymaster, he was in no high situation, such as would afford him the pretext for asserting that he had applied the money to confidential services: yet he will not reveal; he does not offer to state it even to a secret committee. If he would state it even to a jury of honour, composed of his right honourable friend Mr. Pitt, the right honourable Mr. Windham, who had formerly been in office, and any other honourable man, and they should acquaint the house that they were satisfied with his explanation, he too would be satisfied.

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The honourable gentleman came next to the consideration of the third charge. Jellicoe had been in the habit of leaving his accounts deficient. Lord Melville at length suspected the cause; and every thing that came out relative to him showed he had been tempted to use money lying by negligence too long in his hands. Surely lord Melville ought to have suspended Jellicoe, and to have taken the securities offered to him for the repayment of the deficiency: but he permitted the abuse to go on, and the result was most unfortunate. A right honourable gentleman, indeed (Mr. Rose), though dealing generally only in monosyllables, had upon this occasion given a florid and reasoning answer, and had said that it was an act of bare justice to grant the warrant, and that he would have granted it even to an enemy. He should have shown, however, that the greater part of the money lost through Jellicoe had been left in his hands during the administration of lord Melville's predecessor, as had been asserted. The deficiency had never amounted to more than 7000*l.* and when his lordship came into office had been reduced to 900*l.* Under lord Melville it increased at one time to 37,000*l.* The whole deficiency was his lordship's, except the 900*l.* Besides, from 1793 up to 1800 no measures were taken to recover the balance from Jellicoe's effects. After all, precedents for acquittal in this case should have been shown. His lorship had said that the treasurership of the navy was always designed to go with the board of control. If so, why had not lord Castlereagh the treasurership of the navy? All that was now required to be done was, that lord Melville should be put on his trial. His friends had formerly called for trial. The trial of lord Macclesfield occupied only 25 days, and he was sure that that of lord Melville would not take up more. The greatness of the expense was also no objection. The country, if not too poor to be robbed, is not too poor to demand justice. His lordship had dwelt on his greatness; he had been raised to another house of higher dignity than this. That he had not been raised to that dignity by a monarch whom he had deceived and betrayed, was well worthy of being ascertained. He was raised to the peerage by a minister now a member also of the same house (lord Sidmouth), who never would have advised his majesty to have raised lord Melville to that dignity, had he known of the present transactions. If a peer is disgraced by his practices, it ought to be known that he is a disgraced man. Such a character is not meant to sit there. He moved, "That Henry lord viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors."

Mr. Bond expressed his agreement with the honourable gentleman, that some further step should be taken in this business; but he meant to offer an amendment as to the mode to be pursued. When the motion for a censure on the conduct of lord Melville was first brought forward, he had considered it as premature, but it had been carried. The next step was the appointment of a committee to investigate the allegations of the tenth report. Restrictions were imposed on that committee —he owned, not at all satisfactory to himself. The question then became, whether a civil or a criminal prosecution should be instituted. He supported the motion for a civil

vil process, because that was the milder measure; and he could not but think that the noble lord had suffered punishment in what had passed before. The question now was, Was there not new matter sufficient to warrant a different mode of procedure? He feared that the participation of lord Melville in the profits made by his agent was now established. In the first place, his lordship has avowed that 10,000*l.* was expended in Scotland, of which he has refused all explanation. Did the noble lord lend this sum, or give it away? What delicate circumstances could now render its being divulged improper? At a subsequent period there was a sum of 11,000*l.* not accounted for. Lord Melville also had certainly practised deception on Mr. Pitt, after the communication made to the former by Mr. Raikes. The exchange of releases, also, was a strong fact, and the date of the instrument could not but create suspicion. The act instituted a commission of naval inquiry, December 29. The first precept of the commissioners was dated the 17th of the following January; the second precept, the 2d of February; and the release was signed by lord Melville on the 18th of the same month. The deed was not known either to Spottiswoode's partner or his clerk; there was therefore no notoriety attending it. Immediately after, the noble lord is busily employed in the destruction of papers. If all this were the effect of chance, then was his lordship most unfortunate. But a coincidence so extraordinary required explanation. Let it be remembered, that all he wanted was further inquiry. If the noble lord could acquit himself of the imputations on his character, he could have no friend who would rejoice more than himself. Criminal proceedings ought, he thought, to be instituted; but there were two modes, by impeachment and by prosecution. If impeachment was the most dignified, it was also the most expensive and cumbrous. He should propose as an amendment, "That his majesty's attorney-general be directed to prosecute Henry lord viscount Melville for the several offences which appear, from the report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, and that of the select committee of the house of commons, to have been committed by the said Henry lord viscount Melville; and that the attorney-general be directed to stay proceedings in the civil suit instituted by order of the house against the said Henry lord viscount Melville."

The master of the rolls reminded the house of the severity already shown to lord Melville. Were the resolutions of the 8th of April still unreversed; and were they to add the resolution now proposed to the punishment already bestowed? He was of opinion that little more had come out upon the committee than what was before known to the house, and certainly nothing conclusive: the circumstance of a release having passed between the two parties seemed to be the only new fact; and surely there was nothing in that decisive of guilt. He deemed it repugnant to equity, that two modes of punishment should be resorted to, and in the inverted order in which they now must be. The only case in which the attempt ever was made, was that of lord Somers. According to bishop Burnet, it was evident that an address to the throne and an impeachment

peachment were moved upon the same case. The lords differed, however, in opinion from the commons, and thought that it was a bad precedent: they sent up an address to the throne, expressive of their sentiments, and the sense of the public seemed to go with them: the sovereign, also, refused to give his assent to such an extraordinary mode of proceeding. The master of the rolls concluded, that enough had been done, and that all further prosecution would partake of injustice.

Lord Temple contended that the case of lord Somers was very different from the present. In the former, an address was sent up to the throne, and an impeachment was also to be moved in that house: in the case of lord Melville, the house had only determined what appeared to them to be the nature of the offence committed, and left the sovereign to the exercise of his own feelings, without calling upon him for the expression of any opinion, which possibly might be supposed to have weight in any other place. He voted for an impeachment. Mr. Hawkins Browne did not discover any new matter in the report, that made the present motion necessary, nor could he support even the amendment: he thought lord Melville had suffered enough.

Mr. Hiley Addington had a most painful duty to execute, because he could not divest his mind of a just consideration of the great service rendered to the country by the noble person whose conduct was in question, and because he could never cease to remember the many marks of private friendship and kindness which it had been his fate personally to experience from his lordship. He professed himself by no means convinced by his learned friend the master of the rolls: he certainly himself was unsatisfied with the early proceedings of the house; but when gentlemen stated that justice was already done, and that it was not intended to follow up the delinquency of the accused beyond the resolutions of the 8th of April, he felt some degree of surprise. Unless something more was intended, the purpose of the select committee was nugatory. From what the report of that committee had disclosed, he was led to pronounce other proceedings indispensable: he should, therefore, support the amendment, as holding out the more lenient method. If, however, a criminal prosecution should not be acceded to, he saw no alternative left but to vote for an impeachment: he was bound to sacrifice private feelings to public duty.—Mr. Alexander considered the offence of lord Melville to partake much more of the character of the *malum prohibitum* than the *malum in se*. Previous to the 26th of the king, the practice with which lord Melville was charged was not, either by common or statute law, a crime: even by that statute, the practice was merely prohibited, and no penalty annexed to the commission of it: it was therefore with the house to determine the penalty; and, under all the circumstances, he thought that a penalty sufficiently severe had been inflicted. Mr. Pytches thought that lord Melville would have done better, had he requested some friend of his to tell the house that he had done wrong and was sorry for it, instead of coming forward himself to make a speech, in which he most pertinaciously asserted his innocence. Had he manifested any thing like repentance, even though so late; had he appealed to the feelings of the house, he

might have met compassion; but from the whole of his demeanour, combined with all the other circumstances, he really thought him entirely undeserving of lenity, and should therefore vote for the impeachment.—Mr. Somers Cocks, on public grounds also, declared that he should support the original motion. Lord Henry Petty having been heard by the house with much attention, Mr. Wilberforce, from the lateness of the hour, thought it advisable to adjourn to the following day; which was acceded to by the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer.

Mr. Leycester, on Wednesday the 12th, moved the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate; and the original question and amendment having been put from the chair, he proceeded to say, that he thought he should discharge his duty conscientiously both to lord Melville and the public, in giving a negative to the motion. From his professional habits, he was not disposed to think a man guilty till he should be proved to be so by a full trial. He must therefore, at present, consider lord Melville as not guilty; and he thought that, the house having once decided upon a civil action, it was somewhat inconsistent to exchange it for a criminal proceeding. The committee had been precluded from directly inquiring into the transaction, upon which the house had before come to a decision; and consequently, had any of the witnesses examined before them set out with stating that they were about to speak of the sums advanced for the private use of lord Melville, he had no doubt but they would have been stopped at the outset. Those parts of the evidence, therefore, which were now made a ground for further proceedings, had been accidental only, and had not been duly sifted. He did not feel that the tendency of the new matter was such as it seemed to his learned friend (Mr. Bond). As to the twenty thousand pounds, there was no evidence to show that lord Melville knew the fund whence it came to him: neither did he discover any proof of his lordship's participation in the interest arising from navy, exchequer bills, or other stock purchased. He admitted that the ten thousand pounds which had been in the possession of lord Melville previous to 1786, and the other sum of ten thousand pounds, had been *primâ facie* unexplained. Suppose, however, what would be most disadvantageous to lord Melville, that both had been applied to his private use, and then it would only follow, that they had been advanced to him from time to time as a temporary accommodation. It had been argued by the noble lord (H. Petty), that these sums had never been repaid. That, however, was an assertion contradictory to the tendency of the report. Mr. Trotter had distinctly answered, that not only these sums, but all advances to lord Melville since the year 1786 had since been repaid. On the whole, it only appeared that in the course of 14 or 16 years, lord Melville had been accommodated to the amount of 20 or 30,000*l.* As to the bond of release, he thought there was nothing extraordinary in the clause: covenants to give up vouchers were frequent; and if this clause had come to their knowledge without any previous acquaintance with the circumstance of the destruction of vouchers, it would never have given rise to unfavourable suspicions. The honourable mover, Mr. Whitbread, had said that he did not wish to

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carry the punishment a hair's-breadth beyond what the ends of justice required. What was the end of justice? Not to crush the individual, but to make an example that might deter others from the commission of crimes. Had lord Melville not been made an example of? He confessed he thought enough had been done for the sake of example, and he should, therefore, vote against the motion.

Mr. Wilberforce admitted that the honourable gentleman who had preceded him discussed the question with that candour and moderation that became a member of the legislature. It was painful for him still to be compelled to dissent from the conclusions which had been drawn. He had come down to the house the preceding day, with a view to attend to what the noble lord had to urge in his defence, and in the expectation that any thing that was doubtful might be explained, and any thing that was wanted might be supplied. He had come down, entertaining doubts concerning the motion which was to be made; but the speech of the noble lord had convinced him that some further criminal prosecution was necessary before justice could be satisfied. The principles which the noble lord had laid down were such as to call for severe observation. They had been in such a state with respect to several particulars, that they could look for information only from his lordship; and though, when permitted to attend in that house, he had been laid under restrictions in another place, it was to have been expected still, that he would not have omitted to have entered into a defence of his conduct fairly and temperately. So far, however, had the speech of the noble lord been from a justification of his conduct, that it strengthened the charges affecting him. He would not go over the whole of the arguments of the noble lord, because they had been infinitely better refuted by the honourable mover (Mr. Whitbread), and also because the detail would be painful to him. There were one or two topics, however, which he must touch. The noble lord had acknowledged no criminality. He stated that the law of the land had not been violated; in support of this assertion, he had argued from the statute, and from the conduct of subsequent treasurers of the navy, and in particular of lord Harrowby. The noble lord insisted, that the statute only required that the money should not be drawn from the bank but for naval services; which regulation had not been violated. But could it be believed, that the legislature, having directed that the money was not to be drawn but for naval services, could intend that the money, when drawn, was to be applied to other than naval services? Is this any thing other than a miserable quibble? Lord Harrowby, it has been said, doubted of the propriety of the practice, yet it was continued two years after he had been in office. Lord Harrowby, when first appointed, was too ill to attend to the duties of the office: but afterwards, when his state of health permitted him to discharge them truly, he had conducted the business of the department in strict conformity with the letter and spirit of the law. It was unnecessary to argue that the act was clear and imperative on this head. The manner in which it had originated, the discussions that preceded it,

the increase of salary,—all threw light on its meaning. He could recollect but one part in the noble lord's address which seemed satisfactory, and that was, his reason for keeping his place of treasurer of the navy in consequence of its having been connected with the superintendance of Indian affairs. The honourable member spoke highly of lord Melville's conduct whilst connected with India: he believed him, and upon the authority of lord Teignmouth, to have conducted himself with great integrity. With regard to the papers, and the clause in the release, had the destruction of vouchers been unknown, there would not possibly have been much in it. The coincidence, however, was remarkable. But the topic, which affected him most, was the point insisted upon by his lordship with respect to the ten thousand pounds. Was it not most surprising, for a man like his lordship, acquainted with history, versed in business, informed on the subject of legal delinquencies, in the habit of preparing defences for others,—Was not it most remarkable that *he* should refuse to give any account of the use or destination of this sum? Even the sovereign takes an oath that he will rule according to the laws. It is the known law, that no money voted by parliament should be expended but as the law directs; but the noble lord was prevented from disclosure by considerations of public expedience and private honour. Surely, when the noble lord had accepted of a place in this country, he must have entered into an obligation to discharge the duties of it according to law. It could not be true that this secrecy was either essential to the dignity of the government or the safety of the country. A foreigner, a Mr. Gourney, had observed to Charles the Second, that a king of England, who governed according to the laws, would be the greatest sovereign on earth; but without them the weakest. The consequences of the principle laid down by the noble lord would be most fatal. The main question, in his mind, was, whether lord Melville had been already punished? He considered his lordship's crime to be of great magnitude. It had been committed by one learned in the laws and judicial proceedings of the country; it had not been committed in a hurry or through passion, but had been persevered in for many years; so that it was characterized by its intensity on one hand, and its continuity on the other. The only punishment inflicted had been the striking him out of the list of privy counsellors. The resolutions of the house might very properly precede a motion for impeachment; they could not, therefore, be considered as a part of punishment. He thought there would be no inconsistency in adopting a criminal proceding. He was inclined to adopt the amendment of his learned friend (Mr. Bond); but those who were agreed as to the substance should not differ about the manner of obtaining it, and he therefore wished the amendment not to be pressed upon the house. After some additional observations, Mr. Wilberforce concluded; and was succeeded by lord Castlereagh. His lordship felt himself himself called upon to lay before the house the grounds upon which he must give his decided negative to the original motion. He had wished the question to be discussed by legal characters, because he thought that a harsh and antiquated view was taken of the

subject.

subject. Up to the present motion, every step taken indicated that no criminal proceeding was to be resorted to. An hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox) had distinctly said, that if lord Melville were removed from his majesty's councils and presence for ever, he should consider all personal proceedings against him as concluded. The honourable mover had never intimated that he would do more than bring forward a motion for the institution of a civil suit. A new case therefore ought to be shown, and irrefragable arguments adduced, to incline the house to adopt this new measure of severity: and was there really such new matter in the report of this select committee? It was known at the former period, that considerable sums of the public money, issued for naval services, had been appropriated to purposes not naval: nay, the impression was stronger than it was now, for the house then believed that 60,000*l.* had been diverted in this manner, but they did not know that 40,000*l.* of it had been applied in a way which did credit to those concerned; and yet having negatived a proposition to enter into criminal proceedings at that time, they are now called on to accede to it, when the circumstances are certainly so far less flagrant. The honourable gentleman had laid much stress on the refusal of the noble lord to explain what was done with the 10,000*l.* But surely it must occur to the house, that in times like those through which we have lately passed, money might be applied in secret services, the disclosure of which to a single individual might endanger the life and honour of those who had placed implicit confidence in the faith of a minister. A doubt had been expressed, whether this sum had been ever repaid; but, if the evidence were examined, it would appear from Trotter distinctly, that not only that sum, but every other sum advanced, was repaid. Though the noble lord, at the time when he withdrew this sum of 10,000*l.*, was not in any official situation as a minister, yet effectively he was to all intents, with respect to Scotland, a confidential servant and adviser to the crown. His lordship referred to the evidence to be drawn from a conversation between lord Melville and Trotter, for the proof that this money was not expended for private profit. The language held by lord Melville was that of natural apprehension, that the result of his having advanced money to public services would be detrimental to himself. With regard to the other sum, it was precisely that for which no indictment could be framed: it was arising from a balance, to which the act of parliament did not apply. Lord Melville never could have compromised, nay, shipwrecked his reputation for such paltry advantages. The money drawn from the mixed fund was indeed a fair object of jealousy, and a civil procedure might be admitted to be proper to ascertain the composition of that account. But never could a criminal court take cognisance of it, unless it was proved to be public property; which could only be done by a civil suit. The gross sum for which lord Melville stood accountable, at the time of the last vote of the house on the subject, was reducible to about ten or fifteen thousand pounds. Nothing more culpable than what was known then, therefore, had now come out. The transactions at Coutts's, with respect to the navy bills, &c. were too public for here to have been any idea of criminality

minality going along with them. If a trial before the lords would really afford lord Melville a fair chance of investigation, he would not oppose the present motion. But it never could do that. What evidence could be adduced? His own must be rejected, and Mr. Trotter had already said, he was ignorant of the merits of the case which had occasioned the application of the twenty thousand pounds. The house of peers, if it convicted his lordship, could do it only of legal, not of moral guilt. If, on the contrary, that branch of the legislature pronounced him innocent, were the commons prepared to rescind their resolutions, and restore his lordship to his former situation? Lord Castlereagh urged on every account the superior propriety of a civil suit: he concluded by reminding the house of the merits and active services of lord Melville, and by opposing the motion.—Mr. Grey could not suffer the observations which had just been made, to pass unnoticed. Amongst other remarks, one, which was meant as an attack upon his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread), it became him especially to reply to. How could it be said, he had misled the house (such was the accusation) in their proceedings? The only step proposed by him was the resolutions of the 8th; he afterwards voted for an unlimited committee, and failed in that motion. The process by civil suit his honourable friend had declined moving, because the inquiry of the committee was restricted. It had afterwards been proposed by a gentleman who had voted in favour of lord Melville on a preceding occasion, and who had never since voted against him:—if therefore the house was embarrassed, it could not be by his honourable friend. Mr. Grey recapitulated the argument, which tended to show that lord Melville had not at present been punished; he next observed, that the proceedings of the house had been hitherto confined to lord Melville's allowing the law to be violated by his agent. Why not on that part of the subject yet untouched, the participation of lord Melville in illicit profits, institute a criminal prosecution? It could scarcely be maintained that other parts of the transaction were subject to criminal prosecution, but that this was sacred. Had then lord Melville enjoyed such participation, or not? Even the noble lord (Castlereagh) seemed to admit that an income of 750*l.* a year might have been derived from such profits. If so much be admitted, what ought the conjecture to be with respect to the actual fact? If the drawing of money from the bank were really and *bonâ fide* for the purpose of discharging small sums, it certainly could scarcely be looked upon as an infringement of the act: but the charge against lord Melville was, that under this pretext he authorised Trotter to withdraw immense sums of money, to be afterwards employed by him for private purposes. Mr. Grey contended in detail, that, first, this had been done with the concurrence of lord Melville; and, secondly, that he participated in the emolument himself. He concluded by saying that he should support the original motion, but that next to impeachment he approved of criminal prosecution.—Mr. R. Dundas, lord Melville's son, felt that it would be unwarrantable in him to offer any observations upon the general subject before the house: it became him to say but little; and he should only touch

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upon a few separate facts. He thought that there *was* some hardship in the meetings which had taken place out of doors, and which must prejudice the minds of those who were afterwards to try the cause and as jurymen to decide upon it. One point which had been much dwelt upon, was, that lord Melville had by his own authority postponed, for six months, the operation of the act for regulating the office of the navy treasurer. The very direction of the act was, that the account should be made up every year to the 31st of December, *beginning* with the 31st of December 1786. It *could* only therefore be an account of six months, if made up to the 31st of December 1785. Lord Melville's conduct upon the communication made to him by the chancellor of the exchequer, in consequence of Mr. Raikes's representation, seemed natural. Upon the supposition that he had permitted Trotter to draw the *assigned* balances only; he thought it impossible that any moneys could be drawn beyond those, and consequently felt no alarm. Lord Melville never had large sums standing in the funds, as had been surmised. The loyalty loan was the only stock he ever purchased, that was considered by him as a sort of official purchase. Mr. Dundas asserted that the registry of the releases was made in the court of session, and was necessarily a very public transaction. He corrected Mr. Bond's statement as to a precept having been issued by the commissioners to his lordship, dated 17th January: none was delivered before July 1804. Mr. Bond acknowledged his mistake.

Mr. Ellison, Mr. G. Vansittart, and Mr. Bankes supported the propriety of a trial, and thought the mode by prosecution preferable. The latter gentleman instanced the case of lord Halifax, who by resolutions of commissioners was accused, in 1702, of a breach of trust in neglecting to revise the quarterly accounts. There were, in the case of that nobleman, resolutions with respect to the breach of law, a vote to carry up the resolutions to the throne, and an address to her majesty to direct her attorney-general to prosecute. Mr. Bankes also referred to the vote of the house of commons, against the duke of Marlborough, in the year 1711. The duke was not at the time in the receipt of the emoluments of office; yet the queen, in consequence of an address, directed a prosecution against him.—Mr. Canning endeavoured to distinguish the cited cases from that of lord Melville. He asserted his perfect agreement with the observation made by his lordship, that the time was not far distant, when the unnatural magnitude to which the offence, if such it was, had been swelled, would soon subside, and his character be rescued from the obloquy now cast upon it. If his lordship was to be tried at all, it ought to be by his peers; but he thought, that the civil action, which had been resolved on, was enough.—Mr. Bragge Bathurst opposed Mr. Canning. As to the release, he maintained, that unless a lawsuit should have arisen between lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, or their representatives, no publicity could attach to it. From his own knowledge of the navy-treasury, he was of opinion that no convenience resulted from the infraction of the act. He voted for a criminal prosecution.—Mr. Ryder contended, that, the house having resolved that the noble

lord had misapplied the public money, that was the *corpus delicti*, and what last had been discovered by the report was only aggravation. The attorney-general admitted that the civil suit was no bar to a criminal prosecution. There were so many difficulties likely to arise, that he should often have to ask the direction of the house. He argued from several legal analogies, that the house now could not act upon what had lately come out. The house had not indeed the form of a criminal court, but it was such in effect. It had pronounced a person guilty of a minor offence: it could not therefore decently now forgo what it had before pronounced, and pursue the accused as for a greater. The embarrassment arose from the first step. The attorney-general was not prepared to say, as to the 10,000*l.*, but that there was legal guilt; and he was not sure, but that, had that been in evidence at first, he should have voted for an impeachment. He *was* prepared to say, that had the gentlemen on the other side waited to discover what they had now discovered, they would in all probability have had his support, as to a prosecution at least. He now could only uphold what the house had first resolved upon.

Mr. Whitbread replied. He noticed the highly respectful and judicious conduct of Mr. R. Dundas. It would have been well had the noble lord (Melville) intrusted his defence to that gentleman, rather than have conducted it himself. He asked, whether any one had thought lord Macclesfield sufficiently censured by the vote of the house of commons passed against him. Yet what was the guilt of lord Macclesfield, compared with the present? He pledged himself that a trial by impeachment would not last above a few weeks at most. Mr. Sheridan stated in few words, why he preferred the process by impeachment.

The house divided on the original motion: for the impeachment 195; against it 272; majority 77. Upon Mr. Bond's amendment, for the prosecution 238; against it 229; majority 9.

We are at length drawing towards the close of the parliamentary proceedings in the lower house, to which the conduct of lord Melville gave rise; and after the preceding debate, which we have detailed, it might have been expected that little more would have remained than a mere recital of forms. Upon the meeting, however, of the house of commons, June the 25th, Mr. Bond rose to state, that notwithstanding his notice, given for that day, of his intention to move for an instruction to the attorney-general relative to a criminal prosecution stood first in order; yet, as a learned friend of his (Mr. Leycester) intended, he understood, to move for the substitution of an impeachment, he thought it right to reserve his own proceeding, which would be rendered nugatory if the house should adopt his honourable friend's.

Mr. Leycester said, that he meant to move that the house should proceed against lord Melville by impeachment, and that the attorney-general should be directed to stay the criminal prosecution ordered on the 13th of June. He had been one of those, who thought that enough had been done before that day; but, as the house was of a different opinion, he had acquiesced. Not however having been aware of his honourable friend's intended amendment, he had, to say truth,

not sufficiently compared which was the more eligible of the two modes of proceeding. Having turned his mind to the subject since, he owned, that nothwithstanding the reasons alleged in support of a prosecution, he thought impeachment preferable. It was more consistent with the usage of parliament, more consistent with the dignity of the house, and the rank of the person accused, and would with more certainty lead to equal justice between the country and the individual. Commoners, he had found upon research, were usually subjected to prosecution, unless upon some very extraordinary occasion. All the instances of proceedings against peers were by impeachment, with the single exception of the case of lord Halifax. He believed the reason why lord Halifax was prosecuted in the exchequer, was, that his office of auditor of the exchequer was under the authority of that court; and the manner of making up the accounts came most properly under its cognisance. But when the attorney-general was called upon to report the proceedings, it appeared that an exception was taken by the counsel for lord Halifax, which rendered it impossible to go on with the prosecution. This issue of the single instance of departure from the general usage, in the case of peers, did not give much encouragement to resort to it. Though a peer may be proceeded against before a common jury, yet the proceeding was anomalous; an impeachment before the peers was more consistent with the constitution, of which trial by one's peers was a most essential characteristic. He had as high a sense as his right honourable friend (Mr. Bond) of the upright character of the noble lord who presided in the court in which lord Melville would probably be tried on a criminal prosecution by the attorney-general, and of the other judges. He had also as great respect for our juries. But he would contend, there were cases in which our common courts of law could not render substantial justice, because they are fettered by formalities necessary to the ordinary administration of justice, but inconsistent with the development of transactions like the present. The courts of law might find, that lord Melville had violated an act of parliament, in permitting Mr. Trotter to use the public money. Could they go much further? Could they find the 10,000*l.* to be illegally applied? The intention of the house was to go at large into the whole matter. They wish to know something more than courts of common law can arrive at. They want to come at the participation of the noble lord in the profits of Trotter, and to know its extent and measure. They can no otherwise understand the extent and measure of his guilt. Courts of law, if they were not narrowed by forms, do not allow of time sufficient for such an investigation, according to the necessity of their proceedings. The commissioners of naval inquiry employed much time, and afterwards the select committee did the same in examining accounts. Could the facts, as they already appear, have been brought out in the compass allowed for trial in a court of law? In an impeachment, every thing tends to the point desired by the house. First, the quantity of time is their own: secondly, they are unembarrassed by forms: and lastly, every part of the transactions may be equally examined. An impeachment may be more injurious to the noble lord,

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where he is guilty; but it will be more advantageous to him where innocent. Another strong objection he had to a trial by courts of common law, in this case, was the almost universal and inveterate prejudice against the noble lord, existing in the public mind, and assiduously cultivated there. He asked, whether, with such a weight of prejudice on the mind of almost every individual, lord Melville could be fairly tried by a jury? The jurors in Westminster-hall were generally composed of tradesmen and shopkeepers of Westminster,—respectable and upright men, he was ready to allow,—but most probably in this instance impressed with a prejudice which they could not efface on the trial. The noble persons who would be judges on the impeachment were least accessible to that prejudice; and the deliberation with which the impeachment would proceed, could enable them to exclude every improper impulse. For these reasons, he preferred impeachment. Out of 467 members present, no more than 50 voted for a criminal prosecution,—as contrasted with impeachment; the remainder of those who voted for it, adopting it only in preference to the total cessation of all further prosecution than that already ordered. It might be asked, how those who voted against impeachment on the former night, could vote for it now? As an argument *ad hominem*, this was strong; but when it was considered, that this case involved the interests of the public, the privileges of the peers, and the justice due to the individual, a mere personal argument should not be a restraint from adopting the usage of the house. He admitted that a resolution of the house, once formed, should not be lightly rescinded; but when it was proper to change a resolution, it would be very erroneous to adhere to it, against reason, for the sake of mere consistency. Those who contended on the former night for a criminal prosecution, had a prior resolution to be moved; they contended that that resolution should be rescinded for the cause which they showed. Could there be a stronger cause than he had showed, for rescinding the resolution for prosecuting criminally, than that it was formed without due deliberation? He believed four-fifths of the house were now of opinion, that impeachment was the fittest mode of proceeding, the most becoming the character of the house, the best calculated for substantial justice: Would it not then be better to adopt it, than to persevere in a course allowed to be erroneous? He again stated, that the only motive why those who originally wished for impeachment, voted for the criminal prosecution, was a fear lest there should otherwise be no prosecution at all. He concluded by moving, That Henry lord viscount Melville be impeached for the offences stated in the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, and in the report of the select committee, and that the criminal proceedings ordered by the house be stayed.—Sir Robert Buxton seconded the motion. Mr. Bond thought, whatever weakness there might have been in the arguments he had offered to the house in support of their resolution, there was now at least one irresistible argument for adhering to the proceeding recommended by him, that it was a resolution of the house. He did not venture to propose the resolution for a criminal proceeding, till he had, on the fullest deliberation, convinced himself that it

was the best adapted to the case. Yet, if the house had preferred impeachment, he, with all his conviction of the propriety of a criminal prosecution, would have thought that the resolution for an impeachment ought to be adhered to. He would now give some reasons why he preferred a criminal prosecution to an impeachment. He considered it as a clear principle of parliamentary law, that the proceeding might either be by criminal information or by impeachment. There had, indeed, been no instance of a criminal prosecution against a peer, excepting the case of lord Halifax. But was there any thing wrong in that case? Was there any privilege of the peers violated? It only appeared that there was some difficulty of form arising out of the peculiar circumstances of that case. The usage of impeachment did not prove that the other proceeding contravened any principle of law. He proposed a criminal information, because most prompt, vigorous and efficacious. A criminal prosecution could not be put in train before the term in the end of the year; but an impeachment could not be prepared before the next session. It would then be to be considered, whether it could immediately be proceeded on consistently with the public business, or whether the public business should give way to it. Impeachment was a mode of trial proper to be resorted to, in cases respecting the government of the state, and its colonies, and the great questions of peace or war; for it was impossible that common juries could be fit arbitrators of such cases. But was this a case that could not be comprehended by a jury? This would be a trial at bar before four judges, and the jury would be in the nature of a special jury composed of the gentlemen of the county, to whom he thought this cause might be fairly assigned for decision. On these considerations he had supported the resolution for a criminal prosecution. But this was not now the whole of the question; the greatest and most material point was, whether a resolution deliberately agreed upon by a great majority of the house, in the fullest meeting ever known, was to be rescinded on a notice of twenty-four hours? He implored the house not to exhibit so weak and miserable a spectacle. He implored them not to wound the fame they had earned from the country.—The solicitor-general entered into a calculation as to the number of members who preferred the mode of impeachment. He said the virtual majority was favourable to it, and there was therefore no real inconsistency in the adoption of the present change. Mr. Bankes (understanding from the speaker, that, from the manner in which the present motion was framed, it was meant to do away the former resolution with respect to a criminal information, and then to substitute a resolution to impeach, and consequently that two contradictory processes could not be carried on at once,) observed that the house was called upon without any reason assigned, and upon a notice which he should rather call a surprise, to give up a solemn resolution on one of the most momentous subjects that ever occupied the attention of parliament; a resolution which the house had come to, after a discussion of two days. What could the people think, if they should act with the levity which they were now asked to do? When he was asked to adopt this new mode of proceeding, by those whose principles were against any prosecution at all, he was not inclined to follow the path pointed out. He knew

that many gentlemen now absent, if they had known that this question was to have been agitated, would have attended. If this proceeding were to be countenanced, he knew not where it would stop.—Mr. Leycester stated, that when Mr. Bond had given notice of his motion, the right honourable gentleman below him (the chancellor of the exchequer) had intimated, that the general question as to the mode of prosecution would then be brought under reconsideration. Mr. Bankes appealed to the good sense of the house, whether that was considered as a notice: if it had been a notice, why had the learned gentleman thought it necessary to renew it the preceding day?—Lord Henry Petty had been one of those who had voted for the impeachment in the first instance. He now felt it his duty to give a decided negative to the present motion. It was impossible to assent to what had been said by a learned gentleman opposite (the solicitor-general), who seemed to forget that they were not now, for the first time, deciding whether an impeachment or a criminal prosecution was preferable: the house had decided that. The resolution had been adopted with every circumstance of the most formal solemnity, with such circumstances as had attracted the attendance of the greatest number of members perhaps ever known. Were the gentlemen opposite (on the treasury bench) really not aware of the nature of the discussion that night? Nay, had they not a warning concerning the vote they were to give? Did not his honourable friend (Mr. Sheridan) call upon the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer to consider what might be the effect of the vote he was to give? that it might lead to a consequence he did not wish? The original motion of that night was for impeachment: an amendment was moved to expunge the words of the original motion; and those who wished that no criminal prosecution should take place, voted against the original motion, with a view to get rid of both. Now, after the lapse of a fortnight, when not half the members were present who had voted on the former question, a motion was brought forward for rescinding it. He trusted that the house would adhere to its decision.—Sir William Burroughs did not think that the present motion was calling upon the house to rescind its resolution. It was not to rescind a resolution of the house, so much as to carry into effect the sense of a vast majority of the members. Sir William followed the line of argument made use of by the solicitor-general, and insisted that, had the question on the former night been decided upon, free from the entanglement of form, the impeachment would have been adopted by a majority of four hundred members in opposition to forty-three.—Mr. C. Wynne thought that the house was indebted for the situation in which they found themselves, to those who voted in the first instance against all criminal prosecution. He differed with regret from his honourable friends, who had conducted the whole of this business with such ability and moderation; but he was, he owned, still disposed to prefer the mode of impeachment: there was but one instance on the journals of a prosecution by the attorney-general, and that had failed in consequence of a technical flaw. He did not think it unlikely that government might

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not be displeased with an opportunity of ordering the attorney-general to enter a *noli prosequi* in this case. He wished, therefore, for an impeachment.—Sir R. Williams, though he had voted against both the impeachment and the criminal prosecution, yet did not now think it decent to alter the former resolution.—Mr. Windham was from the beginning in favour of an impeachment, but he too now was decidedly against altering their former vote. He never understood that a prosecution by the attorney-general was unconstitutional: though there was but one instance, yet it should be recollected that precedents necessarily could not be numerous, because prosecutions of any nature against peers of the realm were far from numerous. With regard to technical errors, it was perhaps true that flaws might be more fatal in an inferior court than in the high court of parliament: but then the defenders of the accused in that court were likely to be more technically skilful than the accusers. As to the competence of the tribunal, the delinquency of lord Melville was rather the crime of a statesman than a state crime, and therefore might well go before a jury other than the lords. The attorney-general however, notwithstanding he would never suffer his private sentiments to interfere with his public duty, yet was, perhaps, after the difficulties which he had stated to exist in the mode of prosecution, not altogether the most unexceptionable person to be employed. But after all came the question, Was the house at liberty to contravene its former judgment? was it in the right to do so? Without affecting to doubt the fact, how did the learned gentleman, who had made assertions with respect to it, collect the sense of the house? What were the parliamentary grounds by which it was to be ascertained? Mr. Windham protested strongly against the assumption of what was the sense in direct contradiction to the declared vote of the house. All questions are not resolvable into yes or no: some may be, but others are not at all capable of being decided by a simple affirmation or negative. There had been two leading points in the late question: whether there should be any prosecution at all? and then, what should the mode of that prosecution be? It had been said, the general principle should have first been settled. He said, No: for there were many who would hesitate until they knew what species of prosecution should be preferred. There had been four classes of opinion on the question of impeachment; some maintaining the injustice of any criminal proceeding; some who wished for an impeachment; others who urged prosecution by the attorney-general; and fourthly, some who wished for a criminal proceeding at all events. In this involution of sentiments, it was impossible to pronounce upon what had been the sense of the house other than by its votes. The precise vote they came to was for prosecution by the attorney-general, and that is all that can be truly said to be known. After the lapse of a fortnight, at a late period of the session, when the attendance of members was but scanty, and with a notice so short that it was difficult even to collect those who were yet in the metropolis, was this unexpected measure proposed. The learned gentleman who had opened the discussion said that the matter

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was hurried through the house: if so, it was the most elaborate hurry, the most studied deshabille of conduct, he had ever heard of. This was, in truth, a most dangerous precedent; it would be an extreme scandal to the house, thus to revoke their acts. One of the chief causes of complaint against lord Melville was, that he had involved the characters of public men, and even of the legislative bodies. The house of commons was as much on its trial as that noble lord. It was necessary to clear it from any imputation of improper motives that might be cast upon it; and it would be one mode of doing it, having taken a solemn resolution, to refuse suddenly and without cause to depart from it.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the chief ground of opposition to the present motion appeared to rest upon the insufficiency of notice. He referred the house to dates, and showed that the motion for the prosecution of lord Melville passed on the 13th; that on the Thursday following the house did not sit; on the Friday it was occupied in a discussion personal to himself; in the next week only three sitting days had elapsed, when the attorney-general had required instructions of the house as to the mode of proceeding; and he had then, he reminded the house, distinctly mentioned, that it might be expedient to revise the vote passed for a criminal prosecution: there was, therefore, no surprise. A notice, after all, was mere form, and it could not be forgotten that the motion for the impeachment was brought forward without any notice. As to the assertion, that it would be unbefitting the house to rescind what it had before resolved, he would ask, whether in such a case as this it would suffer itself to be restrained, by a point of form, from repealing any vote calculated to lead to incurable difficulties? This, in fact, had been done this very session; for the civil action was at first adopted, and afterwards given up by the house. Some gentlemen, the chancellor of the exchequer said, argued as if this motion were a stratagem to defeat the intentions of the house of commons to proceed criminally against lord Melville. No: this was to prosecute criminally, but in a way most serious and dignified. Upon what ground was it that those members who had lately been so strenuous for an impeachment, now resisted it? Although he, and those who acted with him, opposed a prosecution altogether, it did not follow but that they should be anxious as to the tribunal at which the trial was to take place. He thought he might say that there was no gentleman on the other side, who would not rather adopt that mode of prosecution which should be least disagreeable to the feelings even of the accused. The right honourable gentleman then adverted to the reasonings of Mr. Windham with respect to the sentiments of the majority in that house. That gentleman had deprecated refinement, but had himself entered into a good deal of that species of refinement, the result of which was completely delusive. He had no doubt but that, by applying to the plain common sense of human nature, it was easy to feel what really the sentiment of the house had been on the former occasion. A noble lord (Henry Petty) who always spoke in such a manner as entitled him to particular

attention,

attention, had said that an impeachment was the more constitutional mode of proceeding. Could the house then allow that which was constitutional to be opposed by a consideration of expediency? Could they allow a mere form to stand in their way? The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) had implied that the crime of lord Melville was not a state crime: but part of the accusation was, that he applied 10,000*l.* to purposes which he refused to explain. Was not this within the description of a state crime? Was not this a fitter subject to be considered by the house of peers than by a common jury? It was said that a trial by criminal prosecution would save time; yet in the case of lord Halifax two years and a half elapsed before it took place. There was no arguing from the case of Mr. Hastings, as to the time which would be consumed, because the facts in this case were comparatively very few. He concluded by supporting the motion of Mr. Leycester.—Mr. Whitbread in reply observed, that the grounds upon which this motion was made were, in his mind, not at all consistent with the truth of the former debate; it was not true that the resolution now sought to be rescinded, was obtained by surprise. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had on that occasion preserved the most rigid silence; yet, had he thought the motion objectionable, surely he ought to have given an opinion. On that day he was left in a minority; while, by the influence of the friends of another very considerable member of the cabinet, a proposition which he had resisted was adopted. After all, the house was now asked, by surprise, to forgo that resolution, the passing of which had occasioned so much contest. Mr. Whitbread contended further, that no notice had been given; and that the house, having once decided the matter by its vote, ought not now to depart from that vote.—The attorney-general stated the difficulties which were likely to occur in the mode of prosecution; it was particularly difficult to lay the venue of the information with technical accuracy, so as to be sustained by the evidence.—Mr. Fox thought there would be an end of all the dignity, the steadiness, and honour of their proceedings, if such a change could thus suddenly be brought about. To undo what had been done in a crowded house, now that not half the members who had decided the former question were present, was, in his judgment, monstrous. He maintained that the errors which the friends of lord Melville were now so ready to confess they had fallen into, were not on account of any negligence in them, but that they expected to carry their object in protecting lord Melville with a high hand. Having failed in that expectation, they considered that an impeachment was more favourable than a criminal information, and therefore they proposed that course to be now taken. It was said that the resolution was the act of the minority of the house; that it was the act of only 43 members; and that the present motion was conformable to the real wishes of the majority. This species of defence was very suspicious; it was a deference to the imaginary sense, and a contempt for the express sense, of the house of commons. Although some members who voted against the impeachment openly declared they preferred

red that mode to that of a criminal prosecution by the attorney-general, if either one or the other must be adopted; yet how could that inference be made with regard to all those who gave silent votes? He might admit a man to insist on his expressions against his actions in cases when he might have acted with a view which was not answered, and where he was put to a choice between two evils which he did not foresee: but how he was to infer that a man who said nothing, and acted in one decisive way, meant the reverse of his action, he was at a loss to comprehend; and yet that was precisely the situation of the mass of the house on the division for the prosecution. As to the 43 members who were supposed to have turned the scale, the house was so full, and the other two sides were so near each other, that 43 was a very considerable number; considering, too, who and what description of persons they consisted of: and he hoped there was nothing irregular in paying respect to gentlemen on account of circumstances, besides that of mere numerical importance. Why then did he now prefer the prosecution, having before preferred an impeachment? (for he confessed he had had such preference, although it was not to be disguised, that no less than 70 of 80 members of the upper house had been created during lord Melville's administration) But he now preferred a prosecution, because it was the vote of the house of commons in as full a house, with the exception of three divisions, as ever he had the honour of attending. There was no question upon the legality of that vote; the house of lords made no complaint on the point of privilege: nor could they; for the case of lord Halifax, if good for nothing else, was conclusive as a precedent: in truth, nothing was more clear than that a peer had no privilege as to trial, except when conviction might affect either life or limb, as was manifest in the case of lord Abingdon, and a noble friend of his, lord Thanet, both of whom were tried in the court of king's bench. He resisted, therefore, the motion, on the general and broad principle, that the house ought to respect its own proceedings; that the constitution requires the house to show that respect in all cases, except where any thing it has done be manifestly erroneous; which was not here even pretended. The attorney-general would, doubtless, have sufficient legal assistance to prevent the technical difficulties he stated bearing very hard upon him. Considering, therefore, all these matters, considering the character of the house of commons, considering the interest the people had taken in that character, and how essential it was to preserve that character; but, above all, considering the most alarming danger of establishing a precedent by which any minister of state, against whom any prosecution was ordered by a full house, might totally defeat that proceeding by a thinner house afterwards, he felt himself called upon to resist the present motion, and therefore moved that the other orders of the day be now read.—Mr. Hiley Addington said a few words expressive of his continuing in his former opinion, that a prosecution was the more lenient proceeding. Mr. R. Dundas owned that impeachment was the mode of prosecution desired by lord Melville himself and his family. The

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weight of expense was that which his family least of all could be swayed by. He asserted that lord Melville knew not that any mode of prosecution other than that by impeachment was likely even to be suggested, till an hour before he entered the house on his defence. For Mr. Fox's motion 143; Noes 166.—Majority 23. The impeachment was then carried without a division. Mr. Whitbread was appointed manager of the impeachment, and was directed to acquaint the lords on the following day with the determination of the commons. In the course of the session some incidental transactions occurred, which are not of importance enough to be detailed. The charge with respect to Jellicoe's concerns, it was agreed by the house, should not form an article in the impeachment; and a bill was introduced to indemnify Mr. Trotter, and all others who might give evidence on the trial of lord Melville, against any consequences personal to themselves.—At the time this volume shall be given to the public, that trial will have been concluded. It will be the duty of our successors to give an account of the circumstances attending it: for our part, one remark will be sufficient: Lord Melville, in power himself, and the strength of government exerted in his behalf, was *put upon his defence*. Lord Melville, out of place, and his decided political adversaries in administration, was *legally*, if not morally, *acquitted*. We are not of those who think ill of the land of our birth: it may, *occasionally*, show symptoms of disease, but its constitution is yet vigorous; and, should a necessity arise, still capable of manly efforts. We consider the fact which we have remarked, as on the whole honourable to the country.

CHAPTER VIII.

Miscellaneous Notices—Motion for Thanking the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry—Debate on, in the House of Commons—Motion for instituting a Committee to consider the Reports of the Commissioners with respect to the Navy—Debate on, in the House of Lords—Debate on the Eleventh Report, in the House of Commons—Debate on the Bill of Indemnity to Mr. Pitt—on the Athol Claims, &c.

BEFORE we proceed to the remaining discussions which originated in, and may be considered as connected with, the reports of the commissioners of public inquiry, and which form, in fact, the main part of the parliamentary operations of the year; it will be proper briefly to notice some other subjects which engaged, in a lighter degree, the attention of the legislature. Amongst these, and as referrible to the earlier part of the sittings, may be placed the proceedings in regard to the sheriffs of Middlesex who presided at the county-election for 1802. It was a question much debated, whether they should be suffered to offer exculpatory evidence at the bar of

the house; or, whether, having been heard before the committee appointed under the Grenville act to try the merits of the election, the report of that committee should be considered as ground enough for the house to come to a decsion without a re-examination of witnesses: it was finally determined that the evidence should not be gone through again; and counsel having been heard upon the evidence contained in the report, the house finally resolved that the sheriffs should stand committed for partiality, &c. in their official conduct. They were discharged at the end of the sessions. A criminatory motion was made in the upper house by the marquis of Abercorn against Mr. justice Fox, one of the judges of Ireland. Some steps had been taken in the previous sessions: so many difficulties, however, arose as to occasion the final dismission of the charge. Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion in support of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade, which was opposed by generals Gascoigne and Tarleton, by whom an amendment was moved that the bill be read a second time this day six months. For the amendment 77; against it 70.—Majority 7.

Mr. Sheridan, having before given notice of his intention, on the 2d of May made his motion for thanking the commissioners of naval inquiry. So strongly, he said, did the house and the public feel the claims which the commissioners had on the national gratitude, that he had at first thought that it would have been unnecessary for him to occupy for any time the attention of the house. A right honourable gentleman, however (Mr. Pitt), having said that of parts of the conduct of the commissioners he did not approve, it was impossible for him to bring forward his motion without some preface. A declaration had been made to the house, of the right honourable gentleman's design to renew the commission. Surely, in the case of a re-appointment, the commissioners ought to have distinctly pointed out to them what appeared erroneous or unbecoming in their proceedings: hitherto it was almost needless to mention under what circumstances they had been appointed; if they had performed their duty, they had performed it in opposition to formidable difficulties. They were not called upon to investigate the faults of clerks and underlings in office; they were required to investigate the abuses of the heads of great departments, to expose abuses wherever they fell under their inquiries. He had been called upon by the right honourable gentleman to attend to the terms of another commission, which had been instituted under the auspices of the right honourable gentleman; he had attended to the terms both of that commission and of the present, and his opinions remained unchanged. The right honourable gentleman's act was one of the most liberal and well-bred acts of parliament ever framed. He took it for granted that it was impossible for a principal in an office to be guilty of any irregularity, but that he might be the willing and active auxiliary of the commissioners, by compelling all those under him to give them whatever information they required, without any fifth clause of protection: such was the nature of the right honourable gentleman's commission, very different from that of the commission of naval inquiry. When that commission

ommission was first proposed, it was contended by several honourable gentlemen, that it was unnecessary, and it was insinuated that it was not a board of commissioners but a body of inquisitors that was about to be established. The character of lord St. Vincent, who proposed the establishment of the commission, was instantly assailed; various motions were threatened; and one honourable baronet brought forward a positive charge, though no member of the house could be found to second it; even Mr. Pitt himself brought forward a motion, accusing lord St. Vincent of improper and negligent conduct in the administration of the navy. Thus circumstanced were the commissioners, and the character of him under whose auspices they were to act was directly attacked; to this succeeded a total change of administration; and they were now to carry on their inquiries, when all those on whose encouragement reliance was to be placed were removed from office. The right honourable gentleman, on his return to power, persevered in his condemnation of lord St. Vincent: still, however, the commissioners instituted by the noble lord had proceeded with intrepidity, and the public saw what was the result. The chief obstacle in the way of their inquiries was derived from the extraordinary use made of the fifth clause of the bill under which they acted: they never could have expected that even in the office of treasurer of the navy, which was, as it were, the flagship to all the other offices, they should have encountered the most serious difficulty. "It appears from their reports, that on the 10th of July they sent a precept to the treasurer of the navy, requiring the production of certain documents essential to the prosecution of their inquiries; and receiving no answer, they repeat the precept on the 17th. Up to the 2d of October no information whatsoever is given to them:—all those difficulties, however, have been overcome by the zeal, diligence and fortitude of the commissioners. With respect to the distribution of the public money, three great duties are to be performed by the house. The first is, to grant supplies, founded on estimates laid before them by the command of his majesty. The ways and means to provide this supply were next to be considered. The third duty of the house is to appoint the mode in which the sums voted by the house were to be applied. It was frequently the custom to delegate this duty to commissioners; and if such commissioners were appointed, certainly it became a matter of high interest to see that they were implicitly obeyed. At this moment a notice of the renewal of the commissioners of naval inquiry had been given. Ought it not then to be understood in what light their conduct was regarded by those who had the means of giving their conduct and inquiries full efficiency? If they did not deserve unequivocal approbation, though the commission was to be renewed, other commissioners ought to be appointed. The reappointment of the present commissioners ought to take place under no compromise. Having said thus much, he wished to direct the attention of the house to what the commissioners had done, and to what remained for them to do;—and then it would be seen whether they ought to be re-appointed. Compared with the 10th, the other reports had attracted lit-

tle notice; but in all of them the ability, the diligence and fortitude of the commissioners had been eminently conspicuous. In the first report it was ascertained, that, in the offices in Jamaica connected with the navy, the public had sustained, through the negligence and fraud of one of the officers, a loss of about thirty-six thousand pounds in bills, and upwards of one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds from lavish waste and carelessness. The second report referred to the mismanagement of the chest at Chatham. It appeared that the rewards allotted to our seamen had been most shamefully misapplied: nearly thirty-four per cent. had in many cases been appropriated by agents, of that which was intended to assuage the sufferings of those who had bled in the cause of their country. The necessity of entering an appearance once in three years, even from Ireland and the most distant parts of the island, was properly exposed by the commissioners, and a suitable remedy pointed out. The third report was on the infamous overcharges in the dock-yards. In one article there was a charge of one thousand and forty pounds, when it was found that thirty-four pounds was the fair price. In the fifth report the evils of the six-penny office, an office so essential for the provision made for invalids in the navy, were fully exposed. And the sixth clearly showed that vast sums were charged for work done in the dock-yards, not one-third of which was ever performed. In the seventh report a case was stated of the repairs of the Amaranthe in Woolwich dock-yard, where the expense had been carried as high as three thousand eight hundred and fifty-three pounds, when on examination little more than five hundred pounds was the real amount. The ninth report related to the receipt of stores in Plymouth dock. On the tenth it was needless for him to enlarge:—and with respect to the eleventh, that was to be the subject of a particular motion of an honourable and learned friend. This is what had been done:—there yet remained to be examined the proceedings of the navy-board, the victualling, the transport, and the sick and hurt-boards. Of the latter an honourable admiral (Markham) had said, that of all the boards unexplored, this was the most grossly corrupt. The dock-yards abroad opened a wide field for inquiry, as did also the ordnance department. These were what remained for the commissioners to do; and to do it well, it should be shown that they had the confidence of the house." He moved therefore the thanks of the house for the whole of the conduct of the commissioners.

The chancellor of the exchequer, if the house felt that the commissioners should now be thanked for their past services, would not oppose the motion, but could not help thinking that there existed no precedent for such a mode of proceeding. No committee of the house, as in the case of the commissioners of accounts, had canvassed the reports, or laid any statement with respect to them before the house: would it not, therefore, be wiser that the vote of thanks should be given after the reports were fully considered and digested?—This he put to the good sense of members, though, as he had already declared, without any wish to press for a division upon the subject. As to the call which had been made upon him for a statement

statement of his objections to certain parts of the conduct of the commissioners, he felt it necessary to make a few observations. He admitted, that persons appointed to examine into great public abuses ought to exhibit a degree of firmness as well as zeal; but there was a mode of exhibiting that firmness which ought at all times to be attended to. Truth was to be got at by all possible means; but individuals should be as little as possible precluded from opportunities of discussion and vindication: any surmises to the prejudices of individuals which had transpired before the reports were completed were not to be justified: it was not inconsistent with the most rigid inquiry, that individuals should be called upon to explain their own evidence: that opportunity had been refused to several persons, whose names were mentioned, and whose characters were affected by the reports; and it was apparent, that, had such opportunity been afforded, the characters of such men could not have suffered. This was particularly the case with the comptroller of the navy, who stood charged with having applied money voted for the navy to other services, without the knowledge of the first lord of the admiralty. It was now obvious, that if the request of sir A. Hammond, to be allowed to explain, had been granted, the impression would never have gone abroad respecting this officer, which the premature report of the commisssioners had created. It was not a little remarkable that, although lord St. Vincent was applied to by the commissioners for explanation respecting the Stone expedition, which it was now clear was fully known to the noble lord, no opportunity of explanation was granted to sir Andrew Hammond, notwithstanding his special request. There was another part also of the conduct of the commissioners doubtful; it was that which in the eighth report alluded to the conduct of a grand jury. A bill of indictment was preferred against a person for stealing casks at Plymouth; this bill was thrown out by the grand jury; and the solicitor for the prosecution wrote to the victualling office, to say that the jury had been tampered with. Upon the authority of this letter, the commissioners thought proper to publish such a statement in their report. Was it discreet, was it fair, upon such grounds, to charge a respectable body of men with perjury?—The commissioners had alleged that the high price of stores in the West Indies was owing to the neglect of the navy board to send out stores in due time. Now two ships had been sent out in proper time, which ships were lost: this fact he understood had been communicated to the commissioners; and if so, it certainly ought to have been mentioned in their reports. Corrections had also been given to them of inaccuracies made by them in taking down answers given in evidence; which corrections, though admitted by them, are omitted in their appendix: indeed, if the facts were well founded, which he laid before the house precisely in the manner they were mentioned to him, he would leave it to the house to judge of the propriety of adopting a vote of unqualified thanks. The exceptions he had thought it his duty to make did not rest on light grounds, nor was there any thing in them so warm, intemperate, and unjust, as some gentlemen seemed to imagine. Notwithstanding, however, this impression upon his own mind, he

would not himself press any particular motion. Mr. Fox, animadverting upon the charges which had been advanced against the commissioners, observed, as to the first, that the premature publication of any of the subjects referred to in the reports could not be deemed a fair ground of accusation; because it did not appear that the commissioners had designed to give them any publicity. As to the case of the comptroller of the navy board, the right honourable gentleman seemed to think, that had an opportunity for explanation been afforded him, as well as to lord St. Vincent, much confusion would have been avoided. He himself saw no confusion with respect to lord St. Vincent in the report alluded to. Nothing could be more clear, from a fair consideration of lord St. Vincent's answers to the two main questions put to him, than that he was ignorant of the money transaction which formed the *gravamen* of the charge against the comptroller. But why was not this comptroller examined by the commissioners, touching this charge, as well as the noble earl? asked the right honourable gentleman. The comptroller of the navy was examined; and he defended himself under the fifth clause. Having so done, to were the commissioners wrong in declining to re-examine him, or any man who had so acted? With regard to the first report, he must observe, that the navy board seemed to have been very passive under the imputations cast upon them. The report had been on the table for nearly two years, since June 1803; yet no jealousy as to character was heard of till within these few days. If, indeed, the commissioners who were the object of the present discussion had dealt unfairly by the characters of men, that was a serious charge; and although it might be proper to continue the commission, most certainly the names should be changed. The exceptions urged against them might form a reason for excluding them from office; but, if allowed to be insufficient for that purpose, could not be sufficient to prevail against the present motion. The right honourable gentleman had not said, nor could he, that the motion was unnecessary. He indeed confessed, that he could not vouch for the statements he had made to the house. It was necessary to satisfy the general opinion of the public. It was called for by public policy. The merit of the men and the gratitude of the people demanded it.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that the navy board had not submitted to the imputations cast upon them by the first report. According to a memorial presented to the house on the 5th of April, it appeared that the comptroller of the navy had immediately intimated to the commissioners a wish that he should be examined afresh, and, upon their declining to do so, had drawn up a memorial to that house. Deeming it, however, his duty to apprise lord St. Vincent of his intention, he found that lord St. Vincent would consider any such proceeding as a personal affront to himself. To a disposition to conform to the noble lord's desire was attributable, on the part of the comptroller, the kind of acquiescence alluded to.—Mr. Fox replied, that this statement, if correct, did not account for the silence observed since lord St. Vincent retired from office. He could not, however, but add, that to suffer so deep a stigma so long, betrayed a very

criminal

criminal complaisance. Sir Andrew Hammond confirmed the statement of Mr. Pitt. At the suggestion of a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Rose), he meant to have followed the precedent of the 10th of queen Anne, and to move that the report should be referred to a committee, that some opportunity of vindicating himself might be afforded. Lord St. Vincent said, that it was for him, with whom the naval commissions had originated, to recommend when the reports of the commission should be taken into consideration. Mr. Rose also waited on his lordship for the same purpose, but in vain. Since lord St. Vincent's retirement from the admiralty board, he had understood that a commission of revision was to be instituted, before which he had expected to have established the injustice of the charges propagated against him. He concluded by affirming, that there was nothing for which the members of the navy board were more anxious than a full examination of their conduct. Mr. Rose corroborated that part of the speech of the honourable baronet which referred to him: he pointed out several objectionable parts in the conduct of the naval commissioners, most especially in the third report. They had pronounced the charges of a Mr. Taylor, a block-manufacturer, who had supplied the navy with blocks at Chatham and Portsmouth since the year 1762, to be excessive. In consequence an advertisement was sent forth for new contracts. Mr. Taylor under this advertisement obtained the Chatham contract at 10 per cent. more than his former charge, which had been complained of; and Mr. Dunstanville obtained the contract for Plymouth at 5 per cent. above Mr. Taylor's price. These facts took place two months before the report was laid on the table of the house, yet no part of the censure of Mr. Taylor was abated. Another circumstance,—Mr. Taylor's blocks were stated to be of an inferior quality: he had a rival, Mr. Garnett; the blocks of both were tried in 1791. Capt. Nicholl of the Formidable took Garnett's blocks on one side of his ship, and Taylor's on the other; those of Taylor were decidedly superior. As to the fraud respecting thirteen thousand pounds' worth of wood, Taylor had nothing to do with it; nor had the commissioners the merit of detecting it; for the navy board were prosecuting the fraud before the commission existed. He concluded with stating, that though his objections were well founded, still, as the sense of the house seemed to be in favour of the motion, he would not oppose it. Admiral Markham complained of the unfair proceeding of gentlemen in arguing on the authority of papers scarcely laid before the house. As to the lecture on blocks delivered by the gentleman opposite, when a contract is entered into, the party contracting to furnish an article is bound by the stipulated price, whether the article rises or not; and he maintained that an application to raise the price of blocks, which was the case, annulled the contract. He added that the machines at Portsmouth alone were sufficient to supply the demands of the whole nation. Sir A. S. Hammond observed that the machines made blocks of an inferior size, of 10 inches, but were of no use in the making of large blocks.

Mr. Jeffery, arraigning in strong terms the conduct of lord St. Vincent, was interrupted by the speaker, who observed that the line of argument

adopted by the honourable gentleman did not apply to the question before the house. Mr. Wilberforce was ready to admit that great benefits had already accrued from the labours of the naval commissioners, but, in mercy to those who had not informed themselves of the contents of all the reports, could wish the words, "*the whole* of the conduct of the commissioners," to be omitted in the motion. Eleven reports were now before the house, and none but the tenth could be said to be investigated. He thought that the motion so amended would prove more acceptable even to the commissioners themselves. Lord Henniker, the attorney general, Mr. Langham, and sir W. Elford, severally addressed the house. Mr. Bond scrupled not to give the most unqualified praise to the commissioners. Mr. Sheridan expressed his regret that he had inserted in his motion the word 'whole': he was quite satisfied that the vote of thanks would be equally satisfactory without that word. He approved of the way in which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) had proposed his amendment. That honourable member, however, had misunderstood his motion. The word "whole" as used by him (Mr. Sheridan) did not apply to all the reports, for it was guarded by the words "as far as appears." He did not call on the house, or on the honourable gentleman, to say they had read all the reports; he only called on them to bear testimony that, so far as they had read them, the commissioners had acted with diligence, ability and fortitude. The last was a word he could not spare. He praised the candour of Mr. Pitt,—he continued to condemn the long silence of the comptroller of the navy,—he peremptorily challenged a public investigation of the conduct of lord St. Vincent,—he wished to meet the wishes of Mr. Wilberforce, but could not consent that any amendment should appear to have been made,—he was willing therefore himself to bring forward his motion without the word "whole." Mr. Wilberforce accordingly withdrew his amendment. The following motion of thanks was then agreed to, and ordered to be transmitted to the commissioners: "Resolved, That it appears that the commissioners appointed by an act of the forty-third year of his majesty's reign, to inquire and examine into any irregularities, frauds or abuses, which are or have been practised by persons employed in the several naval departments therein mentioned, have, as far as appears from the reports which they have hitherto made, exerted themselves with great diligence, ability, and fortitude; and that their conduct, in the execution of the arduous duties intrusted to them, entitles them to the warmest approbation and encouragement of this house."

On Friday, May 24th, lord Darnley moved the house of peers on a subject, with which the remarks made in the preceding debate of the commons will not be thought unconnected. The tenour of his lordship's speech was directed to the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the abuses which had obtained in the naval department. He had in the month of March applied to his majesty's ministers for the production of papers, which production was then refused. They had, however, since been laid before parliament, upon the motion of a member of the lower house. It was not only necessary that *they*

should

should be investigated, but *others* also should be brought forward, for which he now meant to move. He disclaimed all views of personal asperity to any persons belonging to his majesty's government; but he owned he wished that some means of comparison might be afforded between the merits of the late and the present board of admiralty. Whether that board had acted most wisely, which had dismissed from the public service a number of useless ships, which crowded without strengthening the navy; which declined giving contracts to merchant-builders, and preferred the building vessels of war in the king's yards; which got rid of useless and ineffective officers and artisans, and employed only those who were active and efficient; which directed inquiry into abuses and peculations in the various departments of his majesty's dock-yards, and put a stop to the most flagitious and profligate system of profusion;—or that board which reversed this system, and, by giving contracts for ships to the merchant-builders, increased the number, but most materially impaired the real force of the navy. The reports of the commissioners appointed by the other house of parliament, and which were now on the table, sufficiently showed the necessity of investigation. One instance his lordship mentioned of the abuse which had prevailed in contracts made with merchant-builders respected the Hindostan, attached to lord Russell's squadron; another was the Mediator: both these were so ill built, so utterly disproportioned in their masts, rudders, ropes, rigging, and guns, and so high above water, as to be utterly unmanageable and unfit for service. They were both under fifty guns, and yet they cost as much as seventy-fours built in his majesty's yards. What was worst, some ships of the line were actually stripped of a part of their crews to man these useless vessels, and thus the means of our real defence diminished. His lordship then alluded to earl St. Vincent, whom he described as having been most improperly and unjustly assailed. He knew little personally of that noble lord, but he spoke of him as he did, from a sense of duty to the country. Were he at the head of the admiralty-board, would such an event have occurred as that which has now taken place,—that two formidable fleets of the enemy should be at sea, and our West India islands left exposed to them without defence? The expenses in the king's yards were greatly heightened, his lordship maintained, by the contracting system, which necessarily occasioned an unnatural competition in the market, so that the public yards were supplied at an immense disadvantage. It appeared from the reports, that in a few weeks no less than 170 shipwrights, in the prime of life, quitted the service of the king's dock-yards, for higher wages in those of the merchant-builders; these very workmen being competent to build the ten seventy-fours, which were now contracted for at 36*l.* per ton, at a less expense. Nor was the censure to be confined to contracts for building; it applied also to those for repairing. The Magicienne, the Flora, the Andromache, and another vessel, cost the enormous sum of 65,000*l.* by contract, when they might actually have been built for little more, at the then contract price, than 40,000*l.* He denied the assertion that there was not room for laying down first-rates in the king's dock-yards.

There

There were in the yards twenty slips large enough for first-rates, which, supposing each to require two years for completion, would be competent to increase the number and strength of our navy beyond all necessity. The former practices never could be resorted to, as he understood they were, but from a supposition that the enormous magnitude of the papers on the table would terrify their lordships from looking into them. He had himself, however, inspected them; and the mismanagement, profusion, and peculations, were terrifying to him. In one instance 10*s.* was charged for certain repairs to a ship; and for repairs precisely the same 10*l.* was charged. Yet both these charges were signed and passed by the navy-board. His lordship again adverted to earl St. Vincent, whom he highly praised; and concluded by moving for a committee to be appointed of certain lords, whom he named for that purpose.—Lord Melville rose to answer the noble lord; he had no fear in meeting the charges preferred against the existing board of admiralty. "The papers called for had been refused because likely to create unbounded trouble with little utility. The mass now on the table was a third only of the whole: yet out of that part, which was of sufficient size, the noble earl who had just spoken had only quoted two passages from two letters. What then was likely to be the use of the whole? The noble earl, in what he had said, not only arraigned the present board of admiralty, but every board that had subsisted for these last twenty years; for during that whole time had it been the custom to contract with merchant-builders. The charge of purchasing ships was undoubtedly founded on fact; but it was right to purchase them. A clamour had prevailed about a year ago, with respect to the want of smaller ships to contend against the flotillas which were collected at Boulogne and other ports on the French, Flemish, and Dutch coasts. Upon coming into office, I lost no time in ascertaining the state of our resources, in so far as regarded every description of vessels, which were either then at the disposal of the crown, or which could speedily be obtained. To the force allotted to the service of the North sea, for the blockade of the enemy's ports, and for the protection of our coasts in that direction, I found great additions might be made. Fifteen armed transports which were lying at Spithead, and seven which were in Loch Ryan, immediately were ordered to join lord Keith, whose force, when I came into office, amounted to one hundred and twenty-one ships and vessels of war, exclusive of hired ships and craft of various description. To the twenty-two armed transports which were all coppered, I found that by means of a premium of not more than 8000*l.* a further addition might quickly be obtained of thirty-nine sloops and gun-brigs, which, just before the change at the admiralty, had been contracted for. Some of these were finished months, all of them weeks, before the time at which by contract they would have been ready. Besides the vessels mentioned, orders were given to purchase and to build ships and vessels amounting in the whole to seventy sail. As a further addition to this force, gun-brigs and mortar-vessels have been contracted for since the first of June last, amounting to thirty-seven sail; so that the whole force is one hundred and sixty-

eight

eight vessels more than were in existence when the late lord of the admiralty was in office. As to the other objections of the noble lord who moved the present question, and condemned the expense, as well as complained of the vessels not being perfectly as good as vessels built for war, it should be recollected that those ships were not originally built as ships of war. The Hindostan, Mediator, and Hyena, are all now upon distant service; and such other of the purchased vessels not employed in the actual blockade of Boulogne, and off the Flemish and Dutch ports, are appropriated to the convoy of our foreign and coasting trade, and save to the state the employment of ships of a better quality." Lord Melville next proceeded to give an account of the condition in which he found and had now placed the greater ships of war. "The return made to me of the ships of the line in commission was thirty-seven, which might probably last five years; twenty-seven, three years; and seventeen were considered as only fit for home or limited service. Eighty-one ships of the line were certainly adequate in point of number to those of the enemy, including those both of France and Holland, which amounted, according to our intelligence, to about sixty-five sail: but from their having been constantly within their own ports, it is probable they are in better condition than ours, which have been employed in blockading even during the winter-season. This was the state of our navy; except that within the ten months previous to my coming into office, ten or eleven ships were put into commission, but only by way of filling up the place of vessels deemed unfit for service. I was necessarily led from this report to inquire into the resources of our navy, and I found that six ships had been ordered to be laid down: of which three were expected to be finished in 1805, one in 1806, and another in 1807. It is fitting to inquire what was done by the late board of admiralty between February 1801 and May 1804. Twelve ships of the line were either lost, captured by the enemy, taken to pieces, or sold out of the service: and in the smaller classes of ships the diminution was in a greater proportion; as in losses and captures there were forty sail, to which are to be added one hundred and twenty-six frigates, sloops, gun-brigs, cutters, and fire-vessels, that were either taken to pieces or sold out of the service since the signing of the preliminary treaty. During the three years, therefore, for which lord St. Vincent presided at the admiralty, the reduction appears to be no less than one hundred and seventy-eight sail; and of these one hundred and fourteen sail were actually sold for the trifling sum of 75,544*l.*; and such was the effect of that reduction in 1803, that his lordship was forced to purchase ten ships for sloops of war, and seven for bombs, for which seventeen vessels 105,491*l.* were paid: a sum exceeding the proceeds of the one hundred and fourteen vessels sold, by 28,947*l.* Of forty-five gun-brigs included in the vessels sold, twenty-two produced from 450*l.* to 950*l.* and three were taken to pieces: these twenty-five gun-brigs, at the commencement of the present contest, might have been of the greatest utility. In that period five ships were ordered to be built in the king's yards, and two in the merchants' yards: but I found that of these not even the keel of one of

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them was laid down; and the reason given for this was the want of materials and hands. When I became informed of these circumstances, surely I was bound to consider what resource was to be found: and I advised recourse to be had to the merchant-yards. I discovered, however, that upon this a negative had been put by my predecessors: there was however no choice left. Upon looking over the ordinary of the navy, I observed that there was a considerable number of sixty-fours; such of these as could be readily repaired, I ordered to be put in hand. I am aware that this is a class of ships getting out of fashion; but under all circumstances they are best calculated for the service of the North and East seas, and in respect of force are equal, if not superior, to the major part of the Dutch navy. Eight sixty-fours, one of the small seventy-fours, and fourteen frigates from forty-four to twenty-eight guns, were agreed for; and of these several are actually at sea, so expeditious have the merchant-builders been in completing their engagements. Since this measure ten seventy-fours have been ordered to be built immediately in the merchant-yards, and I deem myself most justified in giving the order. The practice of building there was used from the close of the American war up to the commencement of the revolutionary wars with France. Eighteen frigates were built in that period, of from thirty-six to twenty-eight guns: and ships of a larger class might certainly have also been built there. One of these frigates is the Boston, which was twice thoroughly repaired within the ten years alluded to. Upon the first of these she ran eight years; and upon the last she has run fourteen years; and yet she has been in constant employ, and has sustained several severe actions. The Boston has been paid off but a few months, and it is forty-four years since she was launched. This is no ill specimen of building in the merchant-yards. It may be expected that I should assign some reasons for the preference which I have given to building in the merchant-yards. When I looked to the number of slips in the dock-yards, I found they were in all only twenty-five; I found that five ships had been ordered to be built by the late board of admiralty: I found also that day after day ships came in requiring to be docked and refitted. In the course of ten months from the 15th of May 1804, six hundred and one vessels have been docked and repaired: one hundred and eighty-two of which were docked in the king's yards. Could it have been possible then to have brought forward new ships, by building in the king's yards during that period? In advising recourse to be had to merchant-yards, I have only followed the example set by lord Sandwich, lord Keppel, lord Howe, lord Chatham, and lord Spencer; by whom, from the year 1771 to 1783, merchant-yards were employed. From 1783 to 1788 there was profound peace, and the building was therefore confined to the king's yards. So from 1788 to 1793. From 1793 there has been war, and therefore a necessity to use other yards. But not only am I entitled to name the first lords of the admiralty whom I have mentioned, I can plead the precedent of even the noble lord St. Vincent himself. Some communications had passed between the first lord of the admiralty and the comptroller of the navy, relating

ing to the building of ships of war in the merchant-yards. In one of these, December 16th, 1802, sir Andrew Hammond suggested to his lordship the propriety of condescending to keep the merchant-builders in good humour, in case their services should be necessary, and he again wrote on the subject on the 28th of December: on the 29th an answer came from his lordship, expressing his surprise that contracts had not been entered into with respect to the building of as many seventy-fours as possible, and terms were used conveying a strong sense of the urgent necessity of doing so. Immediately after this letter, his lordship from indisposition was absent from the admiralty; and those to whom the conduct of business was assigned appear not to have entertained similar sentiments. Sir Andrew Hammond did advertise for contractors for the building of seventy-fours; but received intimation from the board of admiralty, that the measure would not be allowed; and that no ships of war were to be built but in the king's yards. The board of admiralty surely did not act contrary to the orders of lord St. Vincent, and therefore this change of sentiment is to me incomprehensible. I think myself, that great evil has resulted to the country from not having entered into contracts with the merchants. Soon after the correspondence to which I have adverted, the comptroller of the navy was ordered to drop all communication whatever with the first lord of the admiralty; a circumstance which naturally excites surprise, since without such intercourse the business of the navy must necessarily be protracted; and still more must it be protracted, if the first lord of the admiralty and the comptroller should be at variance (lord St. Vincent nodded). Does the noble lord assent to this? Why then did he not remove the comptroller from his situation, if such a difference existed as to prevent all intercourse? Without such communication it was impossible that public business could be carried on, and above all in the naval department it was as impossible as for a man to walk without feet. Lord Melville, ere he concluded, again touched upon the building ships in the yards of the merchants. In addition to the unavoidable necessity, his lordship, was not convinced, that, although the terms of the contract are high, they could at all be lessened. Since the terms objected to by the late first lord of the admiralty, the builders have raised their price no less than ten pounds per ton for a seventy-four, their demand being now thirty-six pounds per ton instead of twenty-six, their former tender. His lordship contended, that if there was cause of blame, it was not in the present board of admiralty. He was ready to meet any charge; but it was impossible to show that the present state of the navy was not far better than when he came into office. With regard to the assertion that the enemy's fleet was now traversing the ocean unopposed, that circumstance certainly was not attributable to any deficiency of exertion on his part: the system of blockade, though at certain times very proper, yet considering the necessary wear and tear attending it, became matter for serious consideration. In the beginning of a war, blockade might be resorted to with great wisdom. Large as our resources in this country were, yet generally they could not be rapid-

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ly put in motion. But when the country is once in a state of defence, and when nothing serious is to be apprehended for our security at home, then it is unwise to confine ourselves to blockade only: unwise, because impossible to be done with *complete* effect, from the changeableness of the winds and the boisterous gales with which our fleets have to contend. These circumstances, in spite of the best efforts, enable the enemy to get out at certain times, and to elude our vigilance. At the very time the Rochfort squadron made its escape, the Channel fleet was actually at sea, and a detachment of it ordered to blockade that port. It escaped only by a few hours. Twenty-six ships of the line will be added to the strength of our navy before the month of September. This addition, with the seven ships still in the merchant-docks, and two new ships to be launched at Deptford and Woolwich, will make the total amount, in ships of the line, near one hundred and twenty sail; a force not only adequate to our wants at home, but numerous enough to guard our foreign possessions. Instead then of depending on the uncertainty of following the fleets of the enemy, we shall have fleets to meet them wheresoever they go. Something remained yet to be done with respect to the raising of men; and his majesty's ministers, his lordship said, were in possession of his ideas upon the subject. As to the shipwrights in the dock-yards, from the last return it appeared that there were, on the 1st of March last, only sixty-seven less than there were on the 15th of May 1804, and since that time the number has been considerably increasing. Those who before discharged themselves were unsettled in their habits, and not at all to be depended upon. The stores and timber necessary for naval purposes formed a subject also for due consideration, and accordingly it had been much considered. There are not to be less than materials for the consumption of three years always in hand. Lord Barham, and proper persons appointed by him, were at this very time taking into consideration the report of the commissioners of naval inquiry (the sixth), and were examining the regulations recommended in it for adoption. His lordship finally left it to the house to say, what should be done with regard to the motion now before them. Earl St. Vincent rose to explain some of the inconsistencies which were brought against him as the ground of accusation: he avowed the intention of contracting for as many seventy-fours as the navy-board could find fit merchant builders to undertake: but it afterwards was shown to him, that his majesty's dock-yards were so ill provided with timber, as to make it most impolitic to accept of any tenders for building ships in the river Thames; and accordingly a resolution for suspending the intended contract was adopted, until the more important measure of furnishing the royal arsenals with timber was accomplished. He maintained that ten ships of the line might be launched from the dock-yards of the king annually, without impeding the necessary repairs of ships in service: he thought it would soon be found, from the wretched mode of repairing practised in the merchant-yards, that all repairs would best be effected in the king's yards. With respect to the ministerial communications between the first lord of the admiralty

rafty and the comptroller of the navy, it was one of the vices of the navy-board, and tended to take away all responsibility. When called upon to account for disobedience to the superior board, the constant reply is, that the comptroller explained the reason in a ministerial communication with the late first lord. Since the ill-fated measure of putting the commissioners into committees, and the parliamentary authority for secret measures, concerted between the comptroller and first lord, all responsibility has ceased, and much gross abuse has arisen in the commissions under the comptroller's auspices. That person (the comptroller) undoubtedly would have been removed, had not his conduct been under the investigation of the commissioners of inquiry; the result of which, his lordship intimated, *must* be his ignominious dismission. That punishment, he thought, indeed, would be extended to the whole board, with the exception of Mr. Osborne Markham. The personal attack made by lord Melville, he (lord St. Vincent) would treat with the contempt it deserved. The duke of Clarence took an historical view of the growth of the navy from the time of lord Sandwich down to the present times. His royal highness thought an inquiry into abuses most necessary at the present juncture. His noble friend (earl St. Vincent) ought to have had the aid of the comptroller and of the navy-board, instead of having been thwarted by them in his operations. The royal navy now consisted of a tonnage of 530,000 tons, of which, to the honour of this country, 114,000 had been captured from the enemy. Of what remained, no less than 260,000 had been supplied by contract. It appeared, therefore, that a small proportion indeed was built in the king's yards; yet the number of shipwrights in the king's yards bore a very large proportion to those of the whole kingdom: the whole number was estimated at only 5200, and in the king's yards no less than 2800 were employed. If there were not docks and slips enough, it would be easy to make more. His royal highness entered into a comparative view of the administration of earl St. Vincent and that of lord viscount Melville, highly favourable to the former. He supported the motion.—Lord Sidmouth declared, that he was only confirmed by what he had heard in his previous sentiments, that nothing beneficial could arise from the adoption of the proposed inquiry. He thought that no charge was brought either against his noble friend (earl St. Vincent) or against the noble viscount; he therefore did not feel himself called upon to consider whether a larger or a lesser number of ships had been employed by the one or by the other. Lord Sidmouth wished, however, to explain the inconsistency of which it was supposed earl St. Vincent had been guilty. In the summer of 1800 the noble earl thought it useful and necessary to visit the royal yards in person; and he returned from his meritorious survey impressed with the necessity of augmenting the number of ships of the line. He therefore took every measure to increase the quantity of timber in the king's yards. And as one proof of his zeal upon this occasion, he actually prevailed upon one most considerable company (the East India company) to abstain from building large ships for two years. As the necessity, however, of augmenting

the number of ships became greater from circumstances, a contract with merchant builders was also resorted to. He admitted that confidence between colleagues in office was most necessary, and had regretted that such did not exist between the noble earl and the comptroller of the navy. The earl however had upon all occasions spoken of that gentleman with kindness, though he differed from him upon the naval concerns of the country, as far as they were domestic. He saw no ground however for inquiry; whatsoever was amiss might be remedied otherwise.—Lord Holland could not but observe, that though the noble lord was willing to give earl St. Vincent fair words, he yet would not bestow upon him his vote. The question was not, whether ships were ever to be built in merchant yards, but whether the present ministers had not gone too far in such contracts. In 1803 it was calculated that a seventy-four could be built by contract in three years at 26*l.* per ton; notwithstanding which, the very next year a contract was made at a rate as high as 36*l.* He condemned what had been urged against blockades as unsatisfactory and illusive. He supported the motion for a committee. Lord Hawkesbury thought the question lay in a very narrow compass. God forbid, if a grave case were made out, that the house should not attend to it, even at the risk of the dangers and inconveniences which would attend the public disclosure of our naval concerns, if minutely entered upon! But nothing short of necessity ought to lead their lordships into the adoption of such an inquiry. Were then the alleged grounds of investigation such as imperatively called upon them to interfere? especially when a commission was about to be renewed for the very purpose of making the inquiry which was now demanded. The result of that inquiry would be of course laid before the house, and their lordships would then be able to form a more definite judgment than they now could. He denied the existence of any present pressing necessity, and therefore opposed the motion. The earl of Buckinghamshire was of the same opinion, and was opposed by the earl of Suffolk. Lord Melville explained. After lord Darnley had replied, the house divided. Contents 33. Non-contents 88. Majority against the motion 55.

In the house of commons, May 23, Mr. Serjeant Best moved, that the *eleventh* report of the commissioners of naval inquiry should be referred to a select committee, to examine the matters thereof, and to report thereon. This motion was acceded to by administration, on an amendment made by the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, "except in so far as relates to the one hundred thousand pounds issued for secret naval service." The loan therefore to the house of Boyd and Benfield of 40,000*l.* which has been alluded to in some of the previous debates, of course formed the main article in the report submitted to be inquired into by the committee.—Upon the report being made by the committee, on the 14th of June,

Mr. Whitbread rose to move certain resolutions respecting the conduct of the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, in those transactions which had been discovered by the report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, and now investigated by the select committee of the house. He trusted

he should not appear dilatory in having brought forward these resolutions, and he trusted they were couched in such terms as would procure the concurrence of many who might not go the full length of some of his opinions on the subject. Another honourable gentleman, Mr. Lascelles, had given notice of counter resolutions: but counter resolutions he was sure there could be none; and he rather hoped, if with his resolutions the honourable gentleman *could* concur, while with his (those of Mr. Lascelles) probably *he* could *not* concur, that for the sake of unanimity, and for the dignity of the house, the honourable gentleman and the house would adopt those he should have the honour to propose: the object he had in view was, to put on the records of the house such a view of transactions unquestionably irregular as would prevent the danger of example. There were three points to which he should chiefly direct the attention of the house. On a former occasion he had stated, as the result of good information, that Mr. Pitt had been acquainted with the fact of money being withdrawn from the bank and kept at a private banker's. Now the evidence of Mr. Raikes distinctly proved that assertion; and though there was a slight difference as to the terms in which the information was conveyed, between Mr. Raikes and Mr. Pitt, there was no doubt as to the substance of the communication. No charge of personal corruption ever was made on Mr. Pitt respecting this business, and most certainly he stands acquitted of all imputation of that sort; but of negligence he cannot so easily be absolved. It is of no consequence in what manner the communication was made—whether officially or not—such information from the governor of the bank ought to have roused Mr. Pitt's vigilance. The fact of Mr. Raikes having given the information, which Mr. Pitt admits, cannot be questioned, though it has been said to have been questioned by some; but, in justice to Mr. Raikes, it is proper to observe, that no doubt whatever can be entertained of his having apprised Mr. Pitt; and though none of the committee of the bank remember his mentioning the circumstance on his return, yet the fact remains indisputable. In whatever way that information may be considered, whether as hearsay or otherwise, it was sufficient to call on the first lords of the treasury to inquire into a matter of importance connected with the finance administration of the country, and with his friend lord Melville. With that noble lord, indeed, Mr. Pitt conversed on the subject; and very quickly, and, as appears, very easily satisfied, he turned his thoughts no further to the subject: a negligence which, considering the discoveries now made, and the continued irregularities which it might then have been possible to prevent, he now regrets. It is the more remarkable that his mind was struck with no suspicion: knowing as he did the diversion of 40,000*l.* naval money, contrary to law, he might have seen the facility of employing in bad purposes, that which he had been accessary in diverting to what he thought a right one. Extraordinary it is too, that, after having sought explanation from lord Melville, he never again mentioned to Mr. Raikes the circumstances, and told him he was mistaken in his view of the matter, as in a thing involving the credit of the treasurer

of the navy would have been natural. He said, however, that the law was not under his contemplation, that is, in other words, he had forgotten it: but could ignorance or forgetfulness of a law, which does not excuse the meanest subject, be an apology for the first finance minister in a matter so important, particularly when he himself had been concerned in the introduction of that very law, and the reforms it was intended to effect? Had not the proceedings of the house been such as they had been, specific resolutions on this point would have been proper: "but marked as the whole transaction, as to the diversion and misapplication of naval money by the treasurer, is, I am unwilling (said Mr. W.) to propose any thing offensive to the feelings of the honourable gentleman, or of any other member, respecting it, and therefore intend proposing no resolution on that head." The next subject was the deficiency of Mr. Jellicoe, on which Mr. W. arraigned the negligence of the treasurer. The facts, he said, are not such as set forth in the proceedings of the treasury. After a conversation between Mr. Pitt and lord Melville, a memorial was presented to the treasury. In this transaction, the first extraordinary feature is the date of the various proceedings. The warrant for the writ of privy seal is dated the 21st, the writ itself is dated the 27th, and the entry of it the 31st, of May, 1800; while the information on which the warrant is supposed to proceed is laid before the board of treasury the 29th. Such is the reverse order in which this business goes on. It gives a strange idea of the mode of conducting business, to see the writs passing without their warrants, and warrants without the information on which they proceed; as if what was essential had been only a form, and the rest, the material points, were ready at a moment, and waited only the formality of a statement to precede them. Mr. Whitbread then complained of the negligence of the treasury in making no inquiry into the business. If Mr. Pitt, engaged in a multiplicity of other affairs, could not do it, why not depute some of the junior lords of the treasury? There was no example of a writ of privy seal of this nature since 1760; for those which have occurred since, being for accounts and not for a deficiency, were not similar to the present, which on every account called for attention. But neither did Mr. Pitt, nor any of the junior lords of the treasury, make any particular inquiry into the affair; and from the report of the committee the public are informed that some of their servants do no duty at all, for appointments supposed to be efficient; since lord Glenbervie had not attended the board of treasury for a whole year, and some of those whose names were to the minute of the treasury knew nothing at all about the business transacted. Here Mr. Whitbread went into a view of the proceedings on Jellicoe's case, in which it appeared that the business was, in the absence of the solicitor to the admiralty, put into the hands of Mr. White, solicitor to the treasury, who had general instructions to act; but that, the proceedings having begun in 1788, nothing further was done after 1793, except that Mr. Trotter occasionally acted till the writ of privy seal was obtained, but after that did nothing; since when no person belonging to the treasury seems to have known any thing about the business, or taken any steps in it.

Upon

Upon these grounds he called for the vote of the house to declare, what incontestable evidence established that the conduct of the treasury in this affair had been negligent. The most important part of the case, however, was the loan of 40,000*l.* to Boyd, Benfield, and Co. This loan was granted in September 1796, and, unless accidentally divulged in the tenth report, must have ever remained a secret. Upon this subject considerable light would arise, from a publication such as differences between partners in trade sometimes occasion, in which the transactions and situation of the house are laid open by Boyd himself, to repel some charges of Mr. Benfield. Far be it from me, said Mr. Whitbread, to assert that a minister is to be tied down to forms; that on no occasion, however urgent and necessary, he is ever to depart from them. I think that, for great public purposes, a minister ought to risk almost every thing; I trust that I never should shrink from the responsibility of doing so, when the nation was to be greatly served. But where is that occasion? is the question. If a man is conscious of acting right, he will leave behind him the act and the justification recorded, so that his act may not be drawn into example against the spirit of the act. But forms that are always to be violated ought not to be preserved; and if form is transgressed in one instance, its particular justification should ever be kept in view, or its neglect must become general, with or without necessity. Mr. Pitt says, it never occurred to him that what he had done was illegal, or that any indemnity was necessary. But most certainly the law was violated; and as soon as the motives which first restrained him ceased, in the failure of Boyd's house, he ought to have applied for a bill of indemnity. What was the time in which this loan was made? In 1795,-96,-97 great difficulties prevailed for money: and so much was government distressed by the delay of the advances on the loan, that it was thought fit to resort to transactions that would have been disgraceful and ruinous to a private merchant, viz. the expedient of having fictitious bills from Hamburgh, really drawn in London by Walter Boyd, junior, in London, and accepted by the treasury for the purpose of raising money. Of this speculation Boyd was the agent; but it did not succeed. And who was this Boyd? He was doubtless a man of great talent and enterprise; perhaps an honest man; of powerful imagination, great vigour of mind and body, plausible in conversation, skilful in drawing up a project, and perpetually teeming with financial schemes. Such a man was a dangerous person to acquire the confidence of the chancellor of the exchequer. In 1795 Boyd contracted for a loan of eighteen millions, and in December, 1795, a close loan of eighteen millions for the service of 1796 was contracted for by Boyd, on some claim, the justice of which was much questioned, but which procured Mr. Boyd the contract, and caused a variety of other offers to be refused. It was one of the instalments on this loan that the 40,000*l.* was granted to enable Boyd to make good. It was stated, however, that on this loan 12½ per cent. was made previous to the first instalment; and though it fell in the end, it was at first a profitable concern; and in point of fact, the average premium and average discount on the first and last half-years was, that the former was

7¼, and the latter 6½; so that on this loan Boyd might have made a large profit had he sold his scrip. In the month of April Boyd contracts for another loan of 7,500,000*l.* If then the loan of 18,000,000*l.* fell to a discount, was Boyd's house to be relieved, and saved the necessity of selling scrip at a loss, in preference to every other? If he had sold his scrip during the premium, what had he done with the profit? If he kept a large part of it, he had wherewith to go to market, and raise money. What reason had Boyd to expect such a preference? It might be natural that, as the agent of the Hamburgh wind bills, he should expect a good turn from ministers. But it is said that the advance to Boyd was to avert a great public calamity. Yet it is proved that the failure of Boyd's house would have been less disastrous than that of other houses of equal engagements. If he had scrip, it is clearly proved that he could have got money for it, at 15½ discount indeed, which would have been a loss of 16,000*l.* If he had no scrip, what had become of his large profits? As to the difficulty of a new loan, no such thing could have been necessary, even if Boyd had failed. "With respect to the money market (said Mr. W.), I have considerable jealousy and dislike of it. I have been accustomed from my youth to hear of the hop market and the corn market, and by a regular attention to those markets, in a course of fifty years, did a person, whose memory must be most dear to me, lay the foundation of every thing I possess. That foundation of fortune in trade and industry appears to me far more legitimate than the gains of the money market; and willing as I am to recognise the just feelings of birth and family, I see no reason to be ashamed of that rise which springs from virtuous industry and honest commerce. But the money market, I confess, seems to be something very different. There it is said that even the votes of this house may be influenced; if not, certain it is that loans add to the source of ministerial influence. In that market all the bad passions are excited, and the gain of one is always in proportion to the losses of others. Be this as it may, however, the loan of 40,000*l.* was granted to Boyd and Benfield, both members of parliament, to relieve them in a pressing emergency." Here Mr. Whitbread recapitulated the circumstances of the application, and contended that the chancellor of the exchequer was bound to have made inquiries as to the responsibility of Boyd—to have inquired into his general circumstances. He must have found then that Boyd's pretences, that the bank had particularly aimed at him in their limitations of discounts, were unfounded. But Mr. Pitt made no inquiries. It might be said, that the nearer Boyd was to failure, of still the more importance it might be to postpone the failure for a year, if it would be less disastrous to the public when it came. But in fact the transactions of government with Boyd did not end here. Money was advanced to the extent of 150,000*l.* at different times for their assistance, though the apparent ground was public service,—particularly the silver contract, to be sent to India, when in fact Boyd's house had no silver to send. At the time of all these transactions, and in 1796, it appears that Boyd knew the house was ruined, as appears from his correspondence with Benfield, which showed the

perpetual

perpetual difficulties of the house, and the expedients to which it was necessary to resort to raise money. Yet Boyd had the loans of 1797 and 1798. Such are the dangers to which the public had been exposed by the improper confidence reposed in Boyd, which proper inquiries, in the power of the chancellor of the exchequer to make, would have removed. Mr. Whitbread then alluded incidentally to the delays which appeared to take place in the payment of half pay, which was from three to six months due before it was issued. To this he begged leave to call the attention of the treasurer of the navy. It was a species of allowance which ought on no account to be in arrear.—There was no reason why it should; and he trusted, that in future arrangements would be made for paying it with entire punctuality. Having gone through these statements, he said that he had now nearly finished the task he had undertaken, in bringing before the house the different resolutions on the subject of the reports before them. He trusted that the house would so far concur with him on this occasion, that they would not suffer a violation of the law, capable of such abuse as the loan to Boyd and Benfield, to pass without a protest against the precedent. It was necessary to show, too, that notwithstanding the confidence which Mr. Pitt had enjoyed, yet when irregularities committed by him, even though in the hurry of other more important concerns, and amidst the trying situation of the country and of Europe, at former times were discovered, they were not to pass without a caution to prevent their being drawn into example. He then read over the different resolutions, founded on the principles laid down in his speech.

The chancellor of the exchequer began by observing, that much of what had fallen from the honourable member was wholly irrelevant, not only to the particular resolutions with which he had concluded, but to that subject to which it was his wish to direct the attention of the house. He declined too entering on the subject of the funded and money market, on which the honourable gentleman had expressed himself in such strong terms. If the honourable gentleman was at all disposed to represent these money transactions as being at all proofs of a sordid spirit, he was confident that such a doctrine would be but little relished either in the house or the country. "The hon. gentleman has first of all alluded to the communication of Mr. Raikes; and as he does not say that there exists, on this part of the subject, any direct charge against my conduct, it is less necessary for me to take up the time of the house. When the honourable gentleman first alluded to this subject, he certainly viewed it in a light different from what he has now expressed; and it gives me great satisfaction that the inquiry which has taken place has so far altered his opinion. As he has found in this instance, that he was too precipitate in his original conclusion, I trust that he will henceforth be more cautious in expressing his opinions of the criminality of others, before their conduct has been fully investigated. When gentlemen speak of the attention to be given to any communication, it is surely not asking too much, that they shall keep in view the circumstances under which the communication took place, the degree of authenti-

city which it may reasonably be supposed to possess, the character of the individual by whom it is communicated, and the probability that what has been communicated is consistent with truth. Now, with regard to this communication of Mr. Raikes, I must be permitted to observe, that it was not made in his capacity of governor of the bank of England. It was not given as a statement derived from his own knowledge, but one obtained from the information of others—it was not accompanied by any documents—it was not repeated under circumstances more striking than when originally produced. Taking into view then all the circumstances of the case, and calling the attention of the house to what appears in my evidence before the committee, I hope that there will be no reason found for supposing that I have not, in this instance, fulfilled my duty to the country in that confidential situation which I then enjoyed, however I may regret that, in consequence of what has since appeared, the inquiry had not been at that time more fully pursued. But the honourable gentleman thinks it extraordinary that I should not have kept in my recollection, that the practice of withdrawing money from the bank, and placing it in the hands of a private banker, was contrary to the provisions of an express act of parliament. In my evidence before the committee, I did not say that the act of parliament was not in my recollection, but only asserted that I might not at that time have particularly adverted to all its provisions. I will not now enter into any controversy as to the real construction of the act; but undoubtedly it is a grave question, whether the meaning of the act is, that, even when the money is *bonâ fide* drawn out of the bank for purposes strictly naval, it may not be lodged in the hands of a private banker for the greater facility to be given to the public service: it is a subject not to be determined lightly. The next point to which the honourable gentleman adverted was, the case of Mr. Jellicoe, on whose deficiency to the public lord Melville obtained a full release by an order of the treasury. After having examined this subject with the utmost degree of attention, I still remain of the same opinion now, that I entertained when the release was originally obtained. I think enough was then laid before the treasury to sanction that measure, and I cannot think that any further investigations would have placed the matter in a clearer point of view. Let me in a few words state the circumstances of the case fairly to the house. Mr. Jellicoe was an old servant of the public, and one who it was supposed had served with diligence and fidelity. He had been employed long before lord Melville was appointed to the treasurership of the navy; and therefore, in any of his proceedings respecting him, the noble lord could not be supposed to act from any feeling of partiality or prejudice. Soon after lord Melville's accession to office, he discovered that Mr. Jellicoe was greatly embarrassed, and that the balances in his hands were much larger than the security of the public money could admit of, as there appeared no reasonable prospect of their being speedily liquidated. I only ask of the house to look at the circumstances of this case, and then to say whether it was not impossible not to mix in their contemplation of it feelings of compassion, when they considered

considered that Mr. Jellicoe was as it were drawn into that sort of connection which accomplished his ruin. If a different course had been followed than that which lord Melville pursued, the consequence might have been, that the individual and his family might have been destroyed, while the public would for ever have been deprived of even the chance of recovering any part of the deficiency which existed. Acting then on kind and benevolent views, without at all compromising the public interest, lord Melville did give time; and I thought, and still continue to think, that what he did was not only strictly justifiable, but entitled to the highest approbation. The honourable gentleman has alluded to the incongruity of dates in the warrant of the treasury; and it is easy to conceive that this may have happened through mere inadvertency. If, however, the instruments had been made out before the treasury had actually agreed to the warrant, I see no reason for imputing serious criminality to any one; if forms were in every case to be rigidly enforced, official business would be materially obstructed, and in some cases totally put to a stand. In this particular case it may have happened that the warrant was made out on my authority; and if the inducements which were to prevail on the treasury were not submitted for a few days after this mechanical part of the business was completed, surely no material difference existed. The responsibility on my part was not in the smallest degree weakened; and if the proceeding at all required vindication, I was prepared with the same defence in one case as in the other. The honourable gentleman, however, says, that the mode of granting the release was not regular: but on the contrary it appears, that all transactions of this sort were carried through by an order from the privy seal. He complains, that no precedent of a similar proceeding can be produced, when in my mind the case of lord Grenville is in every respect analogous. In the case of lord Grenville, a sum for secret service money was paid by him with a view to promote the public interest, and the person who received it betrayed his trust. Lord Grenville made oath of the payment of the money, and by a warrant under the privy seal received compensation. Precisely similar to this was the case of lord Melville, one of whose officers betrayed his trust, and therefore the noble lord equally deserved a release from the consequences of such misconduct. I shall not further enlarge on this head, but proceed to the consideration of the advance of the 40,000*l.* to Boyd and Benfield, on which so much animadversion has taken place. On this part of the subject the honourable gentleman adverted to the use of Hamburgh bills, to the circumstances attending two different loans, and to several other subjects, all of which have been formerly under the consideration of this house. Through the whole of these subjects it is certainly not my wish to follow him, but on one or two points it will be necessary for me to make a few observations. The honourable gentleman supposes that there was a close loan formed for the service of the year 1795, but I believe that it must be in the recollection of the house that this statement is incorrect. The first close loan was in December 1795, and the second was in April 1796. Let not the honourable gentleman, however, imagine that these loans

were thus negotiated till the whole of the instalments were completed. In 1795, Mr. Boyd and other respectable persons were admitted to the loan as the highest bidders, and the close loan was given to them in preference to any other party, the public faith being pledged to them explicitly to that extent. If the honourable gentleman means to say that I ever gave Mr. Boyd any improper preference, I can appeal to the circumstances of the case to show that he is mistaken. As to the Hamburgh bills, of which the honourable gentleman has spoken so much, a few words of explanation will be necessary, as many gentlemen were not members of this house when the transaction alluded to was fully inquired into and decided upon, after a full investigation by a committee. The honourable gentleman has said, that the business was got rid of by moving the previous question; but he does not state that this course was adopted merely because the facts to be declared and the first resolutions were held to be unnecessary, as they were to be followed up by strong censure against my conduct. The first resolutions were accordingly got rid of by the previous question, but on the other resolutions the house divided; and let me state that the two tellers were an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Jekyll), and another honourable gentleman on the other side (Mr. Whitbread). The ayes went forth, and no less than eight members concurred with these honourable gentlemen in opinion that the use of Hamburgh bills was a practice to be reprobated. Now, sir, let me say a few words as to the circumstances under which the loan to Boyd and Benfield was advanced. They had been contractors for the two loans of eighteen millions, in December 1795, and of seven millions in the spring of the following year. At the time their application was made they continued holders of a number of shares. At that time it is needless for me to remind the house that there was a most distressing scarcity of money in the mercantile world. Securities, however good in themselves, bills, particularly of a remote date, nay even government bills and East India securities, could not be exchanged for money. An instalment on the loan of April was to be paid; and in their application to me they stated distinctly, that unless some aid was afforded them by government, they could not find money to cover it, though in possession of undoubted securities. I know that in the first examination of Mr. Drummond, one of the partners in the house, this fact is not admitted. On his second examination, however, he states that he had misconceived the import of the question formerly put to him, and that in September 1796, such was the scarcity of money that securities, which in ordinary cases were available for all purposes, had become totally useless. But it is not, sir, to his evidence only that we are to look for the proof of this statement; we have a general recollection of all the circumstances to which he alluded, and we know that the stoppage of payment at the bank arose out of the same causes. A most intelligent gentleman too, a member of this house (Mr. S. Thornton), and, from his situation both as governor and deputy governor of the bank, well qualified to give a correct opinion on the subject, declared before the committee, that this representation of the state of the mercantile

cantile interest of that time was by no means exaggerated. On the same most respectable authority the house would see, that if the house of Boyd and Benfield had sold scrip to relieve themselves from embarrassment, it would only have accelerated that evil which they were anxious to ward off. At that time the discount was from 13 to 15 per cent.; and had Boyd and Benfield come into the market with a large sum, a still larger depreciation would have taken place: had it been known too, a run would immediately have taken place upon them, and an embarrassment which was only temporary might have been succeeded by absolute ruin. If the relief then afforded had not been given, the consequence would have been, that other loan-holders would have been unable to complete their payments, and would have been involved in a similar catastrophe. A new loan must therefore have been negotiated, and the loss to the public must have been far more considerable than if the whole of the 40,000*l.* advanced had been lost without hope of restitution. Let another circumstance be kept in view, and that is, that the house of Boyd and Benfield had been active in making those pecuniary advances to the continent, at a period when assistance given to the emperor of Germany appeared to hold out a reasonable hope of the permanent safety of this country, in the general safety of Europe. Under an impression that the advance was essentially necessary to the best interests of the state, I did consent to it; and if the house in their wisdom think I have acted wrong, I shall certainly feel it my duty to bow to their decision. But the honourable member says, that I ought to have inquired more minutely into the affairs of Boyd and Benfield, before I consented to give them so large an advance of the public money. When ample securities were put into my hands, when nothing, too, appeared but the impossibility of getting these securities accepted in the ordinary course of mercantile proceedings, certainly such an examination was superfluous. It might be said, indeed, that the concerns of Boyd and Benfield were in that precarious state that demanded the most rigid inquiry. It was a fact, however, that upwards of three years elapsed before their absolute insolvency was ascertained. Even that honourable gentleman, who had already been alluded to, had no suspicion of this till the end of 1797; and though Boyd and Benfield participated in all the loans from 1796, yet, in consequence of Mr. Thornton's information, I felt it my duty to refuse their further participation in any public contract. This indeed was, in every case, the course I pursued on every occasion. The governor and deputy governor of the bank attended, when a loan was to be contracted for, and on their opinion of the solvency of the contractors was my opinion guided." The right honourable gentleman, after a few more observations on this point, concluded by throwing himself entirely on the wisdom and candour of the house.

Mr. H. Lascelles, having sat on the committee, which he had attended every day, had thought it his duty, when resolutions of censure were given notice of, to enter his protest against any such proceeding. He was happy to find that the tone and manner of the honourable gentleman was very different from what he had adopt-

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ed on a former night. It was then insinuated that the right honourable gentleman had been acquainted with the misapplication of public money: and the gentleman who sat near him (Mr. Fox) had on the 8th of April observed that the country was under a disgraced administration. The speech of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had been, in truth, nothing more than a recapitulation of the evidence which had been given before the committee; and it was fully enough to satisfy the house and the country. As to what had been said of a bill of indemnity, after a lapse of four years, the right honourable gentleman could scarcely have thought it necessary, though, had he then applied for it, he surely would not have met the jealousy which he now encountered. Mr. Lascelles moved the previous question on the resolutions brought forward, in order afterwards to propose other resolutions in their stead. On the question being put, the chancellor of the exchequer offered to withdraw, but the house deemed it unnecessary. Mr. Fox then adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Lascelles. Mr. Fox admitted that he had used the words 'a disgraced administration;' but his observation applied to Melville, who then formed a part of administration; he had at the time said that no business ought to be gone upon, till the stigma arising from his still belonging to it was removed. He assured the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) that he never had considered him as criminal beyond what his own intimation to the house as to the 40,000*l.*, had warranted. He should, as sincerely as any man, feel sorry, if it had appeared from inquiry that the right honourable gentleman was guilty in the same way that lord Melville seemed so. However much he might have differed, politically, from the right honourable gentleman, he should be uneasy and unhappy had it proved, after the rank and station which he had so long held, after the opposition even which he had deemed it his duty to give him, that the right honourable gentleman was personally corrupt. He never entertained such an opinion; and he was happy that the result of the inquiry did not justify the adoption of even a sentiment of suspicion. Although he had on many occasions uttered sentiments opposite to those of the right hon. gentleman, though he had often said of him what he should have felt it treason against his country and his conscience to have concealed, still he never had expressed, nor did he ever entertain a suspicion, that he was personally corrupt. However he might have charged him with that species of corruption that attaches to general neglect of duty, his mind entirely acquitted him of sordid corruption. He thought, indeed, that as 'superintendant of the finances,' he should have been more attentive to the communication of Mr. Raikes; and though the reliance of the right honourable gentleman upon the answer of lord Melville was not unnatural, yet the neglecting to investigate the business further betrayed rather a want of diligence. The right honourable gentleman's situation, however, was different with respect to the case of Jellicoe: upon this subject there was this marked difference between the case of a noble friend of his (lord Grenville) and that of lord Melville, though

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considered by the right honourable gentleman as quite analogous. Lord Grenville, after the money was embezzled, reposed no further confidence in the person who was guilty, and made no false statement. The blame which attached to the right honourable gentleman in the case of Jellicoe consisted in this, that he granted lord Melville an acquittance upon false grounds, and in an unprecedented manner. Lord Melville's memorial stated that Jellicoe's debt was contracted before lord Melville's entrance into office, when the fact was otherwise; and the treasury acted upon that memorial without examination. As to the 40,000*l.* lent to Mr. Boyd, he considered this transaction contrary not only to statute law, but to the spirit of the constitution and common sense. There were on the Journals several resolutions expressly condemning the misappropriation of naval money. He was himself one of those who thought that law should never be dispensed with by any power, unless where the necessity was so urgent, that to abstain from such dispensation would be a higher breach of duty than the violation of the law itself. Was then the case of Boyd such as to justify a deviation from the general rule? He owned it struck him with surprise, that the credit of government should be supposed to depend upon a loan of 40,000*l.* The right honourable gentleman had stated that Boyd could not obtain money in the market for the securities he produced to government, "in consequence of the scarcity of cash which then prevailed;" and yet not above three weeks after, strange to tell! his majesty was made to congratulate his parliament on the prosperous state of affairs and the unembarrassed credit of the country. The precedent of such a loan was alarmingly mischievous, and had a tendency to make a minister nearly absolute. There were many failures in the city at the time that Boyd received this loan; yet he alone was favoured. If it was really necessary to lend, why not apply for the concurrence of parliament, as in the case of the West-India merchants some years ago? It has been asked, If the right honourable gentleman was so confident of justification from the natural strength of his case, why not come for an indemnity? At least after Boyd's house had become again flourishing, after it had become so prosperous as to be intrusted by government with large sums to be remitted to the Cape of Good Hope, then the transaction might have been revealed. And still more after the total failure of the house, the necessity for concealment was done away. But, says the right honourable gentleman, after the bankruptcy took place, an act of indemnity did not occur to him. But why did it not occur? Was this usage of the public money so common as to make no impression? If it were so, it was in truth a dangerous symptom in his government. But an application to parliament was unnecessary, it might be said, because the transaction would be secret. If the right honourable gentleman acted upon such a hope, the disappointment would, he trusted, be an example; since after nine years concealment the matter was now brought to light. The misappropriation of public money was indeed a thing which was sooner or later always likely to be known.

known. The 20,000*l.* mentioned by lord Melville was a thing *sui generis*, and standing alone. A loan of 40,000*l.* necessarily must be known to many persons, and therefore had the worst effect, the effect of a secret precedent. What might not a successor of Mr. Pitt say? or what might not others say to such a successor? "Since Mr. Pitt, who was represented by his friends and admitted by his enemies to be perfectly free from personal corruption, lent 40,000*l.* of the public money to accommodate an individual, how can you hesitate to do the same?" So much as to precedents in secret, which might be greatly more dangerous than public precedents. In considering the course now to be adopted, it was particularly desirous to distinguish the motive from the act. It was in his judgment as culpable to apply severe censure to slight delinquency, as to suffer a flagrant offender to escape with impunity. If, therefore, any censure whatsoever was to be passed upon the right honourable gentleman, it should be done certainly in the gentlest terms. If his honourable friend's resolutions should not be adopted, he should prefer a bill of indemnity, in the preamble to which the sense of the house might be so fully expressed as to guard against the precedent in future.—Lord Castlereagh thought that there was little practical difference between the honourable gentlemen, and proposed the motion to run thus, "not conformable to law, and not to be drawn into precedent:" and that to be followed by a bill of indemnity. Mr. Canning said two things were necessary: first, to characterize the transaction itself; secondly, to prevent its appearing as a precedent. These the resolutions of his honourable friend effected, and they could not depart from a single iota of them. Mr. Windham deemed it an unfair return for the moderation and candour admitted to have been exhibited by the honourable mover, and by his friend (Mr. Fox), to force them to seem to approve of what they had not investigated. The attorney-general allowed that the original mover had acted with the greatest moderation, and that the candour displayed by the other honourable gentleman did him the highest honour. If, however, it was to be demanded of his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) to omit on that account what was necessary for his own justification, he would have little reason to be grateful for that candour, which in that case would prove a worse weapon than their former hostility. Mr. Lascelles, as it seemed to be the wish of the house that a bill of indemnity should be introduced, moved for leave to bring in such a bill, taking the resolution which he held in his hand as the preamble to it. Mr. Wilberforce approved of a bill of indemnity. The measure alluded to was required by the emergency of the times. A breach of law, however, had been committed; and he preferred a bill of indemnity in the present instance to a vote of the house; because he thought it proper, there being so many mercantile men in the house, and this being a mercantile question, that it should receive the sanction of the other branches of the legislature. The master of the rolls saw no occasion for a bill of indemnity. Mr. Whitbread, in reply, alluded to what had fallen from the attorney-general, who disliked candour and hated mercy.

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He concluded by making some additional remarks; and a bill of indemnity was finally agreed to by the house. It was also agreed that the resolution of Mr. Lascelles should stand as the preamble of the bill, thus: "that the measure of advancing 40,000*l.* to messrs. Boyd and Co. upon unquestionable securities, which have been regularly discharged, was adopted for the purpose of averting consequences which might have proved highly injurious to the financial and commercial interests of the country; and, although not conformable to law, appeared at the time to be called for by the peculiar exigencies of public affairs."

A termination to this inquiry more favourable to the personal integrity of the minister could scarcely have been desired, even by those most attached to him: and we think ourselves justified in observing, that in the decision of the legislature, the feeling of the public at the time most fully acquiesced.—It was not with sentiments of equal approbation that a bill was carried through parliament respecting the claims of the Athol family, for compensation from the public for some privileges and immunities in the Isle of Man, which they had formerly surrendered. It was contended that the bargain had been forced upon that noble family, and that the sum of 70,000*l.* paid out of the public purse was very inadequate to the value of the rights given up, which were represented to be rights of sovereignty. The bill passed upon the recommendation of a committee of his majesty's privy council, and was intended to confirm a grant in perpetuity, estimated at 3,500*l.* a year. It was alleged in opposition, that the contract was voluntary; that there was no colour of propriety for this appeal to parliament; that the rights conceded were merely rights vested in the duke of Athol as a subject; that now, after five-and-thirty years, to beg for what was called compensation, was preposterous; and that the sum originally awarded was, in fact, fully adequate to what had been conceded. It also appeared, that the grant had been resisted by all the law officers of the crown during many years back. In the house of commons the bill was opposed by Mr. Frankland, sir W. Young, Mr. Bond, lord Temple, Mr. D. Giddy, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Wilberforce. It was supported by Mr. Rose, Mr. Kinnaird, lord Henniker, sir W. Burroughs, lord Glenbervie, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Barham. Mr. Curwen strongly opposed it. Ayes 96; noes, 38.—Majority 57.—In the house of peers, the earl of Westmorland, lord Harrowby, the earl of Carlisle, lords Mulgrave and Hawkesbury, spoke in favour of the bill. Against it were the lord chancellor, the lord chief justice, the marquis of Buckingham, lord Sidmouth, and the earl of Suffolk. The lord chief justice (lord Ellenborough) was peculiarly impressive upon the subject. The division was, contents, for the adjournment, 12; non contents, 45—Majority in favour of the bill, 33.

In the course of the sessions some discussions took place relative to particular individuals, which, as they were not brought to any definite conclusion, may be considered as referrible to another period. Mr. Paull (member for Newport, Hants)

Hants) moved for the production of several papers, on which he intimated his intention to ground a criminal charge against the marquis Wellesley, of mal-administration in India. A motion was made by col. Wood for the production of the proceedings of a court-martial relative to sir J. Duckworth: it was, afterwards, however, agreed that it should be withdrawn. Sir A. Hammond (comptroller of the navy) applied to the house for the production of papers, which he considered as vindicatory of his character from some imputations cast on it by the eleventh report of the commissioners of naval inquiry: after a warm but irregular conversation, the motion for the production of papers was put and carried. Mr. Kinnaird gave notice of a motion against sir Home Popham; as did Mr. Jeffery against earl St. Vincent. With respect to the conduct of sir H. Popham, a committee, to whom it was referred, returned, previously to his going abroad, a report favourable to the character of that officer.

CHAPTER IX.

Debates on the Catholic Petition in the House of Lords—on His Majesty's Message, in the same—Debates on the Catholic Petition in the House of Commons—on the State of the Nation, in the same—on His Majesty's Message—on the State of the Army—Parliament prorogued.

WHEN it is considered how tenacious the human mind is found to be with respect to opinions once imbibed; and with what difficulty inveterate prejudices can, even in cultivated understandings, be removed; it will naturally be admitted that no statesman ever ought to enforce any measure, however salutary in his own judgment, which is likely to seem extravagant to the conceptions of those whom it is his fate to govern. But, in free governments, the public mind, though it cannot be driven, may often be led; by means too of the press, and more especially of the freedom of debate in legislative assemblies, it may be changed: no good citizen, therefore, ought at any time to despair of the common weal. The perusal of the discussions relative to the important subject which we are now entering upon, will (at the same time that it excites much admiration at the ability displayed in them) perhaps raise a transient smile at some of the arguments and some of the fears expressed by those, who, it may be thought, were meant by nature rather to feel as those about them should happen to do, than to shape or modify the feelings of future generations.

On the 10th of May, lord Grenville rose and moved that the Irish catholic petition be now read; which being read accordingly, his lordship entered upon a statement of the motives which induced him to give notice of the motion which he should that night submit to

their lordships' consideration. "I wished, my lords, that the petition might be now read, in order to refresh your lordships' recollection of the objects it sets forth, and the spirit of moderation with which it dwells upon them. I trust, that we shall enter upon the discussion with a similar spirit, and that above all things there will be infused into it nothing of party violence. The petitioners from party spirit and party violence have almost every thing to fear, and scarcely any thing to hope. Conscious I am, that in what I have now undertaken, not a breath of such a disposition actuates my breast, and as willing am I to believe that such impressions are equally remote from your lordships' minds. But at the same time, my lords, I should show myself very ill-read in human nature, and ignorant indeed of what objects our present discussion must give rise to, if I were not fully aware of how much prejudice, clamour, and misrepresentation it has to encounter. Fully sensible I am to what portion of that clamour and misrepresentation I myself, and those who may think with me on the present subject, are liable, and how our conduct may be said to betray indifference and disregard towards the establishments in church and state: but to these imputations I can readily oppose the consciousness of the rectitude of my intentions, strong in the consolatory recollection that I have discharged a great duty, and that, whatever fate the question may experience, I shall have no share at least in the evils that may ensue from an unkind and abrupt rejection of it. Should it have appeared that there was not one man in the imperial parliament to present the petition of so large and respectable a class of the community, and that even the door of your lordships' house was shut against its prayer, what would have been the impression made by such a conduct on every thinking and benevolent man? what at least would have been the impression on the minds of those whom it more nearly concerns, but that of absolute despair? I shall only therefore request, that what so deeply concerns so large a class of our fellow-subjects, may at least be taken into consideration, without any attempt to point out how any of the objects of the petition should be granted or withheld. By proceeding thus temperately and cautiously, I trust I may vindicate the propriety of my own conduct, and of those who hold similar opinions; while at the same time I exemplify the spirit of the petitioners themselves, whose chief solicitude it is, that at least their petition may be respectfully submitted to your lordships' consideration.—And now, my lords, how shall I begin to lay this momentous question before you? I think it most natural and advisable to begin by stating a fact, which should form the foundation of the whole of our proceedings upon this question: that the population of the country from which the petition comes amounts at the lowest to three millions, at the highest to four. It would therefore appear, that there are about four millions on computation of persons in Ireland, who are educated in, and who profess the tenets of, the Roman catholic religion: but as it is the object and the duty of every government to provide for the happiness of the nation they rule, how can a government be said to provide

provide for the happiness of a country, three fourths of whose population does not seem entitled to their care? No doubt it were devoutly to be wished, that the same amity might prevail in matters of religion, as in political and constitutional principles: yet this is not to be viewed according to our wishes; but as it is, my lords, as it has been, and as it must continue to be. It will be found that the catholics were looked upon as adverse to the revolution, because their religion was connected with an opposite political opinion, and therefore placed them in a hostile light to the protestant establishment. But the object of the revolution was not to punish and put down a particular religious opinion, but because it was thought to be then connected with a political opinion that inclined to favour the exiled family; and in consequence of that partiality, the catholics were excluded by new laws and enactments from any participation in the government. I know, however, and that is enough for me now to state, that the situation of those times is not the situation of the present day: but here also let me do justice to that great, that memorable prince king William, who always approved himself the friend of freedom, the friend of toleration; and let me not be thought to charge on his memory the blame, if blame there be, of the measures that were subsequently adopted; they were no part of his system. Under the following reign the Irish catholics, merely as catholics, were considered as irreconcileably hostile to the protestant establishment in Ireland;—and not only were they excluded from all participation in the government, and in the benefits of the constitution, but they were not allowed even the enjoyment of property; of their religious rites; not even the means of education: and thus the measures adopted against them were calculated in every respect to render them poor, illiterate, and contemptible; and to reduce them to the lowest, the most degraded state to which it was possible to reduce man. I can feel no pleasure in descending any further into an examination of the system which then prevailed: I should not, perhaps, have even gone so far into the consideration of it, though it was scarcely avoidable; though I confess that I might have been betrayed somewhat further merely by the pleasing contrast between what then passed, and what the present auspicious reign exhibits in that respect.—How striking that contrast, every heart must feel and acknowledge: measures have gradually been adopted which reversed the former system, and perhaps good can only be gradually produced. An act was soon passed to allow the Roman catholics and protestants to intermarry. They were next indulged in the free exercise of their religion; and though they might not be made good protestants, yet they were no longer expected to be made immoral members of society. Still further indulgences were granted to them: they soon were allowed a share in the elective franchise, and in the executive offices; and this system of lenity and concession rapidly produced the very opposite effects to which the former system necessarily gave rise. They soon acquired wealth from the pursuits of agriculture and trade, and from a participation in every thing that promotes general civilization.

zation. The extension of commercial privileges, which was afterwards granted them, naturally increased their wealth; which being diffused among the lower and middling classes, a class was soon formed which scarcely existed before, but which it was the avowed object of the new system to establish. Nor were these the only advantages that sprang up under its fostering protection and encouragement; for, in proportion as they advanced in industry and increased in wealth, an evident increase was also discernible in their affection to their king and country, and in their attachment to the constitution, all of which received a still further increase by the marks of favour they received in the year 1792, when they were admitted to the enjoyment of almost every advantage and blessing of the constitution, except those enumerated in the petition now on your lordships' table. But here, it seems, it was thought proper to make a stand; the plan of concession was to proceed no further; and they must submit to be excluded from any more enlarged participation in the government. The great measure of the union was, however, to remove all these difficulties; those at least which chiefly arose from the peculiar frame of the Irish parliament, and which were looked upon as the principal bar against further concession. The measure of the union excited strong hopes that its operation would tend to a removal of the remaining disqualifications:—there was certainly no promise made to that effect; yet, by most of the supporters of the union, an expectation was created that the catholics might look for more favour from the imperial parliament than from the parliament of Ireland; and although the supporters of the union might not all agree that any further measure in favour of catholics should be carried, yet almost all who spoke on the consequences of the union seemed to reckon the possibility, nay the probability, of such further concession as among them: At least, it was added, whatever difference of opinion might before have prevailed upon that point, since the union there could no longer be any hesitation to examine minutely and in detail all the measures respecting the Roman catholics, and the expediency of granting any further exemptions. It is this pledge, my lords, which I now call upon your lordships to realize, to manifest a disposition which may show our readiness to consider the case of the catholics with temper and impartiality, and with a sincere desire to compose all animosities and differences: for myself, my lords, I am ready to declare, that not only a part, but the whole of the prayer of the petition should be acceded to. For what was the general wish? Did it not anxiously look for a complete union of all descriptions of his majesty's subjects? for an union not merely in name, and the letter of the law, but an union growing out of mutual interest and affection, and determined devotion on all sides for the defence of the constitution? Yet I readily confess that the question may in some degree be a question only of expediency, and not of right: but it is at least incumbent upon those who would continue the restrictions, to show the necessity of continuing them. Must they not allow, that the principle of our free constitution consists in equal laws and privileges; and that, in the eye of the law, the lowest man is on a footing with the highest?

Upon what ground then can the continuance of the disqualifications be justified, except upon that of necessity? Let those, however, who plead that ground come forward with proofs that the necessity exists. Such an idea is incompatible with the basis of a free constitution, which consists in equal laws; and though it may be necessary to admit some distinction of privilege, yet that four millions of his majesty's subjects should be debarred of the privileges enjoyed by the other classes of their fellow subjects requires, to justify such a privation, the most strong, the most palpable, unquestionable expediency and necessity. The first ground of objection which I have heard rumoured about, is of such a nature that it can only be mentioned to excite surprise. It has been somewhere said, that it was the nature of the catholic religion that those who professed it could not be loyal subjects. Can that be true, my lords? Or, if it be true, surely it follows that those whom their religion makes traitors, not only are not fit to be admitted to any participation of the privileges of citizens, but that they ought not to have been admitted to what they already enjoy. If such could be the influence of their religion over them, why should you admit them to swear in courts of justice? Where so blind, so monstrous a proposition as this could possibly spring from, it is difficult to conjecture, unless perchance it may have been rescued from the musty records of some councils of the church. In vain do the catholics deny that what they profess has any such tendency. They are told by their accusers, We know your religion better than yourselves. You swear you can keep faith with protestants. We bring them to the table to swear it, and yet afterwards they are told their oath is not to be believed. Yet, if ever there were a shadow of ground for the existence of such notions, with what safety could any of your lordships have gone to the capital of the arts, where that opinion might be supposed to have most powerfully prevailed? But there is no entertaining such absurd notions with seriousness. If the body of the Roman catholics and their loyalty are fairly brought under such an imputation, where is their defence to be sought for? To disprove such a charge I have only to turn to the statutes, my lords; to the declarations repeatedly made in the preamble of bills passed in their favour by the Irish parliament. It was there again and again acknowledged, that the favour granted to them was the consequence and reward of their loyalty and exemplary conduct. True;—but I may be told that their loyalty had been conspicuous down to the period of the rebellion. But surely nothing can be more unjust than to impute the rebellion to them as catholics. That more or less of the catholics may have been engaged in the rebellion may be true: for, how could a rebellion rage in a country, three-fourths of whose population were catholics, without some of them having been engaged in it? Look to their conduct in the two rebellions which took place during the present reign; the object of which was to dethrone the present family, and to reinstate the exiled king. Look to the history of the times, and it will show you that the catholics were engaged in neither, although the object was to reinstate a catholic king. Look also to the American

war:

war: Did not the enemy then hover on our coast, and frequently threaten invasion?—Yet the loyalty of the catholics was not then questioned: so far otherwise, that arms were intrusted to their hands to repel the attack. I now speak in the hearing of many noble lords who have been lords-lieutenants and secretaries to lords-lieutenants in that country; and I am bold to ask them, On what occasion have the body of the catholics been found disaffected to government? Were the leaders of the late rebellion catholics? Were they not united Irishmen? Which denomination argued a co-operation of different sects. And were not the heads of that rebellion rather proved to be protestants? That event was wholly unconnected with religion, but had for its chief aim the overthrow of the constitution and of the monarchy. If then the rebellion cannot be imputed to the catholics; if, on the contrary, the most distinguished among them were the most forward to run every hazard, to exhibit every possible symptom of the most ardent zeal, with what face can the guilt of the rebellion be charged upon the catholics? and how unjustly, on the contrary, is it advanced as a reason for depriving three-fourths of a people of the enjoyments of those privileges to which they may have the fairest claim! But it has been objected to the petition, that it is signed only by laymen, and that it is not attested by a single priest; but, on the contrary, that all the priests disclaim the doctrines it sets forth. This, notwithstanding, I am well assured is by no means a fact. The only reason why it has not been signed by the catholic clergy is, that the objects it aims at are civil rights, and that these clergy did not think themselves called upon to petition for what they were not entitled to. So far from it being true, that the catholic clergy disclaim any thing belonging to the petition, it might easily be proved from the records of the courts of law, that their prelates have taken the oaths prescribed to them; and not only have they taken these oaths themselves, but it is well known that they have moreover exhorted their clergy to follow their example. It is argued that the time is now come that the catholics must be all traitors, since the pope has been prevailed on to come to Paris to crown Buonaparte. Such trifling, my lords, it would surely be disrespectful to your lordships even to advert to, were it not too true that it is by the means of such monstrous absurdities, that attempts are made not only to revive the unfortunate animosities which prevailed in Ireland, but also to extend them to this country. Is the pope more connected with France now than he was in the time of the Bourbons; or is he more inclined to support the power of France than before? The contrary is known to be the case; and there is no man who rightly interprets his feelings, but must acknowledge that they must be those of humiliation and mortification. His influence is certainly less than perhaps any of the pontiffs who ever filled the papal chair; and even were it greater, it could not have the tendency imputed to it, after his person and his religion have been so exhibited, and led captive in that most dishonourable and degrading transaction. Away then with all such unmeaning absurdities! But we are again told, If you agree to the petition, then you are bound to repeal the test

act. If it be right to repeal the test act, do it, whether it be proper or no to comply with the prayer of the petition; or, if it be wrong to repeal it, then let not that prevent you from the consideration of the prayer of the catholic petition: surely there is no comparison between the two cases. These disputes have long subsisted in Ireland, and no mischief may have arisen from them; is it just to reject the catholic petition not from any demerits of its own, but because another body may present a petition it may not be fit to comply with? What system must then be resorted to, if you reject the petition and disappoint the hopes of so large a portion of the community? Will you recur to the system of the reign of queen Anne? After allowing the catholics the means of acquiring property, would you destroy the influence that naturally attaches to it? Would you thus make them aliens in their own country? Will you expose yourselves to be reduced to the wretched alternative of having a population without property, or property without the enjoyment of constitutional rights? I trust a wiser policy will direct your proceedings, and that moderation will beget a spirit, which a system of restraint can never produce. If you favour the higher order of the catholics, you will have claims upon them that will induce them to exert all their endeavours to meliorate the spirit of the lower orders of their persuasion. You have already conceded much: where is the danger to be dreaded from conceding what remains? A few catholic peers are anxious to have seats in parliament. What can you dread from their introduction into the legislature? or do you really believe that any practical advantage can be derived from excluding so small a number? By granting their request you would lose nothing yourselves, while they might appear to gain much; and what they gained in respect and consideration among the lower classes, would enable them to exert an influence over them that might have the most beneficial tendency. From what motive can you reject their prayer? Can you be seriously apprehensive that, if they came into this house, they would attempt to persuade you to abolish your hierarchy? Would not the contrary be the course of their conduct? Would not every motive and consideration induce them to show their respect and attachment to the government and constitution? The same observations may be applied to the few who might get into the house of commons,—they would forward, but not obstruct, the views of government. What mischief has arisen from the introduction of 16 peers from Scotland into this house, and of 45 members from the same country into the other house of parliament? They have now been sitting in both houses for a century, and in neither has any individual of them attempted to persuade the country to substitute the presbyterian religion in the room of that established by the laws of the country. On the contrary, has the government, or the country, ever met with more zealous supporters? Where then is the ground of alarm at the introduction of so far a smaller number of Irish catholics into the two branches of the legislature? What must be the real feeling impressed upon their minds, and upon the minds of the whole body of the Roman catholics, if you refuse to entertain their petition, or examine

amine the nature of their pretensions? From what can they conceive that backwardness to arise to admit them to places of honour and trust, but from suspicion and distrust? And to what sentiments can suspicion and distrust give rise, but similar sentiments in their breasts towards you? But let us for a moment inquire, my lords, into any of the risks or dangers that might arise from admitting Roman catholics to the enjoyments of such distinctions. Have not the presbyterians filled the highest places in the law, the navy, and the army; and have they ever shown disaffection to the church? Did any suspicion arise, that from their religious tenets they would be inclined to take advantage of their power to the injury of our establishments ecclesiastical and civil? Why not give the same credit to the principles and integrity of the catholics? Can a hesitation to repose confidence in them arise from any thing but long rooted and unreflecting prejudice? Have your lordships well weighed the consequences that must follow from the operation of such attempts to degrade and dispirit the minds of any class of men? Have you studied the difference of conduct under which men act, who have high rewards and distinctions set before them to inflame their ambition, and animate their labours? How different would the views and the spirit of a student of the law be, if he could entertain no hope of ever reaching the high distinction of the learned lord on the woolsack? Suppose that the students of Lincoln's Inn and of the Middle Temple exclusively possessed this animating prospect; will your lordships believe that the members of the Inner Temple would not feel comparatively low? and would they with equal zeal devote themselves to professional pursuits? Must not the members of the Inner Temple feel themselves comparatively low and insignificant; whenever they reflect on the comparative insignificance of the objects to which they are allowed to aspire? In the same manner it may be observed of those who embrace a military profession, either in the navy or army. Could a young man, born to the indulgence of liberal views and a liberal mode of living, ever be brought to endure the inconveniences, the hardships, and many offensive circumstances that must attend the situation of midshipman, did he entertain no hope of emerging from such a situation, and of attaining the envied heights of distinction and of fame? If in the army a similar dispiriting distinction was to be made between two regiments; if the officers of the one were never to be raised beyond the rank of colonels, while the officers of the other might aspire to be generals and great commanders, how different must be the feelings and the spirit by which both must be actuated. Apply, my lords, all the effects of such disparagements to the case of the Irish Roman catholics, and your own breasts will tell you what works within theirs. You exclude them from all the high offices of the state; you forbid them to aspire to any high rank either in the army or the navy. The sentiments that must be engendered by such invidious distinctions and preferences may be easily conceived. They must irritate the pride and fret the feelings of every high and aspiring mind; they must make him view his country and his rulers in a far

different light, and with far different sentiments from those that swell the breast of the chosen race. What can fairly be expected from men who are thus deprived of all the inspiriting advantages that are held out to the rest of their fellow-subjects? Can they reasonably be expected to be as ardent and as anxious in the defence of their country and its government, as those who are taught to expect much more marked favours and advantages? It were madness to expect it. And is it at a moment like the present that such discouragements are to be persisted in? On the contrary, is it not a time when, under every aspect and from every motive, the most cordial and conciliating efforts should be made to knit and bind together in the closest union every description of the community? Externally we are menaced by the most active and enterprising foe with whom we had ever to contend. Under the serious apprehension of events that may arise, we are in the daily habit of calling down the blessings of union on our councils: and at such a moment, and in such circumstances, can we adopt measures or act a part that proves us regardless of the best means of promoting and strengthening that unity of action and of council which we so anxiously implore? Can we hastily and contemptuously refuse to take into consideration the claims of four millions of fellow-subjects, whose cordial co-operation must be so essential at such a crisis? It is to entreat your lordships' attention to all these circumstances, that I have brought forward the motion with which I am now going to conclude:—a motion, the subject of which, whatever may be its fate, I shall ever recollect with pride the honour and distinction I derive from having been the person chosen to introduce."—The noble lord concluded by moving the house, "that they immediately resolve themselves into a committee to take the prayer of the petition into consideration."

Lord Hawkesbury, after an introductory remark or two, observed, that in opening the business the noble lord had not thought proper to explain the object of his motion for going into a committee. "From the train of reasoning, however, I cannot be at a loss to perceive, that he does not mean to obtain a partial remedy of the complaints in the present petition, but that his object goes to the obtaining an entire repeal of the whole tests subsisting in every part of the kingdom. Whatever difference of opinion may exist between me and the petitioners now before their lordships, I feel a satisfaction in thinking that I have deprecated to themselves the idea of bringing forward the business at the present time. However, as the subject has been brought forward, I feel it a duty which I owe to my king, to my country, to myself, and to the petitioners, to state my opinion—formed not hastily, but after mature deliberation of several years' standing, and after every investigation which I was enabled to make into the merits of the case. Thus circumstanced, I have no hesitation in saying, that though I think the time at which the subject has been brought forward peculiarly objectionable, though I think there are circumstances growing out of the times which would alone be sufficient to induce me to negative the application, still my objections to the measure would exist in full force, at any time and under any circumstances;—meaning, however, to be understood to speak of what

is likely to happen, not as to what may be within the bounds of possibility. While I say so, I beg leave to declare, that I should speak contrary to my opinion, contrary to all my sentiments, contrary to all I ever felt, if I were to say that my objections to the measure had grown out of any feeling or passion against the petitioners. It is not out of any fear that the Roman catholics are not loyal subjects: whatever tenets they hold, I am ready to admit that the Roman catholics of this country have been, may be, and are, loyal, honest, and meritorious subjects; and this I say not with any intention to detract from the Irish catholics, who, I hope, are incapable of acting otherwise. With this view of the question, I come to consider the case on those general principles which for a century and a half have been allowed as particularly applicable to this country; and which, I hope, we are not now to abandon. I do not say that all laws must be permanent and unchangeable; but I do contend, that there are certain laws which are to be considered as fundamental and essential to the existence of a state, as land-marks, which must not be broken down or encroached on. On this principle it was declared in the bill of rights, that our king must be a protestant, and hold communion with the church of England. Our ancestors felt themselves called on not to depart from the established line of succession further than necessity required. But, with this principle and this determination before their eyes, they put it to themselves to declare, whether greater inconvenience would result from an alteration of the line of succession, or an alteration in the established religion of the country; and they felt no hesitation in declaring, that the danger in a change of the law in the article of religion was greater. It is important to observe, that this was not a law made with the concurrence of the king, with the intent that he might be of the same religion with the state; but was a resolution of the state, that the king must be of their religion. It must, therefore, be equally necessary, that those who act in his name, and who dispense his favours, should follow the law laid down for their principal. I allow there is a shade in the argument; but, to a certain degree, the fact is indisputable, and, on every sound principle, what applies to the crown must apply to the servants of the crown. I cannot conceive so extremely ridiculous a position as this, that we would say—"We will break in on our line of succession rather than have a catholic king, and yet we are willing to have catholic ministers, catholic judges, &c." I can easily conceive that we might argue the converse of the principle, and that it might have been a question how far it might not be expedient to try how far a change in the religion of the officers of the crown would not answer the object in view, applying the case to every situation except the crown itself. But to say that the law was to be enforced against the crown, and not against the ministers and advisers of the crown, is a doctrine as absurd and preposterous as I can well conceive. In point of fact, this was the line pursued by our ancestors. For on the restoration of Charles II. the first step which they adopted for this purpose was the passing of the corporation act; then they passed the test act, and next the Roman catholic restriction act—none of which applied or had any view to

the king. It was only on the duke of York's professing the Roman catholic religion that a bill to affect the crown was introduced. I wish your lordships too, in considering this point, not to lose sight of one important distinction, namely, the difference between tolerance, and equal participation of rights. Tolerance can never mean an equality of privileges. Civil rights, indeed, should never be abridged but in cases of necessity; but on the same principle ought the existing establishment to be secure against the abuse of indulgence, and above all ought it to be seen that the care of providing against such abuses be not placed in improper hands. Having thus stated the general principle of law so far as the crown is concerned, I now come to the question, What would be the practical effect of not keeping up the same principle as to the servants of the crown, which is applicable to the crown itself?—The noble baron has not explained to us what he means; of course we can only guess at our danger from the way in which the petitioners state their claims.—We know that there are dissenters who differ as widely from the established church as the Roman catholics, and some even more so. But this is a material distinction: they all admit that such differences are matters of internal jurisdiction, and they profess no allegiance to any foreign power; whereas the Roman catholics do. I know it is said this is only ecclesiastical allegiance:—But, surely, no protestant who takes the trouble to look at the question, but must perceive that it is impossible to acknowledge ecclesiastical allegiance without acknowledging in many cases civil also, particularly when the nature of the catholic religion is considered, and that too as it exists in Ireland. Will the noble lord recollect how much parishes depend upon ecclesiastical questions; and, in fact, that there all social and civil rights grow out of them? Who will say that they wish such places as that filled by the noble lord on the woolsack, and the legal administration in general, possessed by people whose religion is at open war with the law of this country? If they are honest men, will it not be natural to suppose that they will prefer their religious opinions to every other consideration? "But," say they, "you have a protestant king, and this thing will never happen to you."—Then I ask, What is the boon they get? Why are they anxious about what will not avail them? If we are to protect our laws, let us do so while in our power: if we are to give them up, let us do so with our eyes open, and aware of the value of what we are surrendering. What I have said, I am conscious, applies solely to the great officers of state; and I am ready to admit that the question with respect to the right of sitting in parliament stands in some respect on different grounds. The law requiring persons holding offices of trust to hold communion with the church of England does not apply to members of parliament.—All that is required is a declaration against popery merely of a doctrinal kind. But there are reasons against the privilege of an insurmountable nature. Some years ago the Irish government granted to the Roman catholics the right of elective franchise, whether properly or not I shall not say. The effect of it, I believe, was to benefit the catholics, and not to injure the state. But the moment you open the representation, and extend it to ca-

tholics,

tholics, the privilege of voting, which in catholic counties is nearly equal to universal suffrage, will then be entirely changed. It will on all occasions become a question between catholic priests and the tenantry; and thus, instead of bettering the situation of the mass of the people, or giving them a boon, you will have involved them in perplexing, difficult situations. I now come to consider a question which I cannot help thinking the noble lord treated in a very extraordinary manner. He said, he saw nothing in the time when the petition was brought forward which seemed to him at all to render it objectionable. I view this in so different a way, I think that things are so peculiarly changed since the year 1801, that I should esteem it no inconsistency in any one to say, that, while he approved of the measure at that time, he disapproved of it at the present moment. The French revolution, from the principles on which it was latterly carried on, had made it become the cause of all religions to join in opposition to those who disclaimed every idea of religion, and acted on a blind and headstrong philosophy. Men of every persuasion preferred those who had some religion to those who had none, and thought it better to bury their old animosities, and to unite against what they felt to be the grievances of the day. Within the three last years, however, we have seen a wonderful change in the internal government of that country. Sixteen years of extreme democracy have ended in subjection to the arbitrary powers of a single individual: the chief of that country now seeks to prop his own power on the support of the catholic church; and between him and the pope of Rome a close and intimate connection subsists. Who ever looks at the present state of catholic Europe, and contemplates that every part of it, except Austria, is under the power of France; whoever considers the connection between France and the pope of Rome, and between the pope of Rome and Ireland; whoever does so, and reflects seriously, will confess that there never was a time so improper for conferring additional immunities on Roman catholics. I shall now proceed to state some other practical effects which must be produced by the adoption of the present motion. We are called on to make a great and fundamental alteration in the laws of our country. It is therefore surely the duty of those who recommend that measure to us, to show what beneficial effects will result from it. I do not believe that the measure proposed will affect the great mass of the people of Ireland in the smallest degree, even should it be carried. It would indeed be of advantage to a few individuals; and this we are called on to grant at the expense of the general system of our laws. In proof of this, I cannot help referring to a circumstance which happened some time since, when a person who, by many men of the first talents in this country, was represented as a respectable and a worthy man, but who afterwards turned out to be an infamous traitor (O'Connor), and another man of considerable and superior talents (Dr. M'Niven), were pardoned, on confessing what they knew of the subject and causes of the rebellion. When this question was put to them, In what regard parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation were held by the mass of the people of Ireland? the answer of the former was, That the great mass

of

of the people "would not give a *drop of ink*," and of the latter, that they "did not care a *feather* for parliamentary reform, nor for catholic emancipation, till it was explained, that under the latter was meant to be comprehended the demolition of tithe." The noble lord has said, that we by acceding to his motion are parting with little, but are giving to the people of Ireland much. My opinion is exactly the reverse. The argument rather seems to amount to this, As you have already given them so much, why do you not give them the rest? What you have given is of little consequence, if you do not give them what remains. To get all which they want, would be to be made the state itself. In giving this you give the whole; you give into their hands the powers of sovereignty and jurisdiction. Would they, too, be satisfied with what they are now asking? Would they not ask something further? And would you not be in a worse situation to resist their demand? Even in this petition, though I confess it is temperately worded, I cannot help remarking, that they do not seem satisfied with the tests to which they at present conform. They take them, but they consider their doing so a hardship; and if you give them this they are now asking, you will find that they are not at the conclusion of their complaint. It would be more manly to state the whole of their complaint at once. You would then see what you were doing, and whether it would be right or wrong to grant it. This reminds me, however, of a little history which occurred in the year 1793, when my noble friend opposite (earl Fitzwilliam) was lord-lieutenant. The elective franchise, and every thing indeed they then asked for, was granted them. They came up with an address of thanks; and at the end of that address they let out a hope that that was only the first step towards granting them their demands. It is important to bear this in mind, and to consider not what we grant, but what we may be called on to grant. I admit that all concessions granted during the present reign have been properly bestowed. But this circumstance I can never forget, that from the time of their being excluded from every privilege to the period of renewing the concessions to them, although two serious rebellions during that time raged in Great Britain, Ireland was uniformly tranquil: and it has only been since the concessions were made that Rebellion began to show her head in Ireland. The noble lord talks of granting concessions gradually. I think otherwise. Gradual concessions keep men's minds in a state of constant irritation; and they think that by pertinacity they will get more and more. I am persuaded that the best mode in any country, but particularly in Ireland, is to show a determination to pursue a steady and uniform system of policy. The noble lord proceeded to observe, that it had not been the policy in any state, antient or modern, to allow magistrates to be of a different religion from that of the state, except lately in France and in America, which, he contended, had injured morals, and introduced an indifference about religion. He concluded by giving his hearty negative to the motion.

The duke of Cumberland felt himself called upon to support the principles which placed the family of Brunswick on the throne, and which, as he conceived, constrained him

him to oppose the motion before the house. Earl Spencer would not long occupy the attention of the house: he could not, however, but censure the idea, that the motion had a tendency to injure the establishment in church or state. He objected to the statement made by the noble secretary; for he knew, for his part, of no allegiance to any foreign power professed or given by the Irish Roman catholics: they indeed acknowledged the pope to be their superior spiritual teacher; but they swear no civil allegiance to him. All those doctrines charged upon them are denied by them upon oath. If upon their oath they are not to be trusted, all hitherto conceded to them should be withdrawn. As to the rebellion, it had nothing to do with religion; it was solely for Jacobinical purposes. The noble lord had asked—If you grant this, where are you to stop? Not, he had insinuated, nay, in direct terms declared, till the act of settlement was repealed. If this was seriously said, he knew not how to reply to such imbecility. Alarm was expressed as to the time at which the petition is presented. This argument is singularly unfortunate. If the French had remained atheists, the time, it is said, would not have been so much amiss. But in 1801, a great change took place in France. The chief there had found means to reconcile himself to the Roman catholic religion, and therefore he had gained a new influence in Ireland.—At such a time, then, it is necessary and politic to deny them every thing! For his part, he should say this was the very season to try to win the affections of the catholics. If you could be negligent before, you surely cannot be so now. He agreed with the motion of his noble friend most warmly. Lord Sidmouth avowed his sentiments, he said, with the utmost plainness. He could not accede to the petition, and wished it not therefore to go to a committee. He regretted the conduct of the noble mover, and thought it inconsistent with what he had done in 1790. The petition of the dissenters, for the repeal of the test act, was then manfully opposed by him. He agreed, however, with the character given of the petitioners. They were conscientious, honourable men. But he would not argue what the sentiments of great bodies of men would be from individuals; nor even what individuals might be under peculiar circumstances. Even sincerity and integrity might be cause for alarm: it was right to avoid being accessary to the disastrous consequences which might result from the acts of men obeying the impulse of conscience. His lordship agreed with the noble secretary of state (lord Hawkesbury), that restraint had produced a quiet and orderly conduct in the Irish Roman catholics, which had led to a relaxation of that system; and thence the evils of rebellion which followed. He could not consent to the admission of catholics into the legislature: he could not consent that a catholic should hold the conscience of the king, and dispose, as chancellor, of ecclesiastical preferments. Would their lordships be willing to abide the influence of those two great instruments in the Roman catholic religion—excommunication and auricular confession? He quoted the authority of Clarendon to prove that the rebellion of 1641 was occasioned by the Roman catholics' having possessed themselves of the corporations; and asserted, from Dr. Troy, that a cabinet of cardinals

now

now sits at Rome, to conduct the ecclesiastical concerns of Ireland. He thought it monstrous to give to the catholics what is denied to all protestant dissenters; and asked, what scenes of riot might not be expected to ensue from elections, at which not only party-zeal but religious heat also should be prevalent? He conjured their lordships to preserve a protestant parliament as well as a protestant king. He begged them to preserve this remaining outwork. Lord Mulgrave could not think that this question affected any fundamental laws or acts in which his majesty's title to the crown was implicated: neither could he admit that a relaxed system was the cause of the late civil commotions in Ireland. But the present attempt was not likely to meet with general approbation either in the houses of legislation or without doors, and therefore only he opposed it. He blamed those who at this juncture brought the matter forward; at a safer season he would not object to the adoption of any measures gradually leading to a wider toleration than even now existed. Lord Holland, when he heard the eloquent speech of his noble friend (lord Grenville), had imagined that he had exhausted not only all that could be said in favour of the petition, but all that could be said in objection to it. Some arguments, however, had been made use of, which certainly few men could have divined. He had seldom agreed with his noble friend politically (lord Hawkesbury), and he imagined he never should. The noble lords who had spoken, had endeavoured to remove the question really before them, as far out of sight as possible. The argument against the measure divided itself into two parts; one against the general principle, the other against the time at which it was brought forward. The real question was at present, not to what length their lordships were to go in relief of the petitioners, but whether their petition was duly to be considered at all. Both for the measure and for the time at which it is proposed, his lordship contended strongly. There were many sound reasons for suffering the petition to go to a committee. Some noble members might think it safe to concede the admission into parliament, and yet might not be willing to allow the enjoyment of official situations. As to the distinction made between civil rights and political power, he would ask what security there would be for civil rights without political power? Was no political power wanting to the catholics? and would not their admission into parliament afford them in their own judgments a better security for their civil rights than they now possess? His lordship pointed out the hardships under which they laboured; particularly they who belonged to that profession of which honour was the soul. He panegyrized the glorious character of William the Third, and spoke of the utter impossibility of the catholics ever preponderating in parliament. It was barely possible in the Irish parliament; in Great Britain and the imperial parliament it was impossible. The noble lord alluded to the secession of the chancellor of the exchequer from the cabinet on this question, and inquired how that right honourable gentleman and his friends would preserve their consistency? Surely that was a season of danger far greater than at present. If the objection, that now the catholic claims should not be granted

granted because the greatest part of catholic Europe was under the dominion of Buonaparte, should prevail, there could be no prospect of its being removed during the continuance of the present ministry. But if it be true, that Buonaparte has such ascendancy over the catholics, it would be an argument why we should do every thing in our power to conciliate our catholic fellow-subjects. One of the strongest reasons with king William, for lamenting the severities to which catholics were made liable, was, that it tended to augment the power of Louis the XIVth, the head of the catholic body. Now was the time to show the catholics that they could expect nothing from catholic powers, so advantageous, so satisfactory, as the liberality and justice of the British legislature would bestow. It ought not to be forgotten that the situation of the catholics was the more irksome and disgusting, that they were held in inferiority by their own countrymen—a condition that outraged the feelings more than subjection to strangers: it was time to put an end to this source of jealousy, and, by admitting so important a part of the population of the empire to a full participation of the constitution, unite them sincerely in the interests of the country. The history of Ireland, as well as that of every other country, showed that those who would not concede must coerce. Was it possible that, during a struggle like the present, we should be willing to spare one part of the strength of the empire to keep in subjection another? Was such a wretched and dangerous course to be preferred to the enlightened policy which would heal all discontents, and leave the whole force and resources of the state free to act against the common enemy?—Earl Camden deprecated the discussion of the question under the present circumstances of the empire.

The bishop of Durham professed a wish to carry concessions to the utmost extent that was consistent with the safety of the protestant establishment, which he really thought would be materially endangered, if not ultimately overthrown, by a compliance with the prayer of the petition on the table. Religious toleration was not only congenial with the spirit, but enjoined by the principles, of the church of England; but the existence of such a church was not to be put to risk, by granting political power to a description of persons who entertained opinions hostile to its establishment. If it were safe, he declared that he would be one of the last to resist the wishes of the catholics. If it were even necessary to the comforts or happiness of the great mass of the catholic body, he would be unwilling to oppose them. But the fact was, that the proposition before the house, if acceded to, would have no such tendency. Its only operation would be to increase the influence of the higher orders, and to extend the power of their clergy, who already possessed too much. The petition on the table struck him not to be a request for toleration, but a demand for power; and he called on the house to consider whether, if they granted that power, there would remain any security for the toleration of their protestant brethren in Ireland.—Resistance to this demand he felt strongly to be essential to the preservation of the church establishment, particularly in Ireland.—Lord Redesdale observed, that the motion before the house was, in point of form, that the house

should resolve itself into a committee: but the object of the noble mover evidently, and the prayer of the petition expressly, was, that the catholics should be admitted to an equal participation of constitutional rights and power, on equal terms with the protestants. If this were to be complied with, the constitution of church and state could not, in his judgment, long survive. The catholics professed their anxiety to be relieved from all tests. The house should, in considering this, reflect upon the situation of Ireland. If the demand in the petition were acceded to, the house could not suppose that the catholics would stop there. No; the catholic hierarchy looked for the domains and revenues of the established clergy; and those must follow the grant of these things for which they now applied. Nay, more, the house would feel it necessary to proceed further; the 5th article of the union must be repealed, and the catholic church established in Ireland; for without this he had no hope that the catholics would be contented. Until the hierarchy were in possession of church property, they would not cease to excite discontent; and if they even obtained that property, perhaps matters would not end there. The comparison made between the case of Scotland and that of Ireland he felt to be quite confounded, because the church of the Scotch was the establishment of the country. But that any thing like peace, or quiet, or harmony, could exist in Ireland, while the catholics were subject to such a hierarchy as the present, he thought utterly hopeless. Besides, another difference arose from this, that Scotland was, even if she were hostile to the protestant establishment, by no means equal to Ireland in point of weight and importance in the empire. Between the Roman catholic clergy and laity, the noble lord stated, there was a very marked distinction: the clergy formed a great compact body, standing in open defiance of the law, exercising an authority which the law did not sanction, and considering the protestant clergy as usurpers (here there were marks of disapprobation from the opposition benches). The noble lord resumed, and repeated his last assertion. In support of this assertion he would appeal to any noble lord who was acquainted with Ireland. The catholic clergy, he knew, denominated the learned prelate on the bench above him (the archbishop of Armagh) simply Dr. Stuart. These clergy always called themselves the regular successors of the antient bishops of the country. They took their titles, used their insignia, and assumed every thing appertaining to the prelacy. In a petition once presented to the house of commons of Ireland, they put their signature as regular bishops; and there was only one man in that assembly who had the spirit to notice this gross and insulting violation of the law. Such was the state of the catholic hierarchy, that he must deprecate any increase of their power. They already possessed an authority of great extent; an authority, too, inforced by the most dreadful means—that of excommunication. He knew, indeed, an instance, where a poor person, who had been excommunicated, would have actually starved, if it had not been for the benevolence of a protestant divine, who supplied him with subsistence. There was another instance of the exercise of this extraordinary power. Two catholics were married by a

protestant

protestant clergyman :—this being heard of by the parish priest, he reported it to the bishop. The persons who had been married were immediately summoned to appear before the catholic vicar-general of the diocese ; and the protestant clergyman, consulting the peace of his parish, and perhaps his own safety, with that of the parties summoned, advised them to submit to the summons. They accordingly waited on the vicar-general, and expressed their contrition. But no, the vicar-general was inexorable ; and this couple was excommunicated for having been married according to law. But this was not all ; such as should have any communication with them were to be excommunicated also. The man, however, being a person with whom many were in the habit of communicating, it was reported to the bishop, and above 200 persons, men and women, were, from twenty miles distance, summoned before the vicar-general. They obeyed ; but the vicar was so much appeased as not to impose the excommunication. He, however, inflicted a penance; which was, that each person should perform a pilgrimage of thirty miles: that is, from what are called Holy Wells, in Ireland, to another, each bearing a label, specifying the cause for which the penance was imposed. Things similar to this frequently happened in Ireland ; and such was the fear they inspired, that the influence of the clergy was almost unbounded. They in fact assumed an authority much greater than belonged to the catholic clergy in any other country whatever ; for their authority was restrained by no law. Before the reformation, the power of the catholics was not free from legislative restrictions. There was a remedy against the abuse of ecclesiastical power.—But now what was the remedy ? An appeal to Rome: —and what kind of redress was to be obtained from such an appeal, if any persecuted catholics could or would resort to it, he would leave it to the house to judge. The catholic clergy dissolved marriages on various grounds not recognised by our laws. They forbid marriages within certain limits of consanguinity, contrary to law. In fact, the legitimacy of children, and of course the succession to property, was made to depend in a great measure on their will. In consequence of the slow progress of the reformation, the catholic hierarchy still retained a power without law—nay, contrary to law. As long as such a body remained in that country, he felt most forcibly that it would be absurd to expect tranquillity. There was nothing more remarkable, the noble lord said, than the difference between the catholics of England and Ireland. Having lived in a part of that part of the empire where there were many catholics, he was enabled to speak to this. In those parts of England where catholics are resident, if one saw a farmer distinguished for temperance, cleanliness, and industry, it generally turned out that he was a catholic ; in Ireland, it was directly the reverse. What could be the cause of this difference? He had asked an intelligent English catholic, and the reason stated was this : that the catholic clergy in this country studied to promote peace ; but those of Ireland found their account in pursuing an opposite course. Having had communication with some intelligent conscientious parish priests in Ireland, he had reason to know that the hierarchy in its present shape

shape was not agreeable to the people, and was peculiarly disagreeable to the more informed part of the clergy. From those priests he learnt that they were afraid to be known to hold any communication with protestants, lest they should incur the censure of their bishops. Indeed this statement was confirmed by a circumstance with respect to Dr. Hussey. A few catholic servants in a protestant family were in the habit of joining in a certain prayer which involved no difference as to any doctrinal point. The practice, however, being reported to Dr. Hussey, he instantly forbade it; stating as a reason, that although there was nothing intrinsically objectionable in the prayer—"its being read by a heretic was sufficient." With respect to the character of the higher orders of the Irish catholic laity, they were of two descriptions—the one possessed of landed property and old established rank; the other were in possession of property also, but were new men. The former were interested in the permanent peace of the country; and among this description of persons, the most distinguished, perhaps, was a noble lord whose name was subscribed to the petition on the table (earl Fingall): that noble lord was a man of good sense, loyalty, and extreme moderation, when left to himself; but when he submitted to the advice of the hierarchy, his conduct bore a different appearance. It might be said, that what he had urged tended to show the propriety of going into the proposed committee. But no; and for this reason: the change he recommended in the state of the catholics was not to be effected by legislation; it must come from the catholics themselves. That change produced, many concessions might be made to the catholic body, that it would under the present circumstances be extremely unsafe to agree to.—Wherever religious establishment should be thought necessary, it was indispensable for its maintenance that political power should attach to it. On the same principle that those who had no property were excluded from political power, should those who are hostile to the church establishment be excluded from the same description of power—namely, that in either case equal power might tempt to the assumption of an unfair claim of an equal division. That the protestant religion was always deemed essential to the maintenance of the constitution by our ancestors, the noble lord quoted the case of the king of Sardinia, who was excluded from the throne expressly because he was a catholic. Recurring to the difference between the catholics of England and Ireland, arising from the different constitutions of the hierarchy, the noble lord cited the oath, which was, notwithstanding the objection of the apostolical vicar, subscribed by the catholics of England in 1778, while the same oath, namely, a test of allegiance to a protestant succession only, was refused by the catholics of Ireland: the acceptance of this oath in the one case proceeded from the superior information of the men, and the refusal of it in the other from the superior influence of the bishops. The noble lord stated the means by which, in his judgment, the changes desired might be produced in Ireland. If the Bible were translated into Irish, he was persuaded that very good effects would follow—that many catholics would be converted to the established church. The house would

recollect

recollect the consequences that arose from the translation of the Bible into the Welsh language.—The protestant service being read in Ireland in the English language, which numbers did not understand, was a great impediment to the conversion of catholics. They understood the Latin liturgy much better, having it from early education by rote. The state of the church in Ireland was, besides, very bad: there were 2400 benefices, only 1000 of which had churches, and 500 of those 1000 glebe-houses: many of the 2400 benefices were very valuable, and much sought after, on which there was not a church, a glebe-house, nor a protestant. This was a state of things that called loudly for remedy. The catholic hierarchy should be new-modelled, and the protestant doctrine more industriously propagated. But, to do this, it was indispensably necessary that the protestants should be perfectly safe. So much was this safety now wanted, that there were many districts of Ireland in which a protestant, unless a man of fortune, dared not appear. If he did, he would be immediately driven away, or perhaps flogged in the horrible manner too usual in Ireland. In consequence of this, in many parts no such thing as a protestant labourer was to be met with. All protestants were described as heretics, and this term was applied also to all Englishmen. Both were regarded in the same light: and if the prayer of the petition on the table were granted, he would venture to assert, that it would be unsafe for either to remain in any part of Ireland except the north, where the protestants are numerous. In proof of the persecuting spirit which exists in Ireland, the noble lord stated, that catholic servants would not suffer a protestant servant to live among them; and the poorer protestants, even in Dublin, cannot safely put their children apprentices to gentlemen, if there happen to be catholic servants in the family. The poorer protestants are therefore obliged to put their children apprentices to handicraft trades. Viewing the state of Ireland as he did, he repeated his conviction that it was necessary to keep a strong hand over the catholics, in order to secure the persons, the property, and the establishment of the protestants. To conciliation he had ever been, and ever should be, a warm friend, but it should be the conciliation of the catholic people in a different manner from that proposed by the noble mover of the proposition before the house.

Lord Limerick denied, from his knowledge of Ireland, his native country, that the catholics had suffered from party-violence. He expressed his surprise that Englishmen alone were selected to present the petition. He admitted that the names affixed to the petition were the names of men of honour. One of them (that of the earl of Fingall), whose name stood second on the list, was one of the best and most distinguished characters which the united kingdom could boast. He thought, however, that to touch upon this subject now, was likely to awaken passions of a dangerous kind. He believed that all the eagerness to agitate the question was felt on this side the water. He admitted that at the union he had told his catholic friends that they would have a better chance of success hereafter from an imperial than from an Irish parliament; but never was an early accomplishment of their wishes held out. But he

meant not to say that the settlement of 1793 should be a *ne plus ultra*. The term indeed was of itself inapplicable to politics. The rebellion of 1798 was not a catholic rebellion. Many of its leaders were protestants, or professed to be so. The present general of division in the service of his imperial majesty of France (our enemy) was ordained a deacon by his (lord Limerick's) father. Emmett too was in profession a protestant. The county of Wexford possessed great numbers of protestants; yet it was there the rebel troops were in the greatest force. This, however, could not lead him to support the petition. It seemed to be forgotten that there were protestants in Ireland whose feelings were to be consulted. He opposed the motion of the noble baron (lord Grenville).

Upon the adjourned debate (May 13th) earl Suffolk supported the proposition. Sooner or later the prayer of the petition must be granted: he wished their lordships, therefore, at once nobly and generously to begin so good a work. The noble lord (Hawkesbury) had said, that as a *principle*, what was now asked could never be granted. This was an imprudent declaration, and highly degrading to the Irish character; particularly as our army and navy owed so much of their supply to Ireland. The noble earl urged the measure as a matter at once of justice and expediency. The earl of Oxford also supported the petition, and disclaimed all connection with a gentleman alluded to on the former night (Mr. A. O'Connor) since he had joined the enemy.—The earl of Buckinghamshire having resided so many years in Ireland, and having held a high official situation there, could not give on the present occasion a silent vote. He had himself introduced the bill of 1793, and could not therefore be suspected of want of toleration. He could not for an instant think that to reject the prayer of the present petition would be to pronounce the Irish catholics traitors, and unfaithful subjects. But so long as they acknowledged a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so long it was imprudent to trust them with full political power. Dr. Troy, in his pastoral letter of 1793, expresses himself thus, "that catholics are obliged to believe, as an article of faith, that the pope or bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, is the supreme visible head of the church on earth, and the centre of catholic unity, with a primacy, by divine right, of real jurisdiction and authority in the church, and that all catholics owe him canonical respect and obedience on that account." Could then persons professing such a doctrine be admissible to the higher offices of state, or to seats in parliament? He had been one of those, as having resided in Ireland, who might seem called upon to speak to the loyalty of the catholics. The old catholic families were distinguished for their loyalty; but he feared they had lost their ancient influence over the main body of the catholics. In 1793 that body had employed as their agent Mr. Theobald Wolf Tone; would they have done so had the old interest of the higher catholics still prevailed? He feared that acting upon the proposed measure would lead to disastrous consequences. If catholics were admitted into the house of commons, in a few years there would scarcely be a representative from Connaught, Leinster, and Munster, that was not of that persuasion. In those provinces the number of catholics

tholics to protestants is as six to one, and the freeholders in nearly the same proportion. Having endeavoured to convince the house, that in three provinces out of four the representation would be catholic, his lordship proceeded to state that in Ulster the catholic, with the protestant, dissenters, constituted a great part of the population; and he left it to the house to consider what the effect might be of such a weight of dissenting interest thrown into the house of commons upon the security of the church establishment. His lordship argued upon the possibility of the union of the dissenting interest in the lower house, and thought that a juncture might arise when even the Scottish representation might join, (their own church being founded upon a rock of poverty,) in reducing the English establishment to the same condition. Viscount Carleton followed at length on the same side: he objected to any transfer of the power of the state. Catholics are not *eo nomine* excluded from privileges. The obstacles are, a declaration, and the sacrament: to these obstacles other persons are subjected as well as catholics. He agreed in the praise bestowed upon the catholics. Many of them had fought gallantly in quelling the rebellion of 1798. But to give them power as a body would lead to the abolition of tithes, and possibly to a desire to resume the land forfeited at different times by their ancestors. Catholics still continue to settle those estates, as if they were in possession of them. Maps of them still continue to be handed about. The influence of the pope in Ireland was as great, in his judgment, as at any former period. The noble viscount touched upon several occurrences in Irish history, as proving that more than a toleration to catholics would be hurtful to the state. Lord Hutchinson could not but be eager to rescue his country and countrymen from the slanders which had been cast upon them. As long as there was a parliament resident in Ireland, it was the ignoble policy, the wretched practice of the representatives of the people, to libel and malign their constituents. Such conduct ought not to be imitated here. It was the strongest argument in favour of an union, that an appeal would be made from the passions and prejudices of a little country, to the temper, the moderation, the cool and deliberate wisdom of a great nation. He trusted Ireland would not be disappointed. He challenged the noble viscount (Carleton) to produce the record of forfeited estates, which he had spoken of. He had never, in all the heat and agitation of the Irish parliament, once heard of such a fact. The Irish were not, as had been represented, insensible to the restraints of law. Their virtues were peculiarly their own; and the peculiarity of their manners must be regarded as originating in the peculiarity of their circumstances. He could not see any danger likely to ensue from a Roman catholic peer sitting in that house, or from a Roman catholic gentleman being in parliament; as their being in parliament was not to prevent their thinking right on other subjects. A noble lord had represented the penal system as producing tranquillity; but it was the tranquillity of a gaol, disturbed only by the rattling of chains; and not such a tranquillity as indicated the happiness or satisfaction of the country. The noble

lord, after reviewing the connection of Ireland with this country for eight centuries past, which he considered as a gloomy and melancholy period, and stating that without some further measure the union could only be so by act of parliament, and not an union in truth and deed, animadverted in severe terms on the observations that had fallen from a noble lord (lord Redesdale) on the former evening, respecting the temper and spirit of the Roman catholic hierarchy, and the difficulty protestants and protestant children had in procuring service in families. He thought it was the duty of every man who had property in Ireland to contradict such assertions, and called on the noble lord to disavow them.

Lord Redesdale, in confirmation of what he had before asserted, insisted, that from the prejudices of catholics in Ireland, it was extremely difficult to put protestant children out to service (a cry of No, No, from several lords). He knew the fact from his official situation, as being a trustee for several charitable institutions; he knew that great embarrassment arose from the difficulty which he had mentioned. It was also true that in catholic families the greatest prejudice existed against protestant servants, and that every means were used to render their situations uncomfortable. The earl of Ormond animadverted with extreme severity on the language of lord Redesdale. He regarded his tales as the mere gossiping of old women. He knew not how Roman catholic and protestant servants conducted themselves in his lordship's house; he never was in his house, and never would be; but he declared, that wherever he visited, he saw them living in brotherly love and amity. He recommended to the noble lord on his return to act with fewer partialities. Lord Boringdon did not object to the principle, but contended that existing circumstances rendered the postponement of the question highly proper. The archbishop of Canterbury, in a speech at once eloquent and temperate, objected to the house resolving itself into a committee. His grace praised the concessions which had been made to our catholic brethren during the reign of his present majesty. Those concessions were most of them extremely reasonable, and perhaps all of them in policy expedient. The present petition, however, evidently flowed from those concessions. After the 18th of his majesty, which blotted for ever from the Irish statute-book that corrupt and unhallowed motive for conversion, which it held out, in case of the conformity of the son to the church in opposition to the wish of the parent; after the 22d of his majesty, which enabled the catholic to dispose of lands, on taking the oath of allegiance, at pleasure; after the 32d, and after the 33d of his majesty, which took away almost all disqualifications;—after these came this application. It was for their lordships to determine, as legislators, to what extent it could be complied with. The substance of the request was for "an equal participation, on equal terms, of the full benefits of the British laws and constitution." Had his grace been at liberty to understand the words in their common acceptation, he should have answered that it was already possessed. But the object of the petition, couched in very moderate terms certainly, was explicit. It was no less than to legislate for a protestant

protestant country; to dispense the laws; to command the armies and navies; and to take a share in the executive councils of a protestant kingdom. Surely an answer to such a requisition should not be given hastily. The archbishop spoke highly of the talents and honour of the noble mover (lord Grenville), who had striven to implicate with his motion the principles of toleration. It was not a figure of rhetoric, but a plain fact, resting on historical evidence, that toleration is a virtue that grows naturally out of a sense of security, and which cannot exist a moment where danger is apprehended. If their lordships should determine to destroy those fences, the coronation oath, and the act of settlement, which the wisdom and experience of their ancestors had erected around the established church, they would, he feared, (unintentionally no doubt) do all that was in their power to excite and provoke that bad spirit of animosity and religious intolerance that marked and disgraced the worst pages of their history subsequent to the Reformation. The earl of Albemarle ridiculed the positions of lord Redesdale, by a reference to the declarations made by six catholic universities: he proved the danger arising from the supposed dangerous doctrines held by catholics to be without foundation. The lord chancellor, lord Harrowby, and the earl of Westmorland were against the motion. The duke of Norfolk supported it. The bishop of St. Asaph, if he should feel it his duty to resist the prayer of the petitioners, would not do so from any uncharitable sentiments entertained by him of that branch of the christian family which holds communion with the church of Rome. "There is nothing in the Roman catholic religion at variance with the principles of loyalty. I do not believe that any Roman catholic of this country, at the present day, thinks himself at liberty not to keep faith with heretics, or that the pope can release him from the obligation of his allegiance to his sovereign. I perfectly believe that the answers returned by the universities accord with the sentiments of all instructed catholics; and that they are sincere in their disavowal of such pernicious maxims. But my mind is so unfashionably constructed, that I cannot avoid feeling the distinction between toleration and the admission to political power. The object of toleration is conscientious scruples, and that the catholics possess. But I could not see without anxiety a Roman catholic upon that woolsack, where my noble and learned friend now sits." The right reverend prelate confessed that he did not think himself at all fit to have held any high office under the antient French monarchy; and agreed that it was the policy of all the states of antiquity to require that persons in office should be of the established religion of the state. He thought in modern times that the Hugonots had been bad subjects. The placing Neckar at the head of administration had also proved most pernicious. If it was dangerous for a protestant to possess such influence in a catholic state, much worse must it be for a catholic to do so in a protestant state; because in spirituals he acknowledges the pope; and it is not always easy to separate spiritual from temporal obedience. In England the Roman catholics renounce his jurisdiction directly and *indirectly*: and in framing the oath

there was much hesitation about the latter word, which however was at last inserted. In the Irish oath the word *indirectly* is omitted. His lordship explained some errors into which a noble lord had fallen on the former night. The Roman catholic clergy did not scruple to make the abjuration which their laity have made; but their objection was, that the oath as it was framed in the lower house contained some theological dogmata which they deemed, and rightly deemed, impious and heretical: these dogmata amounted to an abjuration of the legitimate authority of the priesthood, in the administration of what churchmen call the power of the keys; an abjuration which, as a protestant bishop, he would not make, and which he should think blamable in any priest who should condescend to make it. At the beginning of the debate he had not meant to oppose the motion for going into a committee, but the representation which had been made by very high authority of the actual state of the Roman catholic hierarchy in Ireland had changed his intention. In England the Roman catholic clergy appear in the unassuming character of mere missionaries. There are no diocesan bishops, no parish priests. England is divided into four districts, which are superintended in spirituals by four bishops *in partibus*, who take the title of vicars apostolic:—he knew that in Ireland each province had its titular archbishop; each diocese its titular bishop; and each parish its titular priest: but he had no conception before, that they claimed to be the rightful possessors of their respective sees and parishes; nor that the titular archbishop of Armagh would publicly take to himself the style of Armachens, and designate the lord primate by the simple appellation of Dr. Stuart. A noble duke had said, in excuse, that they were really bishops:—undoubtedly they were; they are of the episcopal order; but there was a distinction which doubtless the noble duke well knew, between the power of order and the power of jurisdiction. The reverend lord then proceeded to what had been said upon the subject of excommunication. It was said to be in Ireland a dreadful thing. To a Christian it was a dreadful thing in any place; for it properly meant separation from the church. His lordship considered what was called excommunication in Ireland as no other than profanation. What he had heard forced him at once to oppose the motion.

Lord Ellenborough spoke against the petition—not as being a prayer for toleration, but a prayer for political power. So long, he said, as the people of Ireland remained blindly devoted to a bigoted priesthood, who would give them absolution for shedding of blood, and so long as their consciences remained subjugated to the see of Rome, he should feel it his duty to resist their being absolved from those tests which the constitution now wisely demanded, not from them only, but from all persons who were to be intrusted with offices in government. It was not owing to the mere transient power which the emperor of the French had obtained over the degraded life of the poor feeble man who was now the pope of Rome, but so long as the ignorant surrender of all judgment to their priests on the part of the Roman catholic Irish people should show itself in their conduct, that he should pledge himself to resist their claims to be absolved from the

tests

tests required from all the other classes of their fellow-subjects.—Earl Moira replied to the arguments of the noble, reverend, and learned lords who had spoken against the petition. They had all argued from the apprehension of doctrines that were now exploded. They had conjured up the phantoms that had frightened their forefathers, but which were now laid for ever.—They talked of the hallowed fabric of Irish connection, as if that fabric were now sound and strong. The fact was, it was undermined—it was tottering to the ground—and while we were threatened with dangers on every side, and were looking for support to every quarter, we never thought of seeking allies in our own bosom. It was only by conciliating our own people that we could save ourselves.

The earl of Chichester, lords Auckland and Bolton, and the bishop of Durham, spoke severally against the motion; and the earl of Darnley, lord King, and earl Longford for it.

Lord Grenville replied to the various points of objection that had been advanced by the opposite side of the house in the course of the two debates.

Lord Sidmouth having then explained, the house divided. Ayes 37, Proxies 12.—49. Noes 133, Proxies 45.—178. Majority 129.

On the 18th of June earl Suffolk moved the house to take into consideration the state of Ireland. The speakers were lord Limerick, the duke of Norfolk, and lord Hawkesbury. The motion was negatived without a division.

On Thursday, June 20th, the order of the day was read for deliberating upon the return proper to be made by the same house to a gracious communication conveyed to them by message from his majesty on the preceding day.

Lord Mulgrave stated, that in making the motion which he should have the honour of submitting to the house, for a humble address to his majesty on his most gracious message, it would not be necessary for him to trouble their lordships with a single preliminary observation. He therefore moved, That an humble address be presented to his majesty, begging that his majesty would be pleased to accept the thanks of that house for his most gracious message, and assuring his majesty of the cordial support of that house, in enabling him to adopt such steps as might be best calculated for the safety of this country and the general interests of Europe. The question being put, the earl of Carysfort said it would be in the recollection of their lordships, that at the commencement of the session it was stated in his majesty's speech, that negotiations were going on between this country and some of the continental powers, particularly Russia. Six months had elapsed since that period, and the only result was the present message; by which it appeared that nothing with respect to this subject had yet been brought to a conclusion. The message he understood to be intended as the foundation of a vote of credit, and of a larger vote than any that had hitherto been demanded. He was authorised to say this; and that the vote now asked for was no less than the enormous sum of five millions; and this too without its being known to parliament whether his majesty's ministers had taken any steps to secure continental connections, for the purpose of carrying on the war, or whether they had done any thing for the purpose of leading to a ne-

gotiation for peace. It seemed to have been the policy of the late ministers to separate this country entirely from the continent, a policy which they brought to bear in its fullest extent by means of the peace of Amiens. He rejoiced he was among those who warned the house at that time of the dangerous consequences of that treaty, to which the eyes of the house were now open. War, however, soon afterwards commenced, and endeavours had since been made to obtain continental co-operation; but when a large vote of credit was asked for, and confidence demanded for his majesty's ministers, he would ask what was our situation now, compared with the commencement of the war? Has it not, instead of better, been rendered worse? At the commencement of the war our fleets were triumphant in every sea, and all the enemy's fleets were in a state of blockade; and it was boasted that we had a military force of 7 or 800,000 men. What, however, was now the case? The enemy's fleets were triumphant in every sea; they sailed without molestation, carried terror and dismay to our foreign possessions, and returned without the slightest molestation. With our army, also, we had done nothing: not only were the enemy's possessions not injured, but no attempt whatever had been made upon any part of them, whilst the menace of invasion was brought home to our own doors. Was it therefore surprising that he should refuse to repose confidence in ministers under whom the country had been brought into such a situation? It was peculiarly the province of parliament to watch over the conduct of his majesty's ministers. Instances were not wanting where the king had communicated to parliament the progress of a negotiation with the continental powers. In the reign of William III. parliament took upon itself to advise his majesty with respect to negotiation with certain powers on the continent; and his majesty in reply promised to communicate to parliament the state and progress of such negotiation. Such a practice was not therefore new: and something else was wanting in the present instance, before he could agree to place that unlimited confidence in ministers which they seemed to require. He should move, as an amendment to the motion of the noble lord, to leave out all the words after the word message, and to insert a prayer that his majesty would be pleased *not to prorogue his parliament* until he should be enabled to make some communication respecting our relations with the powers of the continent, and also with respect to his views and prospects in the contests in which we are at present engaged.

Lord Mulgrave, not having had any intimation of the nature of the motion which the noble lord intended to make, was not much prepared to answer the points which the noble lord had urged. He could not, however, discover that the topics touched upon in the noble lord's speech had much connection with the motion with which he had concluded. He certainly should not follow the noble lord over the wide field of discussion which he had chosen; nor did he now think it necessary to discuss the merits of the peace of Amiens. With respect to the army—in the course of the last sixteen months, no less than 37,000 had been added to our disposable force, and 17,000 men had been sent to our foreign possessions. As to our navy, we had now 93 ships

of

of the line in commission, exclusive of 12 fifty-gun ships, whilst the number of ships of the line of the enemy, including the Spanish and Dutch, did not amount to more than 81. As to the enemy's fleets getting out of their ports, it was not to be supposed for a moment that we could at all times and under all circumstances prevent that; but no sooner was the sailing of the enemy's fleets known, than orders were immediately given, and squadrons were in readiness to pursue them. His lordship, labouring under indisposition, was compelled to apologize to the house, and sit down. Lord Hawkesbury trusted their lordships would excuse him in addressing them, under the circumstances of the indisposition of his noble friend. It did not appear to him that any one substantial reason had been urged by the noble lord on the other side, why the amendment which he had moved should be adopted. He should not attempt to follow the noble lord over all the topics which he had urged; but as the noble lord had alluded to the peace of Amiens, he could not suffer that to pass by without some observation. It was certainly by no means the fact, that the ministry with whom he had the honour to act upon that occasion, ever had the least idea of abandoning all thoughts of continental connection by signing that treaty. The fate of the continent was not decided by the treaty of Amiens, but by the treaty of Luneville. After the signature of the latter treaty, it was so evident that nothing could be done on the continent, that it was thought the wisest policy to sign the treaty of Amiens, in order to give this country time to recruit its resources, so that we might afterwards with greater efficacy co-operate with the powers of the continent, when they also should have, in some measure, recovered; whilst at the same time it would prove whether or not peace could be maintained with France, which without that experiment could not have been ascertained. With respect to the motion of his noble friend, it appeared to him to grow out of the address presented by that house at the opening of the session, and to pledge the house to nothing more than they then pledged themselves to. His majesty then communicated that negotiations were going on between his majesty and certain continental powers, particularly Russia. His majesty now communicated that those negotiations had not yet been brought to that result which he could safely give to the house. The message was a usual measure at this advanced period of the session, for the purpose of founding upon it a vote of credit to enable his majesty to take advantage of whatever circumstance might arise in the course of the recess; which vote of credit, if agreed to by the other house, would come up to their lordships for their approbation in the appropriation act.

The earl of Carlisle considered the amendment proposed by his noble friend of so simple a nature, that he thought there could be no hesitation in agreeing to it, as it merely proposed to ask his majesty to suffer parliament to continue sitting for some time longer, in order that they might have the information constitutionally given to them of the result of the negotiations with the continental powers. It could not be supposed for a moment, that he was so absurd as to require information relative to the negotiation whilst it was depending;

ing: all he wished was, that instead of being prorogued, parliament might be allowed to adjourn. It was well known to what purposes information upon similar subjects might be turned in this country; and it was therefore highly desirable in that point of view, that the information upon this subject, when received, should be communicated to parliament and the public with all possible dispatch. The amendment proposed by his noble friend might be a novel measure, but it was called for by the novelty of our situation. He had heard it rumoured that vessels had been given what was considered as the best cruising ground, without reference to their stations, when they ought to have been employed in watching the enemy. He hoped, however, that this rumour would be contradicted.—With respect to what had been stated by the noble lord as to the number of our ships of the line, he believed it would be found that only three additional ships of the line were put into commission during the last year. As to the army, he admitted that draughts from the militia had been of use; but, with the exception of this measure, what had been done to augment our army or increase our disposable force? There was still another reason for agreeing to the amendment of his noble friend; and that was the dissensions which were known to exist in his majesty's cabinet. Instead of being employed in considering how the country was to be extricated from its difficulties, almost the whole time of ministers was known to be taken up in endeavouring to reconcile disputes which were continually taking place. He should vote for the amendment of his noble friend.

Earl Camden conceived this to be a mere usual proceeding with respect to a vote of credit, nor could he discover any reason for the amendment moved by the noble lord. He concluded by declaring his determination to vote against the amendment.

Earl Darnley supported the amendment, and was replied to by the earl of Westmorland.

Earl Spencer was in entire ignorance with regard to the objects for which so large a vote of credit was wanted, as that which he was authorized to say would be proposed, namely, 5,000,000*l.*; but it was that very ignorance which induced him to oppose the motion for giving a pledge such as that demanded by the noble secretary of state, as he could not place confidence in those ministers by whom it was asked. He declared he had not confidence enough in his majesty's ministers to intrust them with the disposal of this money. The very circumstance of the enemy's fleets having been suffered to sail from their ports, without their destination being known, was a sufficient ground why no confidence should be placed in them. With regard to the military force, the country expected a great deal more to have been done in that department than was done. Upon the whole, it was impossible not to feel a strong suspicion that there was no union of sentiment among the members of his majesty's government. On the ground that parliament was in a situation it had never been in before, and that a sum so large as this had never been left to the discretionary disposal of ministers, he would support the amendment of the noble lord, which required nothing more than that the king should not prorogue the parliament

ment as long as the government stood in need of the advice and assistance of the members of that house, who were the hereditary counsellors of the crown.

Lord Harrowby, the earl of Suffolk, and earl of Carnarvon, severally spoke.

Lord Sidmouth observed, that it was usual every year to grant a sum of money by vote of credit for services not specified nor calculated upon in the current services of the year. He understood that the sum had been voted in this manner by the house of commons, and it now only remained to have the authority of their lordships, to apply that sum to the purpose of subsidizing foreign powers. But the negotiations with them were in such a state that government could not make any communication to parliament during the present session, and therefore he could not agree to the amendment proposed. Charges had been thrown out against the present and late administrations, of their indisposition to foreign alliances; and the peace of Amiens was spoken of in terms of heavy censure. Now he could assure the house, that those who advised his majesty to sign that treaty, did so in the full persuasion that it was the best thing that could happen for their country; because they knew, if it should not be adhered to, that it would show to the people of this kingdom, and the whole world, the real disposition and designs of our enemies; and that it would give revived energy to all our own resources and measures. This was actually the case. The non-observance of that treaty on the part of our enemy procured for the government the ardent zeal of all ranks of people, and a disposition to bear with cheerfulness all the burthens which the war necessarily imposed on them. But these were not all the advantages derived from that reprobated peace. Such was the increase of the public revenue, that in twenty-five months after the treaty of Amiens, a sum of twenty millions was added to the public income of the nation. A great increase had taken place in the army and navy in a very short time after the renewal of hostilities. In increasing the navy in particular no exertion whatever was spared. We had now one hundred sail of the line in actual service; and our military establishment was in a state equally respectable. He could see no reason whatever for keeping parliament sitting from day to day. He therefore saw no pretence to interfere with the royal authority; but conceived it would go to establish a mischievous precedent highly injurious to the public service.

Lord Holland declared that this business was coeval with the present war; for ever since it began the house was told of negotiations carrying on, and nothing was yet brought to a conclusion. We were still told of pending negotiations, but could obtain no information concerning them. Votes of credit had been often given, but it was not usual to vote so large a sum as five millions. He thought it absolutely necessary for the parliament to continue at its post, and endeavour to extricate the country from the dangers that surrounded her; a task which ministers were unequal to.

Lord Grenville expressed himself by no means surprised that the noble lords on the other side had failed to give any thing like a satisfactory answer to the arguments which

which had been adduced in favour of the amendment. They seemed to be conscious that no answer could be given. What indeed was the object of the motion of the noble lord opposite? That parliament should shut its eyes and ears to the conduct of ministers; should address his majesty to dismiss them from any further attendance at present on their duty; and thus that five millions of the public money should be left at the disposal of ministers, to expend in any manner which they might choose, without regard to the essential interests of the country. A noble lord had asked, If the subject had been communicated by his majesty now for the first time, would he have been for opposing the address? If by this were meant to be asked if he would decline coming to the conclusion, of at once taking the five millions of money out of the hands of the house, and putting it into the hands of ministers, he had no hesitation in saying that he certainly would decline coming to any such conclusion. If, on the other hand, the subject were now for the first time started, he must say that he should be happy to afford every facility for entering into such negotiations as might be calculated to lead to a peace consistent with the safety of this country and the general interests of Europe. Great sacrifices, he was of opinion, should be made to procure the co-operation of continental powers, particularly of Russia. As an argument to show that the amendment was not necessary, it had been observed, that although parliament might be prorogued, it could be assembled again in fourteen days. This he admitted. But did it follow that it actually would be so re-assembled? And was it not better for them to keep the hold which they at present had over this large sum, and not to give it out of their own hands? This was said to be but the usual confidence reposed in ministers; and it was insinuated that it would be wrong to express any want of confidence. This he was surprised at hearing from the noble lord who advanced it. He had the happiness about a year ago to concur in opinion with that noble lord, that nothing could be so necessary as for that house to express their opinion that no confidence could be placed in the then ministers. The result, he was happy to think, had been a compliance on the part of the king with the opinion expressed by the house; and there had at the same time been no symptom of despondency manifested among the people. No confidence was placed in that ministry, because they were not deserving of any. He declared he felt the same to be applicable to the present ministry: they were almost entirely composed of the makers of the peace of Amiens, where were sown the seeds which gave rise to the present war; seeds sown in so fertile a soil as made it next to impossible that it should not yield the fruit it had produced. They threw away the Cape, as if they had been eager to get quit of it: And could he place confidence in men guilty of so enormous a crime? But it was not in the instance of the Cape alone that they had shown their total incapacity; they formed a peace on such complicated terms as rendered the meaning of the different parts of it hardly intelligible; and having done so, they recommenced hostilities on such grounds as made the cause of this country appear

unjust

unjust in the eyes of almost every foreign power. If there was nothing else, this would be to him sufficient ground for not intrusting such unheard-of confidence as that now required in the same hands. The noble lord then proceeded to examine the state of our army and navy: the former, he contended, had been only apparently increased by a sort of hocus-pocus transferring of the forces from one head to another. The latter, he said, could hardly have been diminished; and during the war we had not to boast of a single naval triumph. These surely did not conspire to give us additional confidence in our rulers. But was it of no consequence that at so important a crisis, in which every thing essential to the safety of the country was involved, instead of having a ministry completely alive to the urgency of our situation, we should have a set of ministers completely disunited among themselves, and more anxious to discover, and take advantage of, the errors of their colleagues, than to watch over the operations of the enemy? Yet in such men, without knowing whom in particular, or how long they could continue to act together, was the house called on to repose an extraordinary and unprecedented degree of confidence. His lordship declared that he thought no time ought to be lost in announcing to the whole of Europe our determination to act on such principles as were best suited to that broad and liberal policy, which would have for its basis the independence and security of the whole of Europe. If we could not procure continental powers on such terms to act with us as allies, our next object ought to be to propose to negotiate before them in open congress, taking them as the umpires of our differences. When satisfied that we were sincere in such a system, we might soon depend on having peace on fair and equitable terms, or a vigorous co-operation in carrying on the war. To give effect to such a declaration, it ought to be the work of parliament, not of any private proposition originating with the servants of the crown. These he thought were reasons, any one of them, more than sufficient to show the necessity of the amendment.—The lord chancellor defended the peace of Amiens, as the foundation of all that patriotic zeal by which the country was now so effectually defended. He asked if there was more wisdom shown in the negotiations at Lisle than at Amiens? At the time this treaty was made, we had no allies on the continent; we had lost them all during that very administration of which the noble lord who spoke last formed a part. With what justice then could that noble lord charge the late administration with having made a treaty by which we lost all continental connections? As to the question now before the house, he maintained that government required no greater degree of confidence than had usually been given; and that there was no necessity whatever for continuing the session of parliament beyond the usual period. An explanatory conversation then took place between the lord chancellor, lord Grenville, &c.; after which his royal highness the prince of Wales said that he had delayed rising till that late hour, in expectation of the arrival of a noble relative of his, who had been prevented from attending the house by particular circumstances. He rose merely for the purpose of stating, that that noble person had intended to deliver his sentiments on the subject now be-

fore the house in favour of the amendment, and in complete unison with the sentiments so ably delivered by his noble friend (lord Grenville). He had no hesitation also in stating that those sentiments were entirely similar to what his royal highness himself entertained. The question was then put, when the house divided on the motion for the address.—Contents present, 67; Proxies, 44.—111. Non-contents present, 36; Proxies, 22. —58. Majority, 53.

On Monday, May the thirteenth, Mr. Fox, in a speech (so comprehensive and so replete with observations founded upon the deepest knowledge of human nature that no living orator but he could easily be imagined capable of having delivered it) addressed the house on the catholic petition. He rose, he said, with no inconsiderable anxiety, to bring before the commons a measure so pregnant with eventful consequences, distant and immediate. But it was a duty grateful to him. After the unpleasant labour of pressing inquiries, and censuring malversations, it was a relaxation to enter upon a subject, in which, far from exercising the painful office of an accuser, he was called upon to plead the cause of justice, of policy, and wisdom: in which, he was called upon to promote a measure that, in his opinion, so eminently must contribute to the strength and power of the empire, without taking from others any privilege, advantage, or enjoyment; but which, on the contrary, by becoming the possession of all, would doubly secure enjoyment to every class by the communication. "That the question is one of the first importance will not be denied, when I state that the petition includes the claims of at least one-fifth of his majesty's European subjects; that it comprehends the wishes of between three and four millions of persons. Had I not understood that doubts were entertained, I should have thought it impossible there could be a question, whether, upon general principles, so large a portion of his majesty's subjects were entitled to an equal share of political privileges with their fellow-citizens. Perhaps the general point may not be disputed: but it will be urged that particular circumstances may justify an exception. It may be thought that there may be some difference theoretically, whether we state the claims of the catholics as rights to be acknowledged, or indulgences to be conferred. For my own part, I am inclined to adhere to the form of speaking which was more in fashion about a century ago than now, and to say that I consider rights to power, to equality of laws and of privileges, to be paramount; that they belong to all the members of the state. I do not however, I cannot, deny that the supreme law, the *salus populi*, may sometimes justify exceptions to this rule.—Dr. Paley, though he puts the theory in words different from what I should use, says of the original right of government, that it is a right to do whatever is necessary for the general weal. But on the other hand the people have a right not to be restricted, unless where restrictions on some are necessary for the good of all. This then will bring us to the same practical conclusion. Some would say, We are willing to grant this or that on considerations of policy. I would say, Grant it as a matter of right. There is in truth no great difference between us in the end; because it is in the one case allowing the right to hold, where no sufficient ground of exception exists; in the other it is conceding that which no danger

prevents

prevents us from granting. The application of these considerations to the catholic question (which is often likely to come before us) obviously then is, that they, the catholics, have a right to equal political privileges with others, when the exercise of those privileges would not be dangerous to the state. In this application I may think that nothing but absolute necessity can justify a departure from the general principle: others may be contented with expediency and a much less urgent necesssity. It will, I trust, however, be found needless to dispute about nice shades of feeling, as we shall find that the privation of political privileges to which the catholics are condemned, is wholly unjustified by any circumstances that ought to call for a denial of the right or the refusal of the indulgence. No man will, I imagine, say, that because the restrictions were once necessary, they must still continue to be so. It may be deemed precipitate, perhaps, to conclude that the necessity is gone; but it would be monstrous to assume prescription for that which is only just, because it is an exception founded upon a specific necessity. All the restrictions originally imposed upon the catholics were imposed from political not religious motives. It was not religious bigotry that induced queen Elizabeth to enact those penalties and restraints which it is known she did. But they were deemed disloyal subjects, and therefore were restrained. In the succeeding reigns harsh and improvident laws were past, but few against the catholics. In the reign of Charles the Second, they originated in jealousy of the religious sentiments of that monarch; a jealousy not ill-founded. At the Revolution, not catholics but Jacobites were to be restrained. James, having lost his crown from devotion to the tenets of the Romish church, naturally became a favourite with the catholics: and in Ireland, from its population, that attachment was naturally most strong. King William, contrary to his habits and his principles, acquiesced in the opinions of the English whom he came to govern, and restrictions were imposed for the security of the new establishment, upon political, not religious grounds. Whilst princes of the house of Stuart were living, and connected with France, the catholics still continued to be viewed with suspicion. Upon the extinction, however, of the two rebellions in favour of that exiled family, and the testimony of good conduct during them on the part of the catholics, the feeling adverse to the catholics naturally relaxed. In the lieutenancy of the duke of Bedford, symptoms of such relaxation began to appear. In 1776 the situation of the catholics in Ireland began to form a topic of political conversation; and in consequence of the liberal sentiments inculcated by Mr. Burke and others, the act of Sir G. Saville and Mr. Dunning was introduced into parliament. The difficulty then chiefly felt with regard to Ireland, was not founded on fears of the pope or the pretender, but on the knowledge of the ferocious manner in which the higher orders of the Irish proprietors carried themselves towards the lower catholic body; which had produced such a degradation in the latter, as rendered it doubtful how far such men could be trusted with th exercise of political rights. It was feared too, that the effect of the laws against the catholics, by changing the natural current of property, and by interdicting to catholics the acquisitions of many kinds of it, had produced such a

state of things as would defy the application of common political principles. The first object, then, was to enable the catholics easily to acquire property; and the law passed with that view had the most beneficial consequences. Not only a new impulse was given to industry, and a new extension to the productive powers of wealth which already existed, but a vast additional mass of opulence was created in the hands of those who had possessed little or none before. The catholic body assumed a new character: not only was the line of demarcation removed; but much of the property of which they had been dispossessed, the catholics by their industry resumed. This then removes the wild objection, which is sometimes made, about the catholic claims leading to the resumption of forfeited estates. Such an attempt would strip the catholics who now possess them, and who have an interest therefore in resisting such a plan. The disabilities under which they now labour are of two sorts: incapacity to hold certain offices, civil and military; and to sit in parliament. Those who have consulted that odious chapter of our statute law, know that the restraints as to those points are of two kinds. In some of them the incapacitation suffered by the individual operates as a limitation on the prerogative of the crown. The crown is restrained in its general power of appointing to offices by the law, which says that catholics shall not be appointed. It is singular, that in the present times it is said, that one great reason for excluding catholics from the service of a protestant king is analogy; and that as the king is a protestant, so his servants shall be of the same religion. Now the reason why our ancestors would not suffer Charles II. to employ catholics, was because they had reason to think him a catholic. This indeed was far the wiser view of the case. Had they been satisfied of Charles II. being a sincere protestant, they need not have been so averse to his employing catholics. It is strange that now, when there (I speak generally of the reigning sovereign) can be no suspicion of the king on the throne being a Roman catholic, his prerogative of choosing his servants should be limited. The test act has indeed received the approbation of many considerable men; and amongst others, of Locke, who possibly, however, praised it rather with a view to temporary circumstances. That act James II. wished to abolish: but, as he was a catholic, it was the prevailing opinion that it was necessary for our liberties not to abandon it to him. In the time of William the Third it was continued, because the high-church party thought they thereby secured the church against a body of men of whom they were afraid, and because the other party was unwilling to hazard any popular odium by attempting its abolition. Thus the law remained to operate not only against the Roman catholics, but against other dissenters from the church. The test act requires those who undertake offices to do certain things;—but how has it been enforced in Ireland? With respect to protestants it has in many points been repealed. How has it applied to the catholics? It has been given up as to many subordinate offices; as to the military profession, below a certain rank: as to the bar, wholly, with the exception of a few superior stations. But it will be said, possibly, "Why surely you do not all expect to be chancellors and staff-officers, and therefore

you

you have no reason to complain." This cold unfeeling argument merits examination. Are the catholics worthy to be trusted at all? If they are not, *all* offices should be withheld. How would this exclusion operate in trade or in professions?—"You may make a living by your commerce, but your fortune shall never exceed a million:" "You may practise as a lawyer, but you never shall be chancellor." Every man cannot make a million; every man cannot expect to be chancellor:—But is the stop to all expectation nothing? "I may be a colonel," will the military man say, "but I cannot command an army!" How can the military spirit live under such discouragement? Is it nothing to the state thus to repress talents that must prove its glory and defence? And how is the evil increased, when it is recollected that this condition is the lot of three-fourths of the people of Ireland, of three-fifths of all his majesty's European subjects?—The next point is the effect of the restrictions as they relate to the right of sitting in parliament. In the reigns of Elizabeth, of James I. and Charles I. down to 1678, catholics sat and voted in parliament. Mr. Locke, who approves the test-act, says "that their sitting in parliament was very safe and beneficial to the country." At the time of the popish plot, and under the fever which the discovery of it occasioned, the catholic peers were deprived of their seats.—As to the lower house, the restriction with respect to it is a limitation of the elective franchise. The right of electing has been granted, but the grant to choose a catholic is not given. Does any man, however, believe, if it were conceded, that eighty catholics would be returned? It is next to impossible that half that number should be chosen:—And would that number be dangerous? On the other hand, If the doctrine of virtual representation be just, as has often been maintained in opposition to schemes of parliamentary reform, would it not perfect the principle of virtual representation, that to the representation, of land-holders, merchants, statesmen, lawyers, &c. there should be added a representative of the catholics? If a catholic cannot send to parliament those who are most likely to sympathize with him, it cannot with any fairness be said that he is even virtually represented in the house of commons. I have now to notice some of the objections to the measure. Jacobitism is given up:—but it is said that there must be an incongruity in two persons of such opposite religious opinions acting together in public affairs for the public good. I should wish to hear this explained. Why, or how, could a protestant and a catholic, considering as statesmen whether a fleet should be sent to the West Indies or the Mediterranean—why, or how, could they well quarrel about religion? Must it infallibly happen at the council-board that one should attack the other—'O, but you worship the Virgin Mary and I do not.'—Does such a thing happen on the bench, where as judges catholics have admission? Can such puerility be deemed argument? Was Sully, a protestant, a bad minister to Henry, his catholic sovereign? Was Neckar a worse minister of finance, because a protestant? Does the emperor of Germany, of a house not apt to tolerate, scruple to intrust prince Ferdinand of Wirtemberg, a protestant, with the guard of his person? Does Prussia

refuse to employ a catholic? Would Frederick the Great have rejected ability on such a ground? In Russia, where the Greek church is legally established, prince Czartorinski, a catholic, is secretary of state. In Venice, formerly, a Greek patriarch and a catholic apostolic vicar were to be found acting in perfect concord. Was there ever any incompatibility between the protestant and catholic cantons of Switzerland?—But though the pretender is gone, the pope remains; Nay, he is at Paris crowning the emperor of the French! But did the pope ever stir the catholics to rebellion in 1715, or 1745? Were the people in the late rebellion excited to follow Mr. O'Connor, Dr. M'Niven, &c. by the pope? If Buonaparte wished to employ such influence, would he not rather send emissaries to Ireland to tell the catholics of their degraded condition, and how little they had to hope from England?" Mr. Fox (for only an outline of his speech can be given here) reminded the house that the presbyterians in Scotland swear, that they confine their differences solely to matters of doctrine and discipline, and with that asseveration we are completely satisfied. "You impose an oath upon the catholics, and yet refuse to confide in that which you have imposed. At this moment three-fourths of Europe consist of Christians professing the Roman catholic religion: and yet we are to be told, that this large proportion of civilized inhabitants of this part of the world, are men who are utterly undeserving of all belief, even when their testimony is ratified by oath. When the oaths in question were proposed, I amongst others objected to them altogether, as unnecessary: the legislature, however, thought differently, and the catholics have since taken them. Their archbishops, bishops, and inferior clergy have taken them, and yet we affect to be dissatisfied. We are told, that having already conceded so much, it is strange that more should be demanded. How is it strange? On the contrary, is it not natural? When you have to a certain degree assimilated one body of subjects to the other, will there not necessarily be excited an anxiety to enjoy a perfect similarity with the rest of the community? Will it be argued, that after all you have given up, what remains cannot *safely* be conceded? What, shall we hear that the catholics are disaffected, or in danger of disaffection, and at the same time not recollect, that in our army and navy these very catholics are employed in arms to defend Ireland against invasion? Do you trust the lower ranks of the Irish people, and yet hold it dangerous to confide in such men as lord Fingall and the other gentlemen whose names are subscribed to their petition? It cannot be admitted that what we refuse is withheld from a sense of fear: for, if danger existed, what is already conceded will produce it. We have retained nothing which it is of importance for us to keep, but what it is of immense consequence for them to receive. We have retained from them that equality of rights which is a privilege the dearest to the human mind. It is this that gives to our laws their grand distinction, and renders the constitution of this country superior to any other on the face of the globe. This atones for the inferiority of fortune; and makes nations, comparatively poor, elated with their political condition.

"Though

"Though poor the peasant's hut, his feats
though small,
He feels his little lot, the lot of all;
Sees no contiguous palace rear its head,
To shame the meanness of his humble
shed."

Mr. Fox showed from Dr. Paley, that he had no idea of any perpetual disabilities: he thought therefore that the clergy would not be found adverse to the measure under discussion. He professed himself to be an advocate for practice above theory; but it must be practice properly understood. Under the coercive system, it was said, Ireland had been tranquil; but that under the relaxation of the penal laws against her people broke out the rebellion from 1793 to 1798. But surely the rebellion might otherwise be accounted for.—The inhabitants of the north of Ireland had long been distinguished above every other part of it by superior industry, intelligence, and wealth: but it is notorious that they were not equally remarkable for attachment to England. Previous to the French revolution, the catholics had no bonds of mutual union with the northern inhabitants. The French revolution united these discordant bodies; and the disappointment occasioned by the termination of earl Fitzwilliam's administration completed their junction. It cannot be denied, but that the leaders of their rebellion always confessed, that had catholic emancipation been granted it would have at once defeated their designs. There yet remained a topic which it was proper to notice. It was insisted, that to grant the catholic claims was to urge his Majesty to violate his coronation oath. Were king William living, and the acts in question repealed, would it be a violation of his oath to consent to the repeal of acts which existed not when he was crowned? The same principle applies to the present sovereign, who has always shown himself ready to accede to the wishes of parliament. If to yield to the present claims be a violation of his oath, so must have been all the concessions in 1793. Mr. Fox would ever be the first to support his majesty's lawful authority; but he could not suffer the name of that authority to be introduced to prevent a full discussion of a subject the most interesting that could be submitted for the consideration of parliament. Without at all disparaging the military plans of his right honourable friend near him (Mr. Windham), neither those, nor parish-army bills, nor volunteering from the militia, would be half so effectual to increase our national strength, as to adopt the measure which he advised. Let us recall to affection one-fourth of our population: let us banish all seeds of animosities: let us show the catholic soldier and sailor that the road to honour is open alike to all; and that he who fights our battles bravely will find no distinction in reward from his grateful country; and we shall then do what best becomes us as freemen ourselves, and as men knowing well the value of freedom. He moved that the petition of the Roman catholics should be referred to a committee of the whole house.

Dr. Duigenan, in a speech interspersed with quotations and references, followed the honourable mover. He explained his meaning respecting the effect of the union, in superseding the necessity of exclusive laws. He did not apply this to the act of supremacy, which, on the contrary, he conceived to be

an act of allegiance. He did not allow that many of the petitioners came under the description of Irish Roman catholics, and stated that several of them had been rescued from the consequences of a bill of attainder by the benignity of his Majesty. He pointedly condemned a pamphlet by Mr. Scully, one of the catholic deputies, and put it to the house, whether men so represented were fit persons to receive the attention or indulgence of the house. He complained that all the names of the petitioners were confined to nineteen counties; and of these counties, there were four counties in which there was only one signature. After these preliminary objections, he proceeded to lay down the principle of his hostility to emancipation. It was simply this: That all the odious doctrines of the supremacy of the pope, of his dispensing power, and the expediency of keeping no faith with heretics, still remained unchanged. These points he illustrated by a reference to declarations of the council of Constance and Trent, to the works of modern catholics, as Dr. Troy and Dr. Milner, to the oaths taken by the bishops at their inauguration, and that administered to the inferior clergy on their consecration. He maintained that, if the petition was granted, then king James was wrongfully expelled, and the right of the present family was weakened. The honourable and learned gentleman proceeded to demonstrate that every rebellion of the Irish, from the earliest period to the time of the revolution, all tended to prove that the Roman catholics were at all times, and under all governments, most strenuously bent on subverting the protestant establishment of this country. The penal laws were not to be considered as the cause, but the deep-rooted aversion of the catholics to any ascendance which the protestants might be supposed to have in the government of this empire. These people, however, were said to form a great majority of his Majesty's subjects in that part of his dominions. But let it be considered, that in the year 1734 the Roman catholics of Ireland were estimated at only one million and a half; and in or about the year 1760, it was stated by Dr. Burke, one of their own writers, that there were then 770,000 protestant inhabitants in Ireland, and only 1,300,000 papists; yet the persons who subscribed the petition then before the house maintained, that the Roman catholics amounted to 4,500,000 of the population of Ireland. If this were to be admitted as a fact, one must naturally suppose that there was something or another in the difference between the Roman catholic and the protestant persuasion, that occasioned the professors of the one to increase and multiply so rapidly, while those of the other were said to be nearly the same number that they were about a century ago. There was another very exceptionable part in the petition before the house; that was, where they held out a sort of menace of what the consequence might be in case of invasion, if what they claimed was not immediately conceded to them. This, when he reflected on their former boast of numbers, and connected both the circumstances together, reminded him of the story of sir John Falstaff's men in buckram. That was too flimsy an act of deception to be for a moment seriously thought of in that house. There was, however, a still worse fraud attempted to be practised on

the house, to which he thought it his duty to call their attention; namely, their great profession of loyalty; their declaration that nothing connected with politics was ever attempted to be inculcated by their religious leaders. In direct contradiction of such an assertion, he would quote the resolutions of the delegates of those of the Roman catholic persuasion in all parts of Ireland, who assembled in Dublin in the year 1795. In these resolutions they stated, that it was their bounden duty to oppose even their own emancipation, if it was offered on the ignominious terms of an union with this country. This was the mild, the obedient, the conciliating determination of the Romanists in Ireland; they even resorted to the pitiful expedient of signing pardons to those who had been found guilty of rebellion, in the hopes that it might possibly give courage or add numbers to their party. In fact, they were so universally disaffected, that he never knew a jacobin out of doors who was not either a Romanist in his religious profession, or attached to them as being a necessary set of instruments towards the subversion of the constitution. But of these people, zealous and ardent as they were in the cause which they espoused, it was rather extraordinary that 19 out of the 32 counties in Ireland had not subscribed the petition, and four other counties had only produced one signature each. This was a plain proof of artifice, and reminded him of a circumstance which happened during the late rebellion in Ireland, where a great number of the catholics were required to take, and did take, the oaths of allegiance, which every loyal subject would think it his duty to take in a time of public commotion; and yet in three weeks after that, when they found a favourable opportunity, they rose and murdered all the protestant inhabitants that were so unfortunate as to fall within their power. This, and indeed the whole history of their proceedings, convinced him that if the prayer of the petitioners was granted, there would in the next session of parliament be at least 80 Roman catholic representatives; and he well knew that they would all stick together like a swarm of bees. He would insist that it was neither politic nor safe to make such concessions to the Roman catholics of Ireland as we might with the utmost prudence grant to those of England; for we must then repeal all the statutes which had any reference to them from the reign of queen Elizabeth to the present day; he could not think that even the bill of rights would be safe. And yet who was it that it was now proposed to grant these immunities to? It was to the Roman catholics of Ireland, who at present enjoyed more civil liberty than the most favoured subjects of any nation in Europe, when they did not belong to what was the established church of that country. In the opinion which he entertained as to the propriety of at least keeping the Irish catholics within the bounds of the present laws, he was supported by the high and respectable authority of that most eminent lawyer, judge Blackstone, who said that the restraints which were laid on the catholics were to be considered as the principal bulwark of the existence of a protestant church and a protestant government in this country:—The coronation oath of the sovereign also bound him to preserve the religion and the constitution of the country, as by law established; and it was a well-known fact that many

of these laws were in existence before the time of the accession of his present majesty to the throne. He trusted that no parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland would ever push the independent exercise of their functions to such a length as to say, We will offer to the throne a measure for its sanction, which cannot, consistent with the moral duties of the sovereign, be agreed to. If such a measure was once to pass the other two branches of the legislature, he was convinced that even then people would not give way to that erroneous opinion, that the king was of course to give his royal assent to every measure which should have been agreed to by his parliament. The act of union was a most solemn public compact, and that forbade the passing of such a law. It would be a violation of the public faith, if measures were now to be adopted in the united parliament which the legislature of Ireland had always thought it imprudent to agree to. The people of this country had always very readily taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and it was only required of the Roman catholics of Ireland to give similar pledges of their loyalty. If they would not undertake to make such protestations as were common to the rest of their fellow-subjects, the act was theirs, they, in fact, thereby abdicated their claims to all indulgence of the state, and they ought in consequence of that to be not only prevented from exercising the duties or powers of a legislator, but they ought also to be deprived of the privilege of giving a vote for the election of a representative in parliament, as long as they adhered to that rigid observance of their present tenets.

Mr. Grattan.—"I do not wish to recall to recollection the last or any former rebellion, because such recollection must only serve to aggravate the wounds which it is my warmest desire and the object of the house to heal. But I remember enough of those rebellions to know that the causes which produced them have ceased, and that religious animosity should cease also. The man who should attempt to keep alive that animosity in Ireland is the worst enemy of that country, and the deluded ally of France or any other power that wages war against Great Britain. The question before the house is not simply, as the learned doctor has stated it, Whether you will qualify a few catholics to become members of parliament, or to accept certain offices in the state; but whether you will augment the power of your empire, by imparting to the Irish catholics a participation of that which is the vital principle of your constitution and strength. Depend upon it that this question is to Ireland highly important—to you every thing. Yet if the recommendations of the learned doctor were attended to, you would reject it without even a decent consideration. The catholics ask for equal advantages with their protestant fellow-subjects. But no; their request must not be complied with, because they are incorrigibly hostile to the establishment of the protestant church, and entertain tenets of a most obnoxious kind; to prove which the learned doctor has gone into many doctrinal points, through which I certainly shall not follow him. I must however observe, that the result of all would go to this, that eternal war should be declared by Great Britain against the Irish catholics. The attacks may be divided into four heads:—first, an attack upon the

catholic

catholic creed; secondly, an attack upon the former race of catholics; thirdly, upon the present race; and fourthly, upon their posterity. The limits of creation alone can stop him. In considering his attacks upon the present generation and the future, I shall have to defend the catholics against this attack and the protestants against his defence (*a laugh*). Before I proceed further, I shall lay down a principle which shall form the basis of all my arguments. My decided opinion is, that the catholic religion, abstracted from Rome, does not imply the slightest disqualification of allegiance to the government of Great Britain—that a catholic may be as good a subject of the King, as much attached to his Majesty, as any protestant inhabitant of Middlesex. This assertion is founded on a knowledge of the principles of the catholic religion. That religion, I know, does not consist of such maxims as the learned doctor would ascribe to it. It is not founded on the decrees of popes, nor is it to be judged of from their conduct. I could show, by a reference to the most respectable authorities that have appeared in the catholic church, that none of the tenets attributed by the learned doctor and others, who think with him, to the catholics, ever formed a part of the catholic creed. The learned doctor has quoted, among a variety of what appears to me extraneous matter, the fourth decree of the council of Lateran. What has it to say with protestants whether any and what regulations respecting discipline were exacted at a council which in fact took place 300 years before protestantism was heard of? There is something so ridiculous in the reference, that any man would be ashamed to make it, except the learned doctor. What! would it not expose the British parliament to universal ridicule, if it were known that they were afraid of the fourth decree of the council of Lateran? If we were told that we were afraid, not that the enemy was about to attack Jamaica; not that an immediate invasion was apprehended,—no; for we are not afraid to meet the enemy any where; but what terrifies us is the fourth decree of the council of Lateran (*a laugh*). I would call upon this learned doctor of the 15th century to state more precisely the grounds upon which he ventures to assert that, according to a particular decree of the council of Constance, the catholics held that "no faith was to be held with heretics."—Now against the learned doctor upon this point I have an authority which is at least equal to that of the learned doctor. I have the authority of Grotius, who maintains that the decree alluded to bears no such interpretation as the learned doctor imputes to it.—But I have a still higher authority—the opinions of six of the most respectable universities in Europe, to whom the question I have just mentioned, with two others respecting the alleged power of the pope to issue decrees and to absolve subjects from their allegiance, was referred in 1792 by the catholics of England. Those universities, among whom were Paris, Salamanca and Louvaine, expressly denied that any such opinions as were referred to their consideration appertained to the catholic creed. Can you then suffer yourselves to be influenced by such chimeras? Can you doubt, after all the experience you have had, that the catholics are personally and cordially attached to your sovereign; that they are ready to go forth with you and meet the common enemy?

Will you then discard them? Will you, in the present circumstances of your empire, and in the present state of knowledge, have it told that you are irreconcileably adverse to three millions of your people on account of their religion—that merely from a difference upon speculative questions, you will cast away one fifth of your whole resources? and all this because the catholics are charged with believing the pope's dispensing power, and other things equally absurd.—What measures shall the catholics take to satisfy you that they do not entertain the opinions imputed to them by their enemies? They have given you the assurance of their respectable universities; they have given you the obligation of an oath—an oath too drawn up by the learned doctor himself in 1793, when an act was passed in favour of the catholics, and when the catholics left it to the protestants to propose their own terms. This test was immediately subscribed by the principal part of the catholic laity and clergy. After administering that test, I would ask, Is it right to go back to the charge which the test disclaims?—If you thought the charge well founded, why establish the test? What have you done? You first charge the catholic with holding certain noxious doctrines which unfitted him for the enjoyment of civil rights, and then you draw up an oath to aggravate his guilt by admitting him to the enjoyment of those rights on condition that he perjured himself. Was it not most unjust and absurd, that notwithstanding such a test the catholics should still be suspected? It was indeed revolting to their feelings even to have been called on to make such a test; for it involved on the face of it a suspicion of their principles, a suspicion that they held certain pernicious doctrines, which they solemnly profess never to have belonged to their religion. According to the judgment even of lord Clare, who was a zealous opponent of the catholics, they were not objectionable as mere catholics, but as connected with Rome; that is, that mere catholicism was innocent, but that popery was noxious. The learned doctor has introduced many observations which have no relevancy to the question. He has stated that the Irish catholics are equally the enemies of the protestants and the English. What would he do to secure such a vicious state of mind? Would he re-enact the penal code? The repeal which has taken place of a part of that code falsifies the charges of the learned doctor, while the difference between the protestants and catholics of Ireland proves the mischievous operation of that code. But I deny that the difference is such as the learned doctor describes. I deny that the catholic population are adverse to the protestants or to the English. The learned doctor, however, in this as well as in other respects contradicts himself. Such is the nature of polemics: inconsistency belongs to it. Providence seems to interfere in polemical disputes, to defeat the ends of the polemic; and in the heat and tempest of argument he makes the lips of the bigot testify his own refutation. But to recur to the assertion of the learned doctor: I would appeal to any gentleman well acquainted with Ireland, whether it be not entirely unfounded. There are some gentlemen in this house who have been secretaries in Ireland, and I would appeal to them, whether they found the Irish people inimical to the English. I would

would ask of any man who has been recently in Ireland, whether lord Hardwicke, who is an English viceroy, be disesteemed in that country? Whether, if a man were to say in any company, private or public, in Ireland, that that nobleman was hated he would not be laughed at (*a cry of Hear! hear! from the ministerial benches*). I would ask of any man from any part of Ireland, whether there be one instance to justify the broad assertion of the doctor? But if that assertion were to be believed, what an impression must it produce upon the minds of all thinking men, as to the effects of that abominable code and ascendancy, under which it has been so long governed! How execrable must even you,—the British government appear!—You have had Ireland above six centuries, and have only taught the people to hate you (*a cry of Hear! hear!*). I would, however, seriously ask any representative from Ireland to say whether he knows any part of that country, where a protestant or an Englishman may not live in perfect safety; nay more, where a good man, belonging to either, would not be welcomed, would not be caressed? The Irish people will love the man who uses them well. Far from hating the British government, or that of their own country, they respect it even under oppression; they would love it if they were treated well. As to the rebellions which have taken place in Ireland, I will go a hundred years back, where the doctor will be much more at home; and I assert that no rebellion within that period can be said to have proceeded from the religion of the catholics. Neither those at the earlier periods, nor that of 1798, had their origin by any means in catholicism. They sprung from a combination of folly, corruption, and domestic proscription; from the prejudice and party-contests of the Irish government, and from the general ignorance of the government of England. And with respect to the insurrection of 1798—from the operation of those revolutionary sentiments which at that time agitated all Europe; I have said however that I wished not to look back; I will only state, that if all the blood that has deluged Ireland, should tend to produce union among Irishmen, I shall congratulate them on the death of their ancestors. But if they still shall persist in discord, if the deaths of the father should be of no use to their children, I shall lament that their fathers have died. That the catholics have maintained the conduct and reputation of loyalty for the last century, I could refer to various authorities—to the raising four Irish regiments in the year 1762; to their conduct during the rebellion in Scotland in 1741; and particularly to the preambles of the several acts of parliament which were passed in their favour since the year 1778. Every body knows that the rebellion of 1798 was completely jacobinical. From the reports of the committees of both houses of the Irish parliament, by whom the circumstances of that rebellion were investigated, it appears, that 99,000 men in nine counties of the North were organized in rebellion, while the South preserved its allegiance. Now every body knew that the former was the residence almost exclusively of protestants, and the latter of catholics. Independently of this negative evidence, the loyalty of the latter was most eminently conspicuous at the time

Hoche

Hoche appeared off Bantry. The behaviour of the peasantry on that occasion was justly the subject of panegyric in a dispatch from lord Camden. Here then is ample proof of catholic loyalty; but that loyalty may be rendered more active and efficient, if you will do the catholics justice. That many catholics followed the protestant leaders of the rebellion of 1798 I readily admit; but that the catholic religion had any thing to do with that rebellion, I most positively deny. While, however, any part of the penal laws remains, it is impossible to render the people contented, and take away the susceptibility of disaffected doctrines. The learned doctor stated that concessions have had an effect directly the reverse to what was to be expected upon the catholics; that, contrary to fair expectation and natural reasoning, they have been quiet and loyal according as they were oppressed, and disloyal and turbulent the moment any thing was conceded to them. Now how does the fact stand? The first concession made to the catholics was in 1778; and two years afterwards, when the combined fleet was in the Channel, they were ready and in arms to defend their country. Was not their conduct equally conspicuous in the South, in 1794, when the enemy was off the coast with a hostile fleet? How, then, is the assertion of the learned doctor warranted? The learned doctor is well aware that no concession was ever made by the ruling party in Ireland in the spirit of concession. When in 1793 the catholics petitioned parliament, an attempt was made immediately afterward to hang the petitioners. Messrs. Hamyl and Byrne of Drogheda were tried, acquitted, and the evidence against them was so notoriously perjured, that the judge ordered the attorney-general to prosecute. The men who were persecuted called on me, and stated the facts to me. It appeared to me immediately that the fact was, that the prejudiced party who governed Ireland were afraid of the British minister, because they had not power to resist him; but they were not afraid of the petitioners, and therefore determined to hang them. On the principles of the catholics I shall only say, that as two-thirds of the christian world are catholics, I could not, if that religion were composed of such abominable principles as the learned doctor describes, be persuaded to think that christianity itself was of divine origin. But I cannot attribute to religion such principles and consequences as the doctor states. Sure I am that no such consequences have flowed from religion in Ireland. No; give to the catholics the same system that is possessed by the protestants; give to both the same diet; give them equal rights; give the catholics freedom —it is the manna upon which their fathers fed—let them send their representatives to this house, and they will not have a few members, but 658. An identity of interest, a sympathy of feeling, will be created, that will give them the advantage of your whole representation. This is what the catholics look for; and, added to that, they seek eligibility to about 38 offices of state, and to the shrievalties. Now after coming so close to us, we should not refuse them their request—after having given so much, we should not quarrel with them about what remains. They pay their share of eight millions of taxes, and hold

not a single office in the distribution of the revenue. They supply one third of our army and navy, without being eligible to any command of consequence. Was this a state in which to hold so large a body of our fellow-subjects? Was not such a situation calculated to injure the understanding of the catholic? Must it not impede the growth of his mind, and injure his morals? Must it not debase his spirit, to be obliged to submit to the insulting domination of the meanest of the other sect, who have no claim to lord it over him, but this; that perhaps without morals or religion, without any other recommendation than his aversion to the catholic, he acquires the privilege of injuring the community, and lording it over the catholics? With this privilege he is suffered to stalk abroad, —the magistrate and man of blood. It is absurd to call the catholics barbarous: their commerce, their wealth, their talents contradict such an assertion. If the assertion were well founded, England should answer for it. It would not, however, have been exposed even to the charge of barbarism, if it had not been for religious animosity. That most active instrument in the whole machinery of mischief—that which amalgamates with all evil—that to which conscience, which in other cases is a check, serves but as a prop;—that is the source of the affliction that has borne down my country, and degraded it so as to incur the imputation of barbarism. The distinction taken between political power and civil right is unfounded; for the latter is inseparable from the former: and the observation upon the throne is not less unjust. For the safety of the throne of England does not consist so much in the power which the monarch reserves, as in the privileges which the people keep. Of the power of the pope, at present, I conceive it a perfect mockery to speak. That power is now but a name. It depended on opinion, and that opinion is gone since his late visit to Paris. There is but one effectual means to remedy the disorders of Ireland. Extermination is not practicable; and if you do not adopt the recommendation of primate Boulter—to keep up a division in that country in order to govern it—you must emancipate the catholics. In the present state of the empire, the consideration which common sense would suggest to you, is not how one man says his prayers, but who will fight your battles. Recollect that if your general in Egypt had sent out the catholics from his ranks, or an admiral at sea had sent the catholic sailors on shore, then perhaps the glory of your arms would not have been so conspicuous. Let me exhort you to reflect upon the nature of your present situation, and you will see the necessity of calling all your resources into vigorous exertion. Turn from the magnitude of your empire to the magnitude of your danger, and consider the power with which you have to contend. Europe seems divided between England and France. Austria and Russia may exist as secondary powers, but if you sink into that rank you are lost. Your being is linked with your greatness; and when you cease to be great you are nothing. (*A loud cry of Hear! hear!*) You are now called on to fight for your being and power; nay more, for your antient honour, renown, and glory. If in such a struggle, Ireland, that important part of your empire, be vulnerable, it is because you have not governed it well.

well. Begin even now the work of good government. You have voted an army and navy from Ireland, but you forgot to vote your freedom to that country. That is the vote which is necessary to produce and encourage that quality of mind, upon which you can engraft that high spirit and ambition which are necessary to meet, to overcome, the perils of the time. Let your freedom be diffused through Ireland, and she will soon become a part of your strength. Do not withhold from her, in her weakness, the regimen that has made you strong. You have since the union added forty millions to her debt, and some millions to her taxes. Will you add nothing to her freedom and comforts? Since you have extinguished the Irish parliament, What have you done for Ireland? I followed the course of that parliament for fourteen years—from its independence in 1782; and there were many measures of great national benefit which resulted from it. The violence of party, and its opposition to the sentiments and interests of the great body of the people, led to the abolition of that parliament. Take care that a similar opposition may not lead a similar extinction of feeling towards you. Do not legislate like children; do not reject on childish grounds, the claims of your fellow-subjects. As you are at war with a nation, that relies principally upon her superior population, render your own population effective. Instead of buying foreign aid with subsidies, buy the aid of your own subjects with kindness. (*A general cry of Hear! hear!*) During a former rebellion, you expended twenty millions of your wealth, and much of your blood, and yet added not an inch to your territory, nor any thing to your security. Remove the penal code; remove what yet remains of it; follow the advice of a Burke and a Flood—seek the improvement of Ireland! Learn wisdom from adversity. While half Europe is in battalia against us, will you sit contending about mysteries? But I am exhausted." Mr. Grattan closed.

The attorney-general followed, under a mind evidently enfeebled from the impression made by the speeches of the evening. Mr. Alexander owned, that if the attorney-general felt embarrassed after the two eloquent speeches of Mr. Fox and Mr. Grattan, he of course could little expect to bear up against them. He condemned both the time at which the question was brought forward, and the tendency of the petition itself. The speakers on the adjourned debate were Mr. W. Smith and Mr. Ponsonby, in favour of a committee. Mr. Lee (an Irish member) thought the question should be entertained by the house. He knew that the catholic clergy would give up much to the requisition of this country. They, he knew, would readily consent to the nomination of their bishops by his majesty. After the king had appointed, and only then, would they require consecration from the pope. This was the first time a great Irish question had come before the house, and never had Mr. Lee heard a subject discussed with more temper and moderation. Sir William Scott's objections to the measure were not temporary, but permanent. Dr. Laurence opposed him. Mr. Foster, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Shaw, lord de Blaquiere, sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, and sir W. Dolben spoke against the petition. The chancellor of the exchequer, with great caution, and a dignity

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not unbefitting his official station, differed from those who supported the motion, and also from many of those who opposed it. He thought there was a broad evident distinction between right and expediency. He had thought that after the union, it would be expedient to take off all restraints; but it with much candour had been admitted, that no pledge had been given at the union that they should be taken off. He agreed in the praises bestowed upon the good conduct of the catholics: but he could not hide from himself that there was much disrelish of the measure at present in men's minds, and therefore he opposed the motion. Mr. Windham, Sir J. Newport, Mr. Dillon, Mr. J. Latouche, Sir J. Hippisley, and Mr. Hutchinson, supported it. Mr. Fox entered into a general reply. He noticed the chancellor of the exchequer's standing upon grounds different from that taken by all other members who had opposed his motion: he rejoiced that he had made his motion, the memory of it was grateful to him. Never, he hoped, would Ireland have to say, 'We have no friends in England, and therefore must look elsewhere.' It had been said, 'Let us finish the question for ever.' He would ask, whether such a question ever could be finished for ever? He was pleased to think that he should on that night divide with more members from the sister-kingdom than ever it had been his fortune to do before.

For Mr. Fox's motion, 124: Against it, 336:—Majority, 212.

June 20th. Mr. Grey rose:—"I rise for the purpose of calling the attention of the house to the present most critical state of the country. Whether we look to our foreign or our domestic estate; whether we fix our view on our colonial establishments, or the situation of our commerce, our finances, or our army or navy; whether we look at the state of the war, and the chance of our state even in the event of peace—we shall find that on every one of these points there is matter of serious consideration. To embrace all this variety of subjects in a single discussion would exceed any abilities, however great; and for me to offer even a slight sketch of them might seem presumption, were it not that the state of affairs itself so imperiously calls for investigation. It is now two years since the commencement of war, a war in which we are still engaged, undertaken after a short uncertain interval of unavailing peace. It naturally suggests itself, then, to inquire, What were the grounds on which the war was commenced? what the objects to which it was directed? what the prospects of success with which it is attended? and what the best policy in the conduct of it? The first object which presents itself is the state of our finances, upon which, however, I shall enter into no detail, particularly as of late it has been the practice at the end of the session to lay before the house the statement of the public finances as they stand at the time, and I hope an able and honourable friend of mine, who has already distinguished himself in this business, will this year favour the house with a similar exertion of his industry.—At the beginning of the war we were assured that the war would be carried on for several years, without any addition to the capital of the debt, by borrowing no more than was extinguished by the operation of the sinking fund. I at the time doubted the solidity of this promise,

promise, and we are now certain that it was fallacious. For three years of the war forty millions have already been borrowed, and an addition of at least thirty millions made to the capital of our debt beyond what the sinking fund has redeemed. Such is the effect of the war, as to the capital of our debt, already. When we consider that last year our expense amounted to seventy millions, and that this year, in all probability, it will be more, it is impossible not to see that our finances, though they undoubtedly are still great, and with good management adequate to the greatest objects, must deserve the attention of every British statesman. So, even were war to cease immediately, our permanent expenditure must be greatly increased. I shall not, I believe, be contradicted, when I say that the whole amount of the interest, &c. of our debt will be at least thirty millions: and looking at the state of Europe after a peace, it cannot be imagined that we could sit down with a peace establishment of less than forty millions a year. But leaving this subject, I shall barely allude to the state of the army, because at the beginning of the session that subject was so completely discussed by my right honourable friend (Mr. Windham), and a notice of a motion has been given by an honourable colonel (Craufurd), so qualified to do it justice. This much, however, I may observe generally, that the necessity of an improvement of our army was last year universally admitted. It was so particularly insisted on by Mr. Pitt, in the shape of a charge against others, that it cannot now be forgotten or disputed. Yet it has been shown that any improvement that may have taken place is far short both of what the nation had a right to expect, and of what its situation demanded. The supplementary militia has been reduced; and this measure, as far as it goes, I do not disapprove: but let it be remembered, that if it gives us any advantage in point of discipline and quality, it adds nothing to our number for home defence. It appears from a paper I have before me, that since January 1805 there have been raised four thousand two or three hundred men, by ordinary recruiting. Of these, above two thousand have been for regiments at home. It appears, too, that the casualties within that period, to the regiments at home, are within one hundred and seventy of the whole supplies they have received by ordinary recruiting; and if we reckon, as doubtless we may, the casualties of regiments on foreign stations at least as great as the casualties of those at home, it will follow that the army, on the footing it now stands, can with difficulty be kept by the recruits it receives. The reduction of the militia, which makes no addition to the numbers for home defence, is the only augmentation which the army of the country has obtained in the course of the last year. The whole of this subject will be so much more ably stated by the right honourable colonel (Craufurd) who has turned his attention to it, that I shall abstain from any further remarks, contenting myself with saying, that those facts which are within the level of every man's observation are of themselves sufficient to excite anxiety. I now proceed to that which is the grand bulwark of our safety, the navy; and if, as we have seen, there is no cause to congratulate ourselves on the improvement of our finances or of our army, I fear that the state

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of the navy will afford little more reason for exultation. Last year at this time we had in commission eighty-eight ships of the line, and at the present moment I understand the number of this class in commission is only ninety-one, being an increase of three ships since last year. There have been added seven frigates, twenty-two sloops, and fifty gun-brigs. The number of seamen voted last year was seventy-eight thousand, and the number actually mustered was above eighty-seven thousand, being above nine thousand more than the vote. The addition of line-of-battle ships and of frigates, we see, is very small; and though that of gun-brigs is larger in the amount, I do not think it adds greatly to our security. I fear, indeed, that the right honourable gentleman has been deceived as to the importance of this class of vessels:—compared with the immense number of the enemy, they were nothing; and if our defence were to depend on them, we should be wretched indeed. The improvement of the navy in that class of ships which must constitute our chief defence against every naval attempt of the enemy, is by no means satisfactory. It is admitted, indeed, by many on the other side, that our navy is not in the state in which it ought to be; but this they assert as matter of charge against a former board of admiralty. For my own part, I profess to be little versed in the subject, but as far as authority goes, and as far as my own investigations can form the ground of my judgment, I am decidedly of opinion, that the system of lord St. Vincent was the best; and that, if he had remained in office, he would have placed the navy of England in that state of superiority and of power which all friends to the country must desire to see. If from these topics we turn to our domestic situation, then indeed there is room for a satisfaction unmingled. Never was there a period when the people were disposed more cheerfully to bear the burthen imposed upon them by the circumstances of the times; never was their loyalty more active and more cordial; never was the spirit of the nation more determined to resist every attack on their independence, and to defend themselves at every hazard. But while we congratulate ourselves on this pleasing picture, we cannot help observing, that the burthen of taxes presses hard on many classes; and we ought the more to feel, that burthens borne with so much loyalty should be lightened if possible. If we look at Ireland, I hope that there too we shall find ground of satisfaction; for, in part through the conciliating administration of lord Hardwicke, considerable progress has been made in composing that country. If the state of Ireland be not yet so satisfactory as it might be, yet there is reason to hope that the Irish now see the advantage of British connection, and that they know that what they have to expect from the liberality and the policy of Great Britain would utterly be lost by French conquest. Still there is room for further improvement.—There is room for that entire cordiality between the two countries, or rather between the different parts of the empire, that, instead of being our weakness, Ireland should be one of the chief instruments of our greatness; instead of absorbing a large portion of our military force to preserve tranquillity, she might contribute as large a portion to the active military strength of the state.

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To me it seems, that while any obstacle remains to the entire satisfaction of the catholic body, in regard to the objects for which they petitioned the legislature, the progress to perfect tranquillity, and to complete co-operation, must be far short of what it might be. Yet both by legislative measures and by those of administration, much may be done. I am satisfied that it is the wish of lord Hardwicke to do every thing that depends upon him; but I fear that on the other side of the Channel, as here, they labour under the distraction of a divided government. Lord Hardwicke can never give full effect to his wishes, while the second officer in Ireland is allowed to continue; while the system of the first or second minister of Ireland, in this house, is so different from that which lord Hardwicke would be disposed to adopt. As to the state of the war, it will be found to afford as little ground of exultation as any of the topics we have reviewed. The war in India may be thought an exception; but on that branch, as indeed not connected with the war with France, and as already discussed at much detail on a motion of my honourable friend (Mr. Francis), I shall not enlarge. Let us then shortly inquire what has been the effect of the war; what the objects of it, and the chances of their attainment? The general object, independent of the particular causes enumerated at the time, I apprehend to have been, the necessity of limiting the aggrandizement and restraining the ambition of France. What progress then has been made in these objects? Is the power of France reduced? Has any barrier against its increase been obtained? On the contrary, has not Buonaparte placed the iron crown of Italy on his head? Has he not converted Spain from a reluctant tributary into an active and efficient ally? Is not Portugal, because we are unable to defend her, compelled to furnish a subsidy to be employed in the annoyance of her most antient and most sincere friend? Does not Belgium still continue incorporated with France; and is not Holland entirely under her control? Are not their ports filled with preparations for invading us? Is not Hanover occupied by France, and compelled to furnish supplies for the enemies of her lawful sovereign? Are not the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, and the ocean, the boundaries of France? And while her power on the continent seems both extended and consolidated, is there any prospect of an efficient confederacy to limit her insolence and reduce her power? On the contrary, are not the great powers of the continent averse from any continental war? Does not France occupy Italy and Switzerland, as positions from which to fall upon Austria? Does she not hold Hanover, to watch the north of Europe? And while her strength seems thus extended, and her position so formidable, is there any thing in her internal situation to afford a rational prospect of relief from time or accident? Are her finances ruined, her army mutinous, and her navy dilapidated? But this year we have had no comparisons from the right honourable gentleman between the resources and the credit of France and this country; we have heard no assertion that she was on the verge, nay, in the gulf of bankruptcy; or any hope whatever, that from want of means she would be compelled to give up the contest. Even sir Francis D'Ivernois, persevering in his warfare with the

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French finances, affords us, at least up to the present moment, little room for congratulation. The *exposé*, some time since presented by the French government to the legislature, asserts, that without new imposts, or extraordinary resources or loans, the war will be maintained by the revenue of thirty millions a year, and that if the war were to last ten years, it would add nothing to the debt of France, while that of England will be increased four milliards. This promise resembles that made by the ministers of this country at the beginning of the war; but I am afraid that hitherto at least it has been better kept, since even Sir Francis D'Ivernois admits that her contributions in time of war will cover the deficiency in her receipts, and that her domestic revenues and her foreign contributions have covered her expenses. He thinks, indeed, that this must cease, since the supplies from Spain are cut off by the vigorous policy of this government; a policy, however, which I fear this country will have cause to rue, when we see the tribute exchanged for a co-operation so active and so effectual as appears now to be displayed. That such a country as France, with an active and ingenious population, should be ruined in her finances, while her expenditure is confined within thirty millions sterling, it were the height of absurdity to suppose. If then the war were to be a war of finances, and allowing every thing for the superior industry, capital, and commerce of this country, it would be vain to attempt to conquer by that means, while our own expenditure was little short of eighty millions, and that of our opponent but thirty millions a year. But if we cannot raise our hopes on the approaching bankruptcy of France, can we calculate upon the state of her army? Are not its numbers complete; its spirit unbroken? Is it not commanded by the most skilful officers? And does it not on every side occupy the most formidable positions? Is the state of her navy more consolatory to us? We have added three ships of the line to our navy; France, by extraordinary exertions, has, in the course of last year, added fleets to hers. The navy of France cannot be estimated at less than forty-eight ships of the line; the Dutch have eleven sail; Spain in all has sixty-one sail; but allowing a great number to be unfit for service, I believe I am within the mark when I say, that Spain contributes to the navy of France twenty-five ships of the line fit for service.—Thus France has in all eighty-three ships of the line at her disposal, being eight less than the force we now have. This disproportion is indeed greatly increased by the superiority of skill and discipline possessed by our seamen. But still we see that France, within so short a space, has made advances towards us altogether unexpected. She has contrived, too, by well-combined plans, and through the want of vigour and intelligence in our government, to send to sea considerable expeditions. Occupying large divisions of our fleets in blockades along her whole line of coast, she has equipped armaments that have escaped our vigilance, gone to our distant colonies, committing depredations highly prejudicial to our interests and disgraceful to the nation. The circumstances attending the sailing of the Toulon fleet, and its junction with that of Cadiz, are of themselves sufficiently extraordinary to call for inquiry. The Toulon fleet sailed twice without being met by our fleet in the Mediterranean,

terranean, which not only shows our want of intelligence, but the want of a convenient station in that sea, from which to observe the movements of the enemy; a circumstance, by the way, which may serve to illustrate the importance of Malta, to which, at the beginning of the war, so much was attached. It sailed twice without interruption, and having effected a junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz, on the 9th of April, proceeded to sea again. And is it not an extraordinary circumstance, that now, on the 20th of June, we should be ignorant of the destination of so large an armament, which sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of April, to strike a blow at some of our foreign settlements? I must add too, that the conduct of the officer who commanded our fleet off Cadiz when the French appeared, on the face of it calls for inquiry. I do not mean to say that sir John Orde may not be able to justify himself; he certainly was greatly inferior in point of numbers. We trust, on many occasions, to the superiority of our navy, under great inequality of numbers; but nothing has more tended to create that excellence, which justifies the confidence, than the sound discretion exercised in the appointment of naval commanders; a discretion in which the public opinion ought to have no inconsiderable weight, because that opinion calls forth the merit it rewards. I do not blame sir John Orde, because he instantly put to sea as soon as the French fleet appeared; he was inferior to the enemy doubtless; but there are occasions when high spirit, and a strong feeling of the public cause, will induce men to run great risks for great objects, and it is on such occasions when bold attempts are often crowned with success. The striking fact is, that sir John Orde made a retreat from Cadiz at the moment when a junction was to be effected, from which the most important consequences, and probably great disasters, to this country were likely to ensue. The state of his fleet may have been such as to make it improper for him to do that which, with a fleet in suitable order, he would have attempted. I have seen a paper which gives an account of the whole fleet, and of each ship respectively of his fleet. The Glory is stated to have been hurt in her mast, and otherwise out of repair; the Defence was leaky and is since gone into dock; the Agamemnon was likewise defective in various points, so the Polyphemus and Renown. If this representation be correct, it involves a most serious charge upon the admiralty; but why the ships should have wanted water, which might have been had from the coast of Portugal, or Gibraltar, I am at a loss to say.—At any rate, however, why did not sir John Orde leave behind some vessels to watch and to trace the enemy, and to give such information either to lord Nelson when he came down the Mediterranean, or to government at home, that the foe might have been pursued with a probability of overtaking him? Why did not sir John Orde, if he thought himself unequal in any manner to engage the enemy, stand away to Ferrol, and, joining that squadron, obstruct the sailing of the enemy's squadron, and perhaps defeat it? These are all very important circumstances; the public expects the elucidation of them: as to the destination of the fleet, Jamaica appears to me the most likely object, and there is a rumour in town, which,

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at least may be true, that it has been attacked. After that Brazil appears the most probable object, and it is one every way of vast importance. As a military station, it would give the enemy the command of our India trade: we could not blockade Rio Janeiro; and our India fleets must go under a convoy as strong as the enemy on that station might be. As auxiliary to ultimate views in India, it would be of vast consequence, and it would supply ship timber; it would afford immense wealth, and it would affect our interests, by depriving us of the Brazil cotton so essential in our manufactures. If their object, however, be the East Indies, I shall rejoice, because there I am persuaded that, though they may do considerable injury, they will least affect our permanent interests, and will in the end most certainly be overcome; and with such officers as sir Edward Pellew and sir Thomas Trowbridge in that quarter, there would be little chance of their acquiring any ascendancy by sea. Such then is the situation of the war,—the war that was to limit the ambition and reduce the power of France. But we have resisted the threatened invasion! This appears to me a very futile boast. The invasion was threatened at the beginning of the war, and it is threatened. If it has not hitherto been attempted, that may be ascribed, not so much to our domestic preparation, as to the superiority of our navy. I for one never believed that the invasion would be attempted. It has in a great measure answered what probably was its end; it has kept the nation in alarm, and exposed us to immense expense, without at all advancing the objects of the war; and all the preparations for the design are, according to the information in the king's speech, still continued. That one great object of the enemy was to distract our attention, is highly probable; but if the invasion ever was the object, there is no reason whatever to believe that it is abandoned. Thus I have shown from unquestionable facts, that no material improvement has taken place in our military and naval state; that none of the objects of the war have been attained; and that no progress whatever has been made towards them, or is likely in future. In this situation it is the imperious duty of the house to call upon ministers to give us some rational prospect of pursuing the war with success, or of explaining to us that peace on equitable and honourable terms is not to be obtained. This leads me to notice the state of our continental alliance, as alluded to in the speech from the throne, in the speeches of the minister, or in other communications. On this head too, I fear, there is nothing on which we can congratulate ourselves; while Buonaparte's power on the continent remains unimpaired, he exercises over his neighbours an influence of policy or intimidation which at present leaves no room for efficient co-operation. At the beginning of the session we were told "Notwithstanding these transactions, so repugnant to every sentiment of moderation and justice, I have recently received a communication from the French government containing professions of a pacific disposition. I have in consequence expressed my earnest desire to embrace the first opportunity of restoring the blessings of peace, on such grounds as may be consistent with the permanent safety and interests of my dominions; but I am confident you will

agree with me that those objects are closely connected with the general security of Europe. I have therefore not thought it right to enter into any more particular explanation, without previous communication with those powers on the continent with whom I am engaged in confidential intercourse and connexion, with a view to that important object; and especially with the emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wise and dignified sentiments by which he is animated, and of the warm interest he takes in the safety and independence of Europe."—There is no instance, I believe, of the house being thus left so much in the dark, not of the actual state of things, but of the views and objects of government. The former it may be proper to conceal; but of the latter can it be fit that the house should be ignorant, when the public is to undergo the burthens they may involve? But his majesty's speech merely says that to an overture, on the face of it fair and open, no answer can be given, because his majesty is engaged in confidential intercourse with other powers. No views whatever of the policy to which that intercourse is directed, no hint whether it is an intercourse pointing to arrangements for peace or for war, are given. Such was the ignorance of parliament at the opening of the session. From some of the principles stated in another part of the speech, of which I have read an entract, I am so far from dissenting, that I am happy to take this opportunity of expressing my concurrence in them to any fair consequences to which they can be carried. The speech says, that the interest of this country is connected with that of the continent; and that proposition is peculiarly true in the present circumstances of Great Britain and of Europe. I therefore distinctly avow my assent to this proposition; because without a great and powerful co-operation on the continent there can be no chance of reducing the power of France; and because unless, that failing, the great powers take a part in negotiation in one shape or other, my hope of permanent peace will be much weakened. But in saying this I must say too, that unless the co-operation of the continental powers be such as to afford a rational prospect of success, it would not be desirable. In that case too, it appears to me that a separate peace, on moderate terms, would be preferable to a mere defensive war. If indeed the enemy were to be so unreasonable as to reject all equitable terms, the nation would then not only submit to a defensive war, but to every sacrifice and privation, rather than fall down at the feet of France. Then, indeed, it would be proper to make no peace; and the spirit of the country would make none till every resource had been exhausted and every exertion tried; till we could say in the words formerly quoted by the hon. gentleman:

"Potuit quæ plurima virtus &c."

This extreme case is not likely to occur: but if reduced to the necessity of that defensive war, which is only not worse than an inadequate peace, it would be the duty of the house to see that it was not so conducted as to be even more dangerous than peace, and to take care that every effort should be well directed and every expense applied with œconomy. The other alternative I have mentioned is a separate peace, in case the co-operation of the continent or the concert of other powers in negotiation were unavailing. I hope

hope such a peace will not take place. It is impossible to say beforehand what such a peace might be; it might be better than a mere defensive war. A great responsibility would be on those who concluded it, as to the time and the terms of it, and obtaining the best securities which circumstances would admit. But at any rate they ought to be such as, if violated, would at once show in the strongest light the injustice and violence of the enemy. The honourable gentleman proceeded to touch upon the answer sent by our government to Buonaparte. He complained that there was a great want of information with respect to this subject. Five months had elapsed since his majesty first communicated with parliament upon this topic; yet still nothing was known, but what can be vaguely surmised from the subsidy which the house was called upon to vote. Surely before the credit asked was given, something more ought to be inquired into. Inquiry was the object of his motion. Lord Castlereagh would only reply to the general points of the argument of the mover. The house could not refuse to vote the subsidy required, unless they meant at once to withdraw their confidence from his majesty's present ministers. The statement at the beginning of the war had been made under the contemplation of a certain quantum of war expenses; if that ratio had not been exceeded, this country would have been in the singular situation of maintaing a war expenditure of 25,000,000*l.* annually, without adding to its debt. We had since been compelled to apply our resources not only for the purposes of defence, but, if it should be necessary, for offence. It was said, that at the end of two years of war our debt was increased thirty millions: this was the nominal addition to it, but not more than half that sum had been borrowed. The army was not in the inefficient state contended: In the year 1802 our whole regular forces, exclusive of militia, was one hundred and seventy-four thousand men. On the 1st of June, 1805, it was one hundred and seventy-six thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine: there was an increase of three thousand men. The improvement too in quality was considerable: In 1804 the gross amount of the military force was two hundred and thirty-two thousand; at present it was two hundred and forty-seven thousand.—The troops abroad amounted to sixty-seven thousand; being an increase since 1804 of nineteen thousand; so that there was a total increase of thirty-five thousand regulars since that period. The disposable infantry in 1804 were ninety-eight thousand; they were now one hundred and twenty thousand. With regard to the navy, the number of ships that had been put into commission only had been considered; the number of those put out of commission should have been reckoned: twenty-three ships of the line, fifty-eight frigates, eighty-two gun brigs, and thirty-two fire-ships had been since the period mentioned. The honourable member insinuated that blame was imputable to sir John Orde and lord Nelson for the escape of the Toulon fleet: the truth was, that there were few ports that could be completely blockaded; an accidental escape could not always be prevented. As to the negotiation with Russia, it was impossible at present to give information relating to it. But he thought such distrust to ministers would not be shown as that the house should not be prorogued till some communication was made. Such a proceeding would be most

unusual, and he thought was certainly unnecessary: if therefore the honourable mover meant that, it was most fitting that he should be opposed. Mr. Windham was of opinion, that at such a crisis parliament ought not to separate: the personal convenience of members was a motive unworthy of a moment's consideration: he knew not, that the continuance of their sitting implied any undue want of confidence in ministers; but he owned that from what they had done, they had no claims to prefer. Of what kind was the boasted increase of the army? Was it like the corps talked of at new Brunswick or Ceylon? The militia had afforded a temporary resource—10,000 men were obtained from Hanover; but no permanent resource was provided. The navy had, amidst all our calamities, been always a fount of consolation to us; But how was it now? The fleets of the enemy were out in various directions;—a ball was shot, and where it might hit, remained to be determined by time. As to the finances, it was admitted by the noble lord that the calculation respecting our expenditure had failed. The right honourable gentleman spoke of the continent—it was now found that solitude in danger was not a very consoling situation. Whether looking to the motion on the broad ground of public safety, or to the degree of confidence due to ministers, he decidedly thought the motion should be acceded to.—Mr. Canning and lord Temple spoke on opposite sides. Mr. Fox could not sit entirely silent. By the three last loans this country had added to the capital of its debt not less than eighty millions. The army was to be considered hereafter by a friend of his well qualified for the investigation (Col. Craufurd), who, if he had been thought too sanguine in his plans, at least had not been more so than that right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), who had himself done nothing. Mr. Grey had urged enough with regard to the navy. Ireland, for Ireland, was in a state not unsatisfactory. He would bear an honest testimony to the merit of lord Hardwicke; though there were points in his conduct towards a near relation of his, which he could not but disapprove: he lamented however that the system of the lord-lieutenant was, as he understood, opposed by another noble lord high in office (lord Redesdale). Such contrariety of feeling between ministers could not but be pernicious. He came lastly to the message of his majesty—There was a distinction between the present case and the former vote of credit of three millions. At the time of that vote, we were at war. So we are now: but then we were engaged in a continental war, and it was expressed what the money was for; now the house could not even guess what it was for. It was asked, where the difference was between prorogation, when parliament might assemble in fourteen days, and an adjournment for that time? The difference was, that one of these was in the discretion of the minister, the other in the power of the house. The known dissensions amongst his majesty's present servants certainly did not tend to inspire confidence; their system had been a scheme of disputes, forced resignations, and rapid successions. As to the conduct of government with respect to Russia, he thought a short question, might have been put to that court, Whether they would consent to our treating with France, or whether they thought we should refuse altogether? If Russia refused to answer, with all his partiality for

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Russia, the negotiation would not have been worth entering upon without such explicitness. He preferred the alliance of Russia to that of every other power; but thought it not enough for the present contest without the aid of other powers. He recommended to all the powers of Europe a system of justice and moderation. France, in parcelling out states, under the title of a system of indemnities, was acting against all moral feeling: He concurred in the motion of his honourable friend. The chancellor of the exchequer regretted that circumstances were such as to prevent his majesty from any more direct communication: those circumstances too would necessarily prevent him from meeting in detail the observations made by the honourable member who had preceded him. We had now a disposable force of a hundred and forty thousand men well disciplined, besides a hundred thousand that were stationary; to these were to be added four hundred thousand volunteers. He was not in office when the promise respecting our finances was made; nothing, however, but the unlooked-for excess of expenditure would have occasioned its failure. He denied that the number of troops on board the Toulon fleet was ever ascertained. An object nearer than the West Indies or the Brazils had been supposed to be their destination. He touched on Ireland and co-operation with Russia; but admitted that a union with her alone was not sufficient for successful opposition against France. He gave a negative to the motion. Mr. Grey replied. For the motion 110, against it 261. Majority 151.

On the following day Mr. Fox, his majesty's message being under discussion, again gave his opinion as to the continental alliances which it might be prudent to form. It seemed to be the prevailing opinion, that to engage with Russia alone would make our situation more difficult than at present, unless Prussia or Austria could be included in the confederacy. Without a sure prospect of efficient co-operation, he should feel unhappy if he were to suffer this vote to pass without entering his protest against it. No man could tell what would be the issue of war; but when they looked to the past, what rational hope was there that a war begun as the late one could be successful? Was it intended that at the present season of the year, when Austria was unprepared, any operations should be undertaken, or that only every thing should be arranged for war in the next spring? If Austria were to move, and the consequences, as probably they would, be disastrous, what would become of our hope of continental connections? What of the liberties of Europe? What of the prospect of setting limits to the power of France? Had we remained at peace, as he wished we had, and Austria, Russia, or Prussia had applied to us for assistance, no man would be more ready than himself to grant it. But when we had dashed singly into the war, for the purpose, as had been said, of rousing the powers of Europe by our example, which example we could exhibit in the case of an invasion, that put the question on a different footing.—The character of the British government in Europe, unfortunately, was, that it was actuated by selfish motives in instigating the continent to war for British interests. He hoped the opinion was false: but if we were to instigate to war, whilst

the continental powers themselves wished to be at peace, it would alienate them wholly from us.—Austria, if she embarked alone in the war, would be driven to conclude a treaty like that of Leoben and Luneville; or, being bound by treaty to Russia and England, would suffer herself, which could not be expected, to perish. In either case the danger to Europe would be fearful. It would be highly indiscreet in us to form an alliance for the purpose of continental war with Russia and Austria; and it would be still more indiscreet in Austria. If such an alliance could be formed with Russia, Austria, Prussia, and the other powers on the continent, as would gain their good will, without attempting to arouse them before their own interests, in their own view of them would call for their exertions; such an alliance would afford hopes that we might obtain reasonable grounds of peace. If terms of peace were to be proposed by us through Russia to France, let them, Mr. Fox said, be reasonable—such as Europe would think reasonable. Mr. Fox made some other remarks, and was followed by the chancellor of the exchequer, who expressed himself with much caution.—The communications between us and other powers, were not in such a state as to allow of publication. He allowed that the alliance of Russia alone would not furnish a sufficient support or co-operation. Mr. Fox observed in reply, that as far as he was informed of the state of Europe, he believed Austria might be allured by large subsidies into a war, but it would be at her extreme peril. He never meant to say it was unjust to excite Austria to war; he spoke only of the impolicy of doing so. He met no one so sanguine as to expect the aid of both Austria and Prussia; and if they were on opposite sides, we might lose as much on one as we should gain on the other. Perhaps after receiving our subsidies the two powers might think it proper to pair off. Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Bankes, and Mr. W. Smith, respectively made a few remarks. The question, "That there be granted to his majesty a sum not exceeding three millions five hundred thousand pounds," was then put and carried without a division.

On Friday, June the 28th, colonel Craufurd pressed the house to go into a committee on the state of the army. The speakers in favour of a committee were, the honourable mover and Mr. Windham.—Against it were, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Fuller, Sir J. Pultney, general Norton, Sir W. Erskine, Mr. S. Wortley, and the secretary at war.

The debate drew from the latter gentleman the following return, corrected up to the 1st of June, 1805.

On the 1st of Jan. the return was:

Cavalry - - -	21,223
Infantry - - - -	103,670
	124,893
Limited service - -	20,747
Disposable force - - -	104,146

On the 1st of June:

Cavalry - - -	21,760
Infantry - - - -	115,486
	137,246
Limited service - - -	17,865
Disposable force therefore	119,381

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The secretary at war condemned the plan suggested of recruiting for a term of years. Mr. Windham, before the house separated again, mentioned the case of captain Wright, and moved that the copies of any correspondence entered into with any foreign powers on the subject should be laid before the house. Sir Sydney Smith seconded the motion, which was agreed to.

On Friday, July the 12th, parliament was prorogued.

CHAPTER X.

State of Europe at the Commencement of the present Year—France—Holland—Spain—Portugal—Italy and Switzerland—Great Britain—Russia—Sweden—Austria—Prussia—Saxony, Hanover, Wirtemburg, Baden, and Bavaria—Denmark—Turkey—New Overtures from the French Government—Reply of the British Cabinet—Establishment of the New Kingdom of Italy—Settlement of the Crown of Italy—Negotiations between Great Britain and Russia—Conclusion of the Treaty of Concert—Its Objects—Unwillingness of Austria to become a Party to the Treaty—Increase of the Austrian Force on the Adige—Mission of M Novosiltzoff—Buonaparte's Arrival at Milan—His Coronation in the Cathedral of that City—Review of the French Armies in Italy—Union of the Republic of Genoa with the French Empire—Recall of M. Novosiltzoff—Effect of the Annexation of Genoa upon the Cabinet of Vienna—Austrian Preparations for War—Remonstrances of France—Offers of Mediation from Austria—Rejected by Buonaparte—Demands of the French Government—Interview between Count Cobentzel and the French Ambassador—March of the French Troops to the Rhine and to Franconia—Mission of the Prince of Schwartzenberg to the Elector of Bavaria—Entry of the Austrians into that Country, and Retreat of the Elector with his Army into Franconia—Fruitless Mission of the Austrian Minister, the Count de Buol, to the Elector—Meeting of the Conservative Senate—Speech of Buonaparte to that Assembly—Meeting of the Tribunate—Decree of the Senate for raising 80,000 Conscripts; another for embodying the National Guard—Declaration of the Cabinet of Vienna—Declaration of the French Government.

IT is now time to advert to the important events which occurred during this year upon the continent of Europe. The Republic of France, which had assumed so many different forms, which during a period of twelve years had fixed the attention, awakened the fears, and by its crimes excited the disgust and abhorrence of mankind, had at length expired, and a new empire arose from its ashes, founded solely upon the power of the sword. Europe, however, derived little advantage from this change. Buonaparte, whose authority was now almost unbounded, who, from a fortunate concurrence of events, seconded by his own extraordinary vigour and address, had attained the imperial dignity, was not disposed to remain satisfied with the tranquil enjoyment of power. He was still influenced by the same restless

restless and enterprising spirit which had marked every step in his singular career. His ambition was not of an ordinary character. The contemplation of his force, the recollection of what he had already achieved, led him to aim at something much beyond the scope of common minds. He was desirous, it is said, of being distinguished among the great names of history, as a conqueror and a legislator; as one who had determined the destinies of Europe, and imprinted a new form and character upon the nations of which it is composed. Nothing was allowed to interfere with the prosecution of this great object. He pursued his march with the most inflexible perseverence, equally regardless of the principles of justice, the obligation of treaties, and the interests and repose of the people, whom the inscrutable decrees of Providence had submitted to his sway. Unfortunately for the happiness and tranquillity of the world, his power and the talents by which it was directed were correspondent to the magnitude of his designs. The cabinets of Europe observed with indignation and alarm the system which prevailed in his councils; but they were kept in awe by the contemplation of his force, and by the recollection of former disasters. He observed and profited from this general supineness and timidity, and advanced from one act of usurpation to another, without opposition and almost without complaint. But sufferance itself was at length exhausted; and a new coalition, rather prompted, however, by resentment, than founded upon cool calculation and sober policy, was formed. The sword was again drawn to reduce the power of France, and to provide for the security and the repose of Europe. The event was disastrous even beyond the measure of former calamity. A series of the most rapid and decisive successes humbled the power and broke the spirit of Austria: she saw the most valuable part of her dominions, and even her capital itself, in the possession of the enemy; and in less than three months from the commencement of the campaign, a peace was dictated upon the frontiers of Hungary, which confirmed the ascendant of France, and subjected the whole of the South of Europe to her control.

It may be proper, before we proceed to those events which we have undertaken to relate, to present the reader with a general sketch of the situation and dispositions of the different powers of Europe at the commencement of the present year. France will, of course, occupy a prominent situation in this review. It has already been observed, that her immense and increasing power had occasioned the utmost disquietude to the surrounding nations. Depending chiefly upon her agriculture and the natural resources of the country, she had soon, in a great degree, recovered from the convulsive shock of the revolution. The suspicious and selfish policy of the powers which had coalesced against her had united men of almost all parties in defence of their common country. More than twelve years of active warfare, and the complete destruction of her commerce, had given a military character to her whole population. Already were the fatal effects of this system severely felt; and it threatened speedily to subvert the general liberties and independence of Europe. Not only were the ambitious projects of Louis the Fourteenth, which had been suspended

pended during the subsequent weakness of the monarchy of France, now realised, but greatly exceeded; and the establishment of an empire as extensive as that of Charlemagne was a favourite object of pursuit, both with the government and the people. The union of all the powers of the state in one individual had increased the vigour of the nation, both in its foreign and internal operations. The activity, the boldness, and the military talents of its chief, insured a prompt and universal obedience to his will. He was endeared to the army by his victories and the brilliancy of his career; and the assumption of the imperial dignity, by enabling him to confer new honours upon his adherents and new rewards upon the soldiery, increased and confirmed its attachment. The military force of France amounted to upwards of 600,000 men; and this army, by the laws for the regulation of the conscription and the formation of the national guard, was capable of being augmented to almost any extent.

It is difficult to speak of the financial situation of France with much precision. During the progress of the revolution, a public bankruptcy had been frequently predicted; and if the complete destruction of the credit of the government, and its utter inability to fulfil its engagements, is to be regarded as a bankruptcy, it had as frequently occurred. It was also expected, and confidently foretold, that these embarrassments would lead to the reduction of the power of France and to the consequent re-establishment of the general security. Such was the opinion entertained, and such the language held, by many of those who, ignorant of the character of the French revolution, reasoned, without any accuracy of discrimination, from the effect produced by the decay of public credit upon old and established governments. It is not surprising that the event should have disappointed their hopes and confounded their predictions. The debility arising from pecuniary embarrassment was much more than counterbalanced by that activity and enthusiasm, by that spirit of enterprise and adventure, which were the natural consequences of this new order of society: and France, in the midst of her greatest difficulties, continued to extend and consolidate her power.

The usurpation of the supreme authority by Buonaparte was favourable to public credit, by increasing the general confidence in the stability of the government. The expedients, however, to which the state was compelled occasionally to have recourse, for the purpose of raising the necessary supplies, afforded a sufficient indication of the difficulties under which it laboured. It was pretended, indeed, that no extraordinary expenditure was occasioned by the prosecution of the war against England. But the heaviest contributions were extorted from the allies of France; and the taxes which were levied upon the people, when compared with their means of sustaining the burthen, were grievous and oppressive. The commerce of the country was annihilated: her manufactures were in a state of the extremest decay; and her public roads, though with some exceptions, had not recovered from the ruinous condition into which they had been suffered to fall during the disorders of the revolution. Even her agriculture, the great basis of the public strength, languished, from the

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effect of the conscription, and the general deficiency of capital. It is proper, however, to observe that a very different and much more flattering picture of the state of France is drawn in the report presented by the minister of the interior, Champagny, to the legislative assembly. Such, however, is the vague character, and such the general terms of this communication, that it affords little valuable or interesting information to the reader. According to former precedent, the writer expatiates upon the extension of the manufactures of France, and the improvement of her agriculture; upon the increase of her navy; the flourishing state of her establishments for the cultivation of knowledge and the arts; the progress of her public works, and the amended condition of her highways and bridges. But how favourable soever this review may appear, we may be allowed, without the affectation of any uncommon sagacity or depth of research, to doubt, whether a country avowedly destitute of commerce, and which has been so long engaged in the most extensive and burthensome wars, will be found upon inquiry to exhibit any extraordinary symptoms of internal prosperity and improvement.

Holland had long been the humble ally, or rather the abject vassal of France. She was of course involved in the war with Great Britain; and most of her colonies, which had been restored after the peace of Amiens, were again surrendered without resistance upon the first appearance of an hostile squadron. Some portion of her former commerce still remained: it was carried on through circuitous channels and under the protection of neutral flags; but these disadvantages were in some degree compensated by confirmed habits of œconomy and the extraordinary industry of her people. The country, however, was drained to support the credit, and to supply the necessities, of her powerful ally; the public spirit was depressed, and the nation exhibited but a faint image of its former prosperity. Her constitution had been formed under the direction of France; but it was found that a further change was necessary, and preparations were accordingly made for the introduction of a new system. The nature and spirit of her institutions were too republican; they were attended with inconvenience, since they afforded occasional opportunities for the constitutional expression of honest opinion. Towards the close of the last year, a severe and oppressive measure of finance had been proposed by the executive government. This project was considered in a secret committee of the legislative body, and it gave rise to an interesting and animated discussion. Two of the members, De Lange Wyngaarden and Van Hasselt, afterwards published the opinions which they delivered upon this occasion. They present a striking, perhaps, not an exaggerated picture of the public distress and embarrassment. "I do not doubt," said one of these members, "that the committee is convinced of the urgent necessities, and the extraordinary difficulties, of our situation. I do not even doubt that a complete anarchy, introduced under a constitutional form in the year 1801, places the state at this moment upon the verge of utter annihilation; and I am very certain that without the disinterested zeal and co-operation of individuals (true lovers of their country), all exertions to save it would long since

have been fruitless. Sensibly affected by the dismal state of our country, of a nation which appears to have freely made, but, alas, in vain, such unprecedented sacrifices for the establishment and the preservation of its liberty and independence, (and for no other end than to purchase at the expense of such enormous treasures, its entire destruction, and even its erasure from the list of powers) I find myself compelled, before I give my vote in a case where another great sacrifice is demanded from that nation, to ask whether the grounds for it do actually exist, and whether we can in conscience declare that it is impossible to save the country by any other means." The conduct of these members, in authorising the publication of their sentiments, gave great offence to the executive government. It was even made a subject of formal complaint to the legislative assembly. The message to that body confirms the account which has been already given of the distressed condition of the country. "We are convinced," say the directory, "that the extraordinary contributions with which the inhabitants of the republic have been for so many years, and still are loaded, are very heavy, and almost beyond endurance; but we know (and it cannot be denied) that a concurrence of the most fatal circumstances, and the consequences of the most disastrous wars, in which the state has been involved, have rendered them indispensably necessary." It does not, however, appear from the subsequent conduct of the legislative body, towards the members Wyngaarden and Hasselt, that that assembly participated in the indignation manifested upon this occasion by the executive government.

Spain had been compelled by her weakness to supply the pecuniary necessities of France; and this circumstance had contributed to involve her in a war with Great Britain. The internal state of that country is well and familiarly known. The people were sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty; her domestic revenues and resources had fallen gradually into decay, and the authority and dignity of the crown were almost wholly supported by the mines of the New World. The hostility of Spain was not accompanied with any terrors. Her army was ill paid and destitute of energy and spirit; her navy was without skill or discipline:—nothing remained but the wrecks of her former greatness. The government was distracted and weakened by the dissensions and factions of the nobility. The elevation of the prince of peace, the chief minister of the crown, had awakened the jealousy, his arrogant demeanor had excited the indignation, of the antient grandees of Spain. His authority, however, was supported by the influence of the French government, which ruled without control in the cabinet of Madrid. The minister in his turn was blindly devoted to the interests of France, and the language of that country with regard to the conduct and policy of Great Britain, was copied with closeness and servility by the government of Spain.—"When Europe shall understand her genuine interests (these are the terms of a proclamation addressed to the army), and every port upon the continent shall be closed against these intruders, then will our vengeance be complete; the insupportable

portable arrogance of these islanders will be humbled; they will be lost amidst the chaos of their own ruins, and will be recognised only as the violators of public right, and as the tyrants of the ocean."

The government of Portugal was equally feeble with that of Spain; but a greater degree of activity prevailed among the people. The nation was indebted for this advantage to its commercial connection with Great Britain. But the scantiness of the population of Portugal, and the narrow limits of her territory, a great proportion of which was mountainous and steril, rendered her domestic means extremely inconsiderable. Like Spain, she derived the greater part of her resources, from her colonies in America. Portugal had been frequently menaced by the armies of France, but several circumstances had contributed to her preservation. The attention of the French government had been occupied by more important objects of ambition; and she perhaps derived some degree of security from the apprehensions and the jealousy of the court of Madrid. Her neutrality was even beneficial to France, since Portugal in time of war afforded a convenient and safe channel to Spain for the importation of her treasures from the western world, an object of no slight importance to the interests of the French government. But she was principally indebted for her protection to the valuable colony of Brazil. It was easy to foresee, that if the armies of France were to over-run the kingdom of Portugal, this important possession would inevitably fall into the hands of Great Britain; and the French government was unwilling to commit an act of violence and injustice, which would contribute so materially to enrich and aggrandize its rival. Portugal had therefore been allowed to maintain her neutrality; but she was compelled to purchase from time to time the continuance of this indulgence by important pecuniary sacrifices.

Italy and Switzerland were equally with Holland subject to the control and dominion of France. Piedmont had been united to that country; and Buonaparte, in his character of president, exercised the supreme command over the Italian Republic. The pope was his creature and vassal; and a French army stationed in the Neapolitan dominions, under pretence of observing the motions of England and Russia, effectually maintained his authority in the South of Italy. The new government which had been imposed upon Switzerland, the severities exercised upon that occasion, and the utter inability of the people to resist their oppressors, secured the tranquillity and obedience of that injured and unfortunate country.

The treaty of Luneville had indeed specifically provided for the independence of the three Republics of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. But Buonaparte had refused to accede to the demand made by the court of Vienna, that the French armies should be withdrawn. The necessities of Austria compelled her to yield; and from this transaction it appears that at the very moment when Buonaparte consented to admit the independence of these states, he had resolved upon the continuance of their subjection.

Two years had elapsed since the renewal

renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France; but the war had not been hitherto signalized upon either side by any memorable event. Some valuable colonies had been captured by Great Britain; but the advantage of these acquisitions was much more than counterbalanced by the charges arising from the war. These charges were enormous. The national expenditure in the last year had amounted to upwards of seventy millions. But notwithstanding the pressure of the public burthens, the nation continued to advance in wealth and prosperity. Such was the effect of her industry, and such the extent of her commerce, that the whole world was tributary to her power. Her revenues were immense, and her financial means appeared to be almost inexhaustible. But in the prosecution of the war Great Britain laboured under one essential deficiency. So great was the drain from her population in consequence both of her extensive navy and the force requisite for the security of her colonies, that the amount of that part of the regular army which was destined for European service scarcely exceeded, notwithstanding the greatest exertions of government, 50,000 men; and it was evidently impossible, without the support of other powers, to undertake offensive operations against the continental dominions of France. But on the other hand, France, destitute of a navy, possessed no means of attacking Great Britain. The alarm of invasion had long ceased. The more the project was considered, the more difficulties appeared in the way of its execution. It was possible indeed that twenty or thirty thousand men might be thrown upon the shores of Great Britain; but to land such a force as would seriously endanger the island, appeared completely impracticable. Neither was the country without adequate means of defence. Although her regular army was too small for any hostile enterprise against the coast of France, it was yet sufficient, supported by the other descriptions of military force, for her own security.

Such was the posture of affairs when Mr. Pitt returned to power. While in opposition, he had loudly condemned the inactivity of ministers, and he felt the necessity therefore of signalizing his administration by some extraordinary effort. His attention was of course immediately directed to the continent; and he laboured to form a new league among the states of Europe against the power of France. The situation of the continent was favourable to the accomplishment of his design. Russia and Sweden were disgusted and irritated by the conduct of France; and Austria observed the measures of that government with jealousy and alarm. The negotiation was carried on with great activity through the medium of the court of St. Petersburgh. Russia entered into the measure with eagerness and zeal; but Austria, who was sensible that she had much more at stake than the other powers, was wavering and timid. It was hoped and expected, however, that the influence of the pecuniary means of Great Britain, the intreaties and remonstrances of Russia, and the continually increasing irritation arising from the measures of the French government, would, at no distant period, induce her to unite in the league.

The empire of Russia had for many years been constantly and rapidly increasing in influence and power.

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Her establishments upon the borders of the Euxine were prosperous and flourishing, and the population in that quarter of her dominions advanced with surprising rapidity. By the possession of the Ionian islands, she had completed the subjection of Turkey, and was ready to oppose any hostile designs which the French government might meditate against that country. Her armies, under the command of Suwarrow, had signalised themselves by repeated victories over the best troops and generals of France; while the subsequent disasters in Switzerland were justly ascribed to the selfish spirit and jealousy of Austria. The impression created by the events of the Italian campaign had indeed in some degree been impaired by the conduct of the Russians in Holland; but much was still expected from their numbers, steadiness, and discipline. The war in which the empire was engaged with Persia occupied but a small part of its force. The Russians had been recently victorious in several successive engagements; they had advanced almost to the gates of Tauris; and the Persian monarch, it was said, had determined to place himself at the head of his army in order to arrest their progress. The population of Russia, notwithstanding its immense extent, was estimated at little more than thirty millions. Her regular army consisted of about 500,000 men. The revenues of the emperor were not very considerable, but his finances were free from any great embarrassments. The navy of Russia had been created by the active genius of Peter; but the establishment was still in its infancy. No material change had taken place for several years, either in its force or character. Russia possessed an inexhaustible supply of the materials requisite for ship building; but she had few vessels employed in trade; and experience sufficiently proves that no exertion can long support a powerful navy without an extensive commercial marine.

The diplomatic intercourse between Russia and France had been for a considerable time suspended. The circumstances which led to the coolness between the two governments have been mentioned in the preceding volume;—the refusal of Buonaparte to execute the secret articles of the convention with Russia, and his extraordinary language and conduct to count Markow. But the resentment and hostility of the emperor Alexander were increased by the subsequent measures of the French government,—by its conduct with regard to the independent states of Germany,—by the atrocious murder of the duke D' Enghien, and by that spirit of unceasing encroachment and aggression by which she was actuated. It became necessary to make every exertion to reduce a power which a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances had rendered so formidable, and which, from the system with which it was administered, was productive of such monstrous abuses. Influenced by these dispositions, he entered, towards the close of the last year, into active negotiations with Great Britain, and every effort was made to induce the court of Vienna to co-operate with these powers for the attainment of the same object. It would be unjust to the character of the emperor Alexander, to assert that he was not sincerely anxious to provide some adequate security for the independence and

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tranquillity of Europe; it would be unjust to suppose that he would not have been willing to make great sacrifices, in the pursuit of so important and honourable a purpose: but as the motives of human action are seldom wholly unmixed; as the emperor had been insulted in the person of his ambassador; as these insults had been wantonly repeated, through the medium of the officical paper of the French government;—we may presume that his activity was quickened and his zeal stimulated upon this occasion by feelings of offended pride, and personal irritation and resentment.

The spirited conduct of Gustavus Adolphus, the young king of Sweden, had directed much of the public attention towards that country. Provoked at the indecent and insolent language of the government of France, he had recalled his minister, and had suspended all diplomatic intercourse with that country, before the emperor of Russia had resorted to the same measure. The resources however of Sweden were too inconsiderable to render her enmity formidable to France. The character of the people was indeed sufficiently warlike, and they were attached to the person of their sovereign; but the nation was poor, and had been little accustomed to the payment of burthensome impositions. Gustavus, however, was resolved not to remain inactive. He entered into negotiations both with Great Britain and Russia, and declared himself ready and eager to concur to the extent of his means in decisive measures of hostility against France. Accordingly, on the 3d of December in the last year, a preliminary and secret convention was concluded with Great Britain, in which it was agreed that a depôt for Hanoverian troops should be assigned in Swedish Pomerania, and that the British government should advance 60,000*l.*, in order to enable Sweden to provide more effectually for the defence of Stralsund.

At the same time negotiations were carried on between Great Britain and Sweden for a treaty of subsidy, which was to take effect in the event of the recommencement of hostilities upon the continent of Europe. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which these proceedings were conducted, they did not entirely escape the vigilance of the French government. Complaints were made to the court of Berlin; and that power, which considered itself as the guardian of the neutrality of the north of Germany, transmitted a formal remonstrance upon the subject to the court of Stockholm. "His majesty," said the Prussian minister in his official note upon this occasion, "cannot permit Swedish Pomerania to become either the scene of preparation or the actual theatre of war; and he does not conceal from the king of Sweden, that if he shall pursue offensive operations against France, his Prussian majesty will be obliged, though reluctantly, to take the most decisive measures with respect to that province, in order to guard against the disturbance of the system which he has adopted." This language and conduct on the part of Prussia excited the resentment of the king of Sweden. It produced no alteration, however, in his system of policy. He still adhered to his connection with Great Britain and Russia, and expected with impatience the moment when the accession of Austria might enable the allies to act with effect against France.

The pride of the house of Austria had been humbled by the disastrous events of the two wars in which she had been engaged with the republic of France. Her population and territory, however, had not suffered any material diminution. She had lost the provinces of Belgium, but she had acquired the rich and extensive territory of Venice, rendered more valuable by its contiguity to her other states, and the possession of which might at some future period give her a decided preponderance in Italy. The dominions of the emperor were of vast extent, comprehending, besides the lesser provinces, Hungary, Bohemia, the two Austrias, the Tyrol, and the recent acquisition of Venice. But these immense possessions were not held together by any general bond of union, or animated by any common principle of patriotism. Bohemia was divided by religious dissensions; and Hungary, attached to its antient constitution, regarded the measures of the imperial cabinet with jealousy and distrust. The government, through all its departments, was destitute of energy and vigour, and the court itself was distracted with dissensions and cabals. The preponderance of Prussia and France had greatly diminished the emperor's influence over the affairs of Germany. The strongest suspicions were entertained of the views and designs of the court of Berlin. It was evident that some important alteration would soon occur in the constitution of the Germanic body; and in order that the house of Austria might not, in consequence of this change, be deprived of the imperial dignity, which it had held for upwards of three centuries, it was judged prudent to annex the title to the sovereignty of the hereditary states. The finances of Austria were in a state of great disorder, and the credit of the government was at the lowest ebb. Even her armies, the pride of the imperial house, had been neglected; and it was evident that nothing but the operation of time, and the influence of a vigorous and œconomical administration, could enable her to repair her losses, and recover from her present weakness.

Prussia, at a very early period of the revolution, withdrew herself from the war against France. From that time it had been her constant policy to maintain a strict and scrupulous neutrality. What were the motives which led her to the adoption of this system it would be difficult with certainty to determine. It has been sometimes ascribed, and not without an appearance of reason, to the predominance of a French party in the cabinet of Berlin; sometimes to the peaceful and indolent character of the monarch, and sometimes to the expectation that, as the powers of Europe would exhaust themselves by successive wars, Prussia might profit from the general debility.—The more probable solution of the conduct of Prussia is to be found in her desire to possess the supreme control over the affairs of Germany. She regarded Austria, therefore, as her rival, and was secretly pleased with every circumstance which tended to weaken and degrade that power. It was true that France in the mean time was daily becoming more formidable; and such was the enterprising character of that nation, and such the restless spirit of its government, that every thing was to be apprehended from its ascendant. But as men are not easily prevailed upon to abandon an old and favourite

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line of policy, Prussia continued to adhere to the system which she had adopted. She had, besides, been too sedulously courted by France, and was too confident of her own power and resources, to entertain any apprehensions of danger from that quarter. Her situation was such as to encourage and confirm this opinion. A long interval of peace had proved extremely beneficial to the industry of the people, and the country wore the appearance of wealth and prosperity. The publice revenues were augmented, and the army was well-appointed, numerous, and formidable.

Of the other states of Germany, Saxony was disposed to act in subservience to Prussia; Hanover had been overrun by the troops of France, and general Bernadotte was stationed in that country with an army of 25,000 men. Wurtemburg and Baden, situated on the frontier of France, were kept in awe by the power of that country, and compelled to conform to her will. Bavaria, who both feared and hated Austria, and who had been favoured by Buonaparte in the settlement of the indemnities, was strongly inclined to unite herself to France.

Denmark had constantly endeavoured to maintain her neutrality; a policy recommended by her weakness, and by the exposed position of her dominions. She profited from the general calamity; the contests of the surrounding states had enabled her greatly to extend her commerce, and she saw new channels daily opening for the enterprise and exertion of her people.

The empire of Turkey, which had formerly been administered with so much vigour, and had created such alarm in Europe, had now arrived at the last stage of decrepitude and decay. Her armies, so often victorious over the veteran bands of Germany, were reduced to a mere rabble of disorderly troops, no less destitute of spirit than of discipline. Her revenues, the fruit of arbitrary exaction, were scanty and precarious. A furious rebellion raged almost in the heart of her dominions, while the distant provinces were a prey to the most cruel disorders. Egypt, Syria, Cyprus, Servia, and the adjacent territory, were in open revolt against the power of the sultan. The numbers of the insurgents daily increased; they approached even to the vicinity of Adrianople, and the highways were infested, and the country laid waste by their depredations. A formidable foreign power, which had long marked her out for destruction, hung upon the frontiers, observing all her movements, and eager for the moment to seize its prey.—The Porte was compelled to act in blind subservience to the will of Russia. She was forbidden to acknowledge the usurped title and authority of Buonaparte: it was in vain to remonstrate; and general Brune, the French ambassador, after many fruitless applications upon the subject, at length withdrew from Constantinople. The question was no longer whether Turkey should maintain her independence, but who should divide the spoils of her extensive empire.

One of the first measures adopted by Buonaparte, after his elevation to the imperial dignity, was to transmit new overtures to the British government. It had been a part of his regular system of policy, from the moment when he was first invested with the supreme power, to make the warmest professions of his love for peace. In the midst of the most unjustifiable aggres-

sions, when trampling upon the rights of independent states, he constantly affected to deplore the miseries of war, and reprobated the ambitious conduct and views of his enemies. The event of his pacific declarations and proposals he contemplated with carelessness and indifference. Whether in peace or war he aimed at the same objects, and pursued them with the same eagerness of ambition. The means alone were different; the end was uniform and constant. When this new communication was made to the king of Great Britain, the government was known to be engaged in an active correspondence with the courts of Russia and Sweden, and it was even supposed that a treaty of subsidy had been actually concluded with the latter power.—The cabinets of Berlin and Vienna, but particularly the latter, had reason to be dissatisfied and alarmed at the conduct of France. It was possible, therefore, that a new confederacy might be formed, and war again kindled on the continent of Europe: and as in all governments, even the most arbitrary, public opinion has some weight, it was of importance to persuade the people of France that the continuance of hostilities was to be ascribed entirely to the ambition of England. In the event of a new coalition, they would be disposed to co-operate more cordially with the state, and to submit with greater cheerfulness to the sacrifices which would be required of them, if they were satisfied of the moderate views and pacific spirit of their own government, and were led to believe, that instead of provoking war, it had been compelled to defend itself against the injustice and aggression of foreign powers.

The overtures of the French government were conveyed in the form of a letter, addressed by Buonaparte to his Britannic majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted upon his accession to the office of first consul, was chosen from an affectation of extraordinary frankness and candour, and from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets, and the perplexities and delays of form. After adverting to his recent elevation to the throne of France, he observed that the war was without an object, and that it was therefore impossible to foresee its termination.—"Peace," he continued, "is the wish of my heart; but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that satisfaction to your children: for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable to silence every passion, and to listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war which all my efforts shall not have been able to terminate? Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity: What can it hope from war?—To form a coalition among some powers of the continent?—The continent will remain tranquil: a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew intestine troubles?—The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances?—Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed. To

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take from France her colonies?—The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself!—Alas! what a melancholy prospect, that two nations should fight, merely for the sake of fighting.—The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing when the wish for reconciliation exists upon both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one that is dear to my heart.—I trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it."

There appeared no adequate reason to induce the British government to depart, upon this occasion, from the usual mode of communicating with foreign powers. It was evident, indeed, that the establishment of such a precedent might lead to much inconvenience. It had always been a part of the European system, and was founded upon just ideas of decorum, and of the importance of maintaining the dignity of the crown, that the sovereign should never communicate with foreign powers except through the medium of his ministers. Thus the individual honour of the prince was never pledged; and he was preserved from all personal recrimination and contest, the effect of which might have been to degrade the majesty of the throne in the opinion and esteem of the multitude. The answer to the overtures of Buonaparte was accordingly transmitted, by the British cabinet, through the secretary of state, lord Mulgrave, to the French minister for foreign affairs. It stated "that there was no object which his majesty had more at heart than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of peace, founded upon such a basis as might not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions. His majesty was persuaded that that end could only be attained by arrangements which might at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it was involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his majesty felt that it was impossible for him to answer more particularly the overture which had been made to him, till he had time to communicate with the powers of the continent, with whom he was engaged in confidential connexions and relations, and especially with the emperor of Russia, who had given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he was animated, and the lively interest which he took in the safety and independence of the continent."

The establishment of the new empire of the French, and the elevation of Buonaparte to the imperial dignity, was followed by a correspondent alteration in the government of the Italian republic. Several considerations contributed to this change. It might, perhaps, be supposed, that the humble office of president was degrading to the majesty of the emperor. The administration of a monarchy was more simple, and required less delicacy of management than a republic, in which, however modelled, a striking

inconsistency must for ever appear between the forms of popular proceedings and the absolute authority of the chief. But above all it was a part of the policy and the ambition of Buonaparte, not merely to possess but to be enabled to transmit his power; and the establishment of the principle of hereditary succession, which seemed involved in the very idea of monarchy, was with difficulty reconcileable to a republic.

In order to prepare the way for the accomplishment of this object, it was observed that the constitution established at Lyons was a mere temporary arrangement, and designed only to answer an immediate exigency;—that it had always been intended that the system should be revised as soon as the situation of Europe and of Italy would permit. That period had at length arrived, and it was proper to take immediate measures for the accomplishment of this important object. The vice-president of the Italian republic, Melzi, the members of the consulta of state, and the deputies of the colleges, and the constituted bodies, had repaired to Paris for the purpose of attending at the imperial coronation. Buonaparte affected to consider this embassy as the legal representative and organ of the Italian republic. He therefore ordered the members to assemble for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of their government and laws, and directed them to suggest such alterations and improvements as the situation of the country might appear to require. After a decent interval of deliberation, it was determined, that the republican form of government was ill-calculated for the interest and happiness of the people of Italy; that it became requisite, therefore, as a preliminary measure, that it should give place to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, and that Buonaparte should be entreated to accept the sovereignty.

The members of the deputation requested to be admitted to a public audience, and this application was immediately granted. Upon the appointed day, Buonaparte, seated upon the imperial throne, and attended, according to the ceremonial of the new empire, gave orders for the admission of the Italian deputies. They were introduced by the grand master of the ceremonies; and the result of their labours was communicated in a studied oration by the vice-president Melzi. The topics were sufficiently obvious. The constitution of Lyons was merely provisional, and a change had become necessary in order to insure the repose and the happiness of Italy. The subject had been maturely and anxiously considered. The superior advantages of a constitutional monarchy were established, as well by experience as by the deductions of reason. The sovereign himself was designated by every sentiment of gratitude, of confidence, and affection. "Deign then, sire," said the orator, "deign to perfect this wish of the assembly, over which I have the honour to preside. The interpreter of all the sentiments which animate the hearts of the Italian citizens, it brings to you in this wish the most sincere homage. It will report to them with joy, that in accepting it you will have doubled the strength of the ties which bind you to the preservation, the defence, and the prosperity of the Italian empire. Yes, sire, you wished that the Italian republic should exist, and it has existed.

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Wish that the Italian monarchy should be happy, and it shall be so." Buonaparte was easily prevailed upon to yield to the wishes and entreaties of the citizens of Italy. After a short pause, he replied to the address of the vice-president. He reminded the deputies that to him their country was indebted for the original establishment of its independence; and he expatiated upon the interest which he had always taken in the welfare of the republic. "When at Lyons," he added, "you deemed it for your interest that we should be at the head of your government; and still persevering in the same opinion, you now will that we should be the first of your kings. The separation of the crowns of France and Italy, which might be advantageous to insure the independence of your posterity, would at the present moment be fatal to your existence and tranquillity. I shall keep this crown, but only so long as your interest shall require it; and I shall with pleasure see the moment arrive when I can place it on the head of a younger person, animated by my spirit, and equally anxious to provide for your security and happiness." The joint resolutions of the consulta, the deputies of the colleges, and the constituted bodies were then read by Melzi, and adopted by Buonaparte. It was stipulated that the throne of Italy should be hereditary in the male line, both natural and adopted, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their issue; and that the right of adoption should not extend to any other person than a citizen of the French empire, or of the republic of Italy: that the crown of Italy should not be united to that of France, except upon the head of the present emperor, and that none of his successors should be allowed to reign in Italy unless they resided upon the territory of the Italian republic; that Buonaparte should have the right of giving himself, during his life, a successor among his legitimate male children, whether begotten or adopted; but that he could not exercise this right without endangering the security of the state as long as the French troops continued to occupy the kingdom of Naples, as long as the Russian armies retained possession of Corfu, as long as the British forces held Malta, and the peninsula of Italy was every instant in danger of becoming the theatre of war between the greatest powers of Europe.

It must be evident that this solemn farce was prepared, and the parts assigned to the several performers under the immediate direction of the French government. The whole proceeding is too much in the style of coarse and vulgar policy to impose even upon the most careless observer. It would appear, indeed, as if Buonaparte had scarcely condescended to attempt concealing the real nature of the transaction. The motives also which led to the limitations in the descent of the crown, and to the hope which was held out that Buonaparte might at some future period be induced to resign the sceptre, are sufficiently clear and intelligible. The separation of the two governments had been stipulated at the pacification of Luneville, and it was a part of the policy of the French cabinet to profess upon all occasions a religious respect for the obligation of treaties. The continuance of the war, however, afforded a pretext for the temporary union of the two crowns; Europe, in the mean time, would

become gradually accustomed to this state of things; and before the termination of the contest some other excuse, equally satisfactory and valid, might be found to justify the permanent establishment of the system. Buonaparte had also an opportunity of making a signal display of his moderation, in declining to accept in its full extent the offer made by the Italian deputies; and a specious answer was furnished, by the terms of this settlement, to those who might object, that by placing the crown upon his head, Italy would become a mere province of France, and her national independence be for ever annihilated.

While Buonaparte was engaged in the execution of these schemes of grandeur and ambition, the attention of the British cabinet was anxiously directed to the negotiations at St. Petersburgh. At length, on the 11th of April, a treaty of concert was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, in which the two governments agreed to adopt the most efficacious means for forming a general league of the states of Europe, to be directed against the power of France. The objects of this league were undoubtedly of great importance to the general welfare of Europe; but it would be impossible, after having witnessed the events of the last ten years, to forbear smiling at the sanguine spirit by which they were dictated. These objects were stated to be:—First, The evacuation of the country of Hanover and the North of Germany.—Secondly, The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland.—Thirdly, The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large an augmentation of territory as circumstances would admit.—Fourthly, The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces.—Fifthly, The establishment of an order of things in Europe, which might effectually guaranty the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpation.

That the cabinets of Great Britain and Russia should have so far deluded themselves, that they should have profited so little from former experience, as to have united in a league for such objects, would appear almost incredible, if the treaty itself did not bear testimony to the fact. It must have been evident, upon the slightest consideration, that nothing but a series of the most extraordinary successes, that nothing indeed short of the complete humiliation of France, could possibly have led to the accomplishment of a scheme so extravagant and visionary. For the prosecution of the great objects of this treaty, it was proposed by the first article that an army of five hundred thousand men should be levied; but in a subsequent separate article the contracting parties, after observing that it was more desirable than easy to assemble so large a force, agreed that the treaty should be carried into execution as soon as it should be possible to oppose to France an active force amounting to 400,000 men. It was understood and stipulated that these troops should be provided by the powers of the continent who should become parties to the league, and subsidies should be granted by Great Britain in the proportion of 1,250,000*l.* sterling for every 100,000 men, besides a considera-

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ble additional sum for the necessary expense occasioned in bringing them into the field.

Austria, from the very commencement of the negotiation, had been solicited to become a party to this concert. The treaty was indeed evidently framed upon the supposition that the emperor would be induced to join the confederates; since, without his co-operation (for no hopes were entertained of Prussia), it was manifest that the objects of the league could never be attained. Instructed, however, and rendered cautious by former disasters, he felt the utmost reluctance to engage in a new alliance against France. Equally interested, and equally anxious, either with Russia or Great Britain, to restrain the power of that country, he yet foresaw the difficulties with which, in the present situation of Europe, such an attempt would be attended. He recollected (it was indeed impossible that he should forget) the fatal issue of the two last wars; it was evident, that at the commencement of hostilities Austria would be obliged to rely solely upon her own resources; and if the arms and the efforts of the allies should eventually prove unsuccessful, her territories would become a prey to the ambition and rapacity of France; while the other confederates, from the advantages of their situation, would sustain but little comparative injury. He felt, too, that neither the armies nor the finances of his empire were in such a condition as to enable him to make exertions correspondent to the greatness and importance of the contest. In a memorial drawn up under the direction of the cabinet of Vienna, some time subsequent to the period to which we are now adverting, it is observed, after a particular examination of the relative force of France and the allies, that, "considering the estimate which had been made, and the advantages which France enjoyed in her geographical situation, whether for defence or aggression, the maintenance of peace till a more favourable juncture should arise, seemed to be infinitely desirable." It is impossible to condemn the anxiety and caution displayed by the emperor in the progress of this negotiation. It is difficult indeed not to feel surprised that he should ever have been induced to depart from those pacific counsels, which the situation of his dominions at that period seemed to render not only prudent but necessary. Notwithstanding this disposition, however, the courts of St. James and St. Petersburgh still entertained hopes that the emperor would at length join the league, either induced by their solicitations and promises, or perhaps impelled by new acts of insult and aggression on the part of the enemy. In order, however, to hasten his determination, a separate article was added to the treaty of concert, by which it was provided that Great Britain should pay to Austria the stipulated subsidy, in the event only of her forces being brought to act against France within the period of four months. But as this step had been taken solely for the purpose of quickening the emperor, by leading him to suppose that if he should delay his co-operation he might forfeit the pecuniary aid of Great Britain, a secret article was at the same time signed with Russia, by which it was agreed that the promised assistance should be granted to Austria, if her armies took the field before the close of the year. The policy pursued

sued by Buonaparte promoted the views and objects of the allied courts. The assumption of the crown of Italy in direct opposition to the provisions of the treaty of Luneville, and the increase of the French armies in that country, excited the resentment and awakened the jealousy of the emperor. As a measure of precaution, and in order to guard against surprise, a proportionate augmentation of the Austrian troops became necessary. It was pretended, for the purpose of avoiding explanations, which in the present disposition of the two governments might have been productive of much mutual irritation, that this measure was adopted solely in consequence of the dangerous epidemical disorder which had appeared in several parts of Italy; that prudence required the establishment of an extensive cordon, in order to prevent the introduction of this distemper into the Austrian dominions.

In the mean time, while Austria, apprehensive of the consequences of a new war with France, appeared unwilling to become a party to the league, Russia resolved to send an ambassador to Paris, for the purpose of ascertaining how far the objects of the treaty of concert might be accomplished by negotiation, and of allaying those suspicions which her continued intercourse with Great Britain had excited in the French government.

M. Novosiltzoff, the great chamberlain of the emperor, was accordingly directed to repair to Berlin, and to apply, through the mediation of the government of Prussia, for passports to the French ambassador resident at that court. This application was communicated to Buonaparte, who was then at Milan, and orders were issued that the passports should be immediately delivered.

The object of Buonaparte's journey to Italy was to assume with the requisite solemnities the crown of his new kingdom. The ceremony was performed on the 26th of May, in the cathedral church of Milan, by cardinal Caprara the archbishop of that city, who was authorised by the pope to preside upon this occasion. In the preparations for this grand spectacle, a suitable and prudent attention had been paid to the influence of external splendour, and to the weight derived from the authority of religion, and the veneration paid to antient and established forms. Buonaparte, wearing the two diadems of France and Italy, bearing the sceptre and the hand of justice, and clothed with the royal mantle, proceeded in the midst of a magnificent and solemn procession from the palace to the cathedral. He was met at the entrance of the church by the cardinal and the clergy, and the air was perfumed with the incense which was burnt in the presence of their new sovereign. "Sire," said the cardinal, addressing Buonaparte, "deign to accept in this sacred temple, chosen by your majesty for the solemn ceremony of your coronation, the homage of the clergy and people of Milan; and look with the eyes of a tender father upon the assembly of cardinal, bishops, and clergy, who this day unite with me to celebrate that august event, and to implore the Author of all good to shower down upon your imperial and royal person an abundance of all heavenly blessings." Buonaparte was then introduced to the sanctuary, and conducted to a throne which was decorated with the insignia of the

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French empire and of the kingdom of Italy. The insignia of Charlemagne were placed at the entrance of the sanctuary in front of the altar. Upon this altar the royal ornaments were then deposited, and the cardinal pronounced over them his solemn benediction. Buonaparte, advancing from his throne, received from the hand of the cardinal the ring, and other ensigns of royalty. He then ascended the steps of the altar, and taking in his hand the crown of iron, the antient crown of the kings of Lombardy, he placed it with a determined air upon his head, pronouncing at the same time with a firm voice these emphatical words, "Dieu me la donne, gare à qui la touche." He then returned it to the altar; and taking the crown of Italy placed it in like manner, amidst the acclamations of the spectators, upon his head. From the sanctuary Buonaparte, proceeding to the body of the church, ascended the throne which had been raised for this occasion, attended by the great officers of state, and surrounded with all the ensigns of power, and with every circumstance of studied magnificence and pomp. The grand almoner upon his knee presented the volume of the gospels, and the oath of coronation was delivered by the president of the councils. Buonaparte having pronounced the oath, a herald immediately proclaimed in a loud voice, "Napoleon, emperor of the French and king of Italy, is crowned and enthroned.—Long live the emperor and king!" In the same instant all the attendants repeated, "Long live the emperor and king!" and the church resounded with the shouts and applause of the multitude. The ceremony was concluded with a Te Deum, and the procession returned to the palace.

But Buonaparte did not suffer himself to be entirely engrossed by these vain spectacles. He availed himself of the opportunity offered by this journey, to examine the state of the fortifications of Italy, and to inspect the troops, both French and Italians, stationed in that country. Two immense camps were formed; the one in the vicinity of Castiglione, a town in the Mantuan territory, the other in the celebrated plain of Marengo. Buonaparte repaired successively to each of these stations, and the troops performed their manœuvres under the eye of their sovereign. He commended their discipline, and encouraged it by rewards and promises. He reminded the army of its former victories; and by all the usual arts, accompanied with a judicious mixture of condescension and authority, secured the attachment and confirmed the respect and confidence of his troops. These military spectacles were conducted with every circumstance of ostentation. The principal and evident object of Buonaparte was to convince the emperor, of whose disposition he had reason to be jealous, that he was prepared effectually to oppose any hostile attempt which might be made upon his new kingdom of Italy.

While Buonaparte was employed at Milan in settling the constitution and civil code of his new kingdom, his agents were actively engaged in another quarter in preparing the way for a fresh act of usurpation. The republic of Genoa, notwithstanding the narrow limits of its territory, had occupied a distinguished place in the history of modern Europe. It was indebted for this celebrity partly to accidental

accidental causes, and partly to the advantages of its situation and the enterprising spirit of its people. The various revolutions of this republic, its alternate state of freedom and of subjection to foreign influence, are familiarly known. The period, however, had at length arrived when even the forms of national independence were to terminate; and the republic was destined to be absorbed and lost in the immense and overwhelming mass of the French empire. The disastrous events which resulted from this revolution, the war of which it appears to have been the immediate occasion, and the fatal issue of that war, not merely to the greatness of the house of Austria, but to the general liberties of Europe, will render it an event for ever memorable in the history of mankind.

The foundations of this measure were laid several months before Buonaparte's journey to Italy. Under pretence that the Genoese were incapable of protecting themselves from the depredations of the Barbary powers, a treaty was concluded on the 20th of Oct. 1804, between that republic and Salicetti, the French minister, upon the part and in the name of his government. By this treaty Buonaparte engaged either to procure for the Genoese a peace with the corsairs of Africa, or to allow them to make use of the French flag for the security of their commerce. It was stipulated also, that upon payment of a small duty the importation of all Genoese commodities should be permitted into Piedmont and the territories of Parma and Placentia.—As an equivalent for these advantages, Genoa engaged to furnish 6000 seamen to France during the war. By another article she ceded to that power her harbours, together with the arsenal, galley-harbour, dock-yard, and basin, and engaged at her own expense to enlarge the latter, so as to render it capable of receiving ten ships of the line, which she undertook to build for France.

At the time when this convention was signed, a ship of the line, a frigate, and two corvettes recently finished, were lying in the dock of Genoa. It was further agreed that these vessels should be placed at the disposal of the French government. By the provisions of this treaty, which were evidently dictated by Buonaparte himself, he acquired complete possession of all the naval means and resources of the Genoese republic.

But this arrangement was from its nature merely temporary. Buonaparte was resolved that it should assume a more permanent character, —he was resolved to possess the form as well as the substance of power, and he determined therefore upon the permanent annexation of the republic to the French empire. The particular situation of the Genoese territories seems to have been a principal motive to this measure. That republic, extending along the gulf to which it has given its name, was interposed between Piedmont and the Mediterranean; and as this latter country had been united to France, the incorporation of Genoa became necessary in order to complete the arrangement.

The line of policy to be pursued upon this occasion was extremely simple. It was convenient that some decent attention should be paid to the form of the proceedings, and that at least some appearance of moderation should be assumed. It was accordingly determined that the proposal for the union should originate with the se-

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nate and the people of Genoa, and that Buonaparte should seem to accede to the general wishes and entreaties of the republic. Accordingly the requisite precautions having been adopted, and the minds of the people sufficiently prepared for the event, the senate after due deliberation resolved that an address should be presented to Buonaparte, praying that he would allow the republic of Genoa to be permanently united to the French empire. This address was signed not only by the members of the senate, but by many individuals who had been either overawed or gained to the French interest; and it was ordered that an embassy consisting of the doge and the deputies of the senate and people should proceed to Milan for the purpose of presenting it to the emperor. Upon their arrival in that city they publicly unfolded the object of their mission. Buonaparte was not inexorable. He listened with attention and with favour; and afterwards addressed the doge and the deputies in a laboured speech, in which he enlarged with becoming gravity upon the importance and the necessity of this union to the republic of Genoa. After adverting to the depredations committed upon the trade of the republic by the Barbary powers, and to the maritime tyranny exercised by Great Britain, he observed that "when a commercial nation could no longer maintain its naval independence, it became necessary to resort to the protection of a more powerful flag. "I will," added he, "realize your expectations. I will unite you to my great people. I shall thereby acquire additional means of rendering that protection more powerful, which I have been always so well disposed to extend to you. My people will with pleasure receive you. The signatures of all your citizens subscribed to the request which you now make to me dispel every objection which I might have had to urge They constitute the only right which I consider as legitimate. In causing that law to be respected, I shall only establish the independence which I have promised you." This extraordinary transaction was immediately communicated to the different courts of Europe, and excited in every quarter the liveliest feelings of indignation. The emperor Alexander in particular was incensed at this new outrage. Such an open violation of those principles which were justly regarded as essential to the general safety, committed not only during the peace of the continent, but when passports had been delivered to his ambassador, in order that a negotiation might be commenced for the purpose of providing for the permanent security and repose of Europe, he considered as an indecent insult to his person and crown. He issued immediate orders for the recall of M. Novosiltzoff; and the messenger dispatched upon this occasion was commanded to repair with the utmost diligence to Berlin. M. Novosiltzoff had not yet left that city; he immediately therefore returned his passports to the Prussian minister of state, baron de Hardenberg, and at the same time delivered by order of his court a memorial explanatory of the object of his mission and of the circumstances which had led to its termination.

It stated that "the emperor had in compliance with the wishes of his Britannic majesty sent his ambassador to Buonaparte, to meet the pacific overtures which he had made to the court of London: that the

the existing disagreement between Russia and France might have placed insurmountable obstacles in the way of a negotiation for peace by a Russian minister; but that his imperial majesty of Russia did not for a moment hesitate to pass over all personal displeasure and all the usual formalities: that he had declared he would only receive the passports upon condition that his minister should enter directly upon a negotiation with the chief of the French government, without acknowledging the new title which he had assumed; and that Buonaparte should give explicit assurances that he was still animated by the same wish for a general peace which he had appeared to show in his letter to his Britannic majesty: that after his Prussian majesty had transmitted the positive answer of the court of the Thuilleries, that it persevered in the intention sincerely to lend its hand to a pacific negotiation, the emperor had accepted the passports: but that by a fresh transgression of the most solemn treaties the union of the Ligurian republic with France had been effected: that this event of itself, the circumstances which had accompanied it, the formalities which had been employed to hasten the execution of it, the moment which had been chosen to carry the same into execution, had formed an aggregate which must terminate the sacrifices which the emperor would have made at the pressing request of Great Britain, and in the hope of restoring tranquillity to Europe by the means of negotiation."

But the most important effect resulting from the annexation of Genoa was the impression which it appears to have made upon the cabinet of Vienna. Notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Russia, and the immense pecuniary offers made by Great Britain, Austria had hitherto refused to accede to the treaty of concert. She had acquiesced in the assumption of the crown of Italy; she had even, it is said, directed her ambassador to congratulate Buonaparte upon that event. But this last act of usurpation, combined with the formidable military attitude which France had assumed in the north of Italy, convinced her that nothing was to be hoped from pacific councils. Urged therefore by the remonstrances of the allies, and impelled by the strongest feelings of resentment and desperation, she abandoned her former cautious system of policy, and consented to become a party to the league.

The cabinet of Vienna was deeply impressed with the importance of the impending contest, and with the necessity of making exertions correspondent to this great emergency. Her armies were therefore diligently recruited, and large reinforcements were sent to Italy and the Tyrol; military works were constructed upon the territory of Venice; and the details of the march and co-operation of the Russian troops were concerted with the baron de Wintzingerode, who had been deputed for that purpose by the court of St. Petersburgh. It was impossible that these indications of a hostile design could escape the observation and vigilance of the French government. Every movement was distinctly noted; and accordingly the strongest remonstrances were made both by M. Rochefoucault the French minister at Vienna, and by M. Talleyrand himself to the Austrian ambassador at Paris. The court of Vienna in reply to these complaints observed

that

that the measures which had been pursued were merely precautionary; that the increase of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Italy was occasioned by the augmentation of the French force in that country; that the government of France was the less entitled to complain of the conduct of the emperor in this particular, since his armies were stationed within the limits of his own dominions, whereas those of France were assembled in a foreign and independent state; and lastly, that it was the emperor's firm determination to adopt such a system as might be requisite to support the honour of his crown and to insure the safety of his dominions.

But notwithstanding the military preparations of Austria, and the determined tone in which she vindicated her conduct in reply to the complaints and remonstrances of France, she was still desirous of making another attempt, in opposition as it appears to the opinion and the wish of the allies, to obtain the great objects of the confederacy rather by negotiation than by arms. The Austrian minister at Paris was accordingly directed to deliver in the name of the emperor a declaration, in which the courts of the Thuilleries and St. Petersburgh were invited to renew the negotiation which had so abruptly terminated in consequence of the change which had taken place with respect to Genoa. The emperor at the same time declared his readiness to concur in re-establishing the peace of Europe, and expressed his conviction that the court of Berlin would cheerfully contribute to the attainment of the same desirable object.

Buonaparte was at this time at Boulogne, apparently occupied with the preparations destined for the descent upon England. The declaration of the cabinet of Vienna was accordingly transmitted to that place, and after a short interval an answer was presented by M. Talleyrand to the Austrian minister. Buonaparte rejected the proposed mediation. It was impossible in the present situation of affairs that it could lead to a favourable result. He complained in the bitterest terms of the conduct both of Great Britain and Russia. The former power would never submit to make peace with France, while a hope remained of engaging Austria in the war. But if the cabinet of Vienna would imitate the conduct of Prussia, and declare its resolution to maintain a strict neutrality, Great Britain would then be compelled to revert to the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens; the peace of Europe would be established; and the restoration of general tranquillity would lead to the immediate separation of the two crowns of France and Italy, in conformity with the engagement which Buonaparte had made, and which he took that occasion formally to renew. His army in Italy, it was observed, amounted only to 50,000 men, and of these 15,000 were stationed at the extremity of the peninsula, while the number of Austrian troops in that country exceeded 70,000. If the cabinet of Vienna were sincerely desirous of peace, it would lessen this force; it would immediately withdraw the army assembled in the Tyrol; it would cease to form magazines, and discontinue the construction of field-works in the territory of Venice. "The most efficacious mediation for peace that Austria can employ, is to observe a perfect neutrality; not to arm, not to compel France to make any

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diversion, not to leave England the least hope of seducing her into the war."

Two days after the date of this note, a second communication, nearly to the same effect but expressed in a more peremptory style, was addressed by M. Talleyrand to the Austrian ambassador. He demanded in the name of his master an immediate and categorical explanation of the hostile dispositions and movements in the dominions of the emperor. He further required, that the twenty-one regiments which had been recently sent into the German and Italian Tyrol should be withdrawn; that the construction of the field-works should be suspended; and that the troops in Styria and Carinthia, in Carniola, Friuli, and the Venetian territory, should be reduced to their ordinary establishment. Lastly, he insisted that the court of Vienna should make known to England its resolution to maintain the most strict and scrupulous neutrality. If Austria should refuse to comply with these demands, if she should delay her answer, or return an evasive reply, such conduct would be considered as amounting to a declaration of war: Buonaparte would feel himself called upon to take immediate measures for the security of his dominions; for he would not commit so great an oversight as to allow his enemies the opportunity of uniting their forces against him.

Whatever hopes might have been before entertained, it was evident, from the spirit in which this note was dictated, and the unbounded pretensions of the French government, that war could no longer be avoided. The court of Vienna had advanced too far to recede; and accordingly every exertion was now made to prepare for the contest. An order was issued upon the 28th of August to place the army upon the war establishment. As soon as the French ambassador M. Rochefoucault, who still remained at Vienna, was apprised of this measure, he demanded an audience of the vice-chancellor. He entered the minister's apartment with the order in his hand:—"You wish then for war," said the Frenchman in an impatient and angry tone: "Well then, you shall have it;" and after a conference which was conducted upon both sides with much warmth he abruptly quitted the cabinet.

While these transactions were passing in Germany, Buonaparte did not allow himself to remain inactive. The hostile dispositions and intentions of Austria were sufficiently manifest, and he had already declared to the emperor that he would not delay his operations till the arrival of the Russians. Accordingly, towards the close of the month of August, while he was still at Boulogne he issued orders for the march of the army from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to general Marmont, who commanded the army in Holland; and marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. The necessary arrangements being made to hasten the march of the troops, Buonaparte immediately quitted Boulogne and repaired to Paris.

It was of importance to the allies immediately to ascertain what conduct the elector of Bavaria intended to pursue in the impending war. According to the plan which had been adopted for the opening of the campaign, it was determined that

the Austrian army should take a position upon the river Lech, and there wait for the arrival of the Russians. For this purpose it was necessary to traverse the whole of the electorate; and the friendly disposition and co-operation of that government, whose force was estimated at about twenty thousand men, would essentially contribute to the security and strength of the Austrian army. But the court of Vienna was jealous of the inclinations and suspicious of the designs of the elector. It was sensible of the influence which Buonaparte had acquired over the councils of that prince, in consequence of the benefits which he had conferred upon him in the settlement of the indemnities. Another circumstance contributed to increase the suspicions of the Austrian cabinet. The electoral prince was at that time in France, a hostage in the hands of the enemy, to secure the adherence and friendship of his father. It was determined therefore to anticipate the supposed designs of the elector, to call upon him for an immediate decision, and to endeavour, while the French army was still at a distance, to intimidate him into an union with the allies.

For this purpose the prince of Schwarzenberg was ordered to proceed to Munich, and to deliver to the elector of Bavaria a letter from the emperor, in which he was required immediately to join his army to that of Austria. The prince was further directed to state that the electoral troops could not be allowed to act in a separate body, but must be incorporated with the Austrians. This demand was accompanied with menaces in case of a refusal; and was rendered still more offensive, from the imperious tone and manner in which it was communicated. The elector, taken by surprise, was compelled to dissemble. He entreated in the most earnest manner to be allowed to maintain his neutrality; but at length affected to yield to the pressing remonstrances of the Austrian minister. He addressed a short note, couched in the most friendly terms, to the prince of Schwarzenberg, in which he promised upon certain conditions to sign the treaty proposed by the court of Vienna. On the following day, the 8th of September, he dispatched general Nogarolla with a letter to the emperor. "I have directed," said the elector, "my minister to sign this morning a treaty with the prince of Schwarzenberg, pursuant to which I shall join my troops to those of your imperial majesty." It was discovered, however, that the prince was not invested with powers to negotiate, and a further delay was thus obtained.

In the mean time intelligence was hourly received at Munich of the preparations made by the Austrians to enter Bavaria. It became necessary therefore to adopt decisive measures. Accordingly on the night of the 8th of September, which was the day upon which the treaty with Austria was to have been signed, orders were secretly issued to the different garrisons in Bavaria, and to the detachments of troops scattered through that country, to hasten by forced marches into the upper palatinate. The elector, accompanied by his court, suddenly withdrew to Wurtzburg, and the Austrian army entered Munich without opposition. The imperialists advanced towards the upper palatinate, both on the side of Bohemia and of Neuburg; and the elector,

alarmed at their approach, ordered his army to retire into the province of Franconia. The negotiation, however, still continued. The count de Buol, the Austrian minister at Munich, was directed to follow the elector to Wurtzburg, with new proposals from his government. The emperor was willing to allow the neutrality of the elector, upon condition, however, that he should immediately disband his army. This proposition being rejected, the minister consented on the part of his sovereign, that the elector should retain the troops of Swabia and Franconia, that the emperor's forces should evacuate Munich and a certain extent of country, including the castle of Nymphenburg, around that city; that no Austrian force should in future enter this district, which should be occupied by the troops of the elector, and appropriated for the residence of himself and his court. The elector, relying upon the assistance and support of France, rejected without hesitation these degrading proposals; and the count de Buol, despairing to obtain the object of his mission, suddenly withdrew from Wurtzburg, and returned to Munich. In the mean time the imperialists, having overrun the whole of Bavaria, which they treated almost as a conquered country, proceeded to make those dispositions which had been concerted for the commencement of the campaign.

As soon as intelligence was received at Paris that the Austrian army had entered the dominions of the elector of Bavaria, the senate was convened. Buonaparte repaired to the hall of that assembly, and ascended his throne, surrounded by the great officers of government, and all the state of his new empire. A long and elaborate memorial upon the reciprocal conduct of France and Austria, from the period of the treaty of Luneville, was read by the minister for foreign affairs. Buonaparte himself then addressed the senate.

"In the present circumstances of Europe, I have felt anxious," he said, "to come among you, and to make known to you my sentiments. I am going to quit my capital, and to place myself at the head of the army, in order to afford immediate assistance to my allies, and to defend the dearest interests of my people. The wishes of the eternal enemies of the continent are accomplished: hostilities are commenced in the heart of Germany: Austria and Russia have united themselves to England, and our age is again involved in all the calamities of war. A few days since I still hoped that peace would not be disturbed; menaces and outrages I disregarded; but the Austrian army has passed the Inn,—Munich is invaded—the elector of Bavaria is driven from his capital—all my hopes have vanished.—The malignant schemes of the enemies of the continent are this moment unveiled. The continued demonstration of my profound love of peace filled them with apprehension; they feared that Austria at the sight of the gulf which they had dug beneath her feet might return to sentiments of moderation and justice: they have precipitated her into the war. I shudder at the blood which it will cost to Europe; but the French name will derive from it a new lustre.—Senators, when at your desire, at the voice of the whole French nation, I placed upon my head the imperial crown, to you and to the country I engaged to preserve it pure.

pure and without blemish. My people have in all circumstances given me proofs of their confidence and their love. They will fly to the colours of their emperor and his army, which in a few days will have passed the frontiers.—Magistrates, soldiers, citizens, all are desirous of preserving their country from the influence of England, who, were she to prevail, would never grant us any but an ignominious peace; and the principal conditions of which would be, the burning of our fleets, the destruction of our harbours, and the annihilation of our industry. All the promises which I have made to the French people, I have fulfilled. The French people on their side have entered into no engagement with me which they have not more than performed. In this conjuncture, so important to their glory and to mine, they will continue to deserve the title of the great people, with which I saluted them in the midst of the field of battle. Frenchmen, your emperor will do his duty; my soldiers will perform theirs; you will fulfil yours."

A copy of this speech, and of the memorial which had been read to the senate by the minister for foreign affairs, was afterwards communicated in the usual form to the tribunate; and the orators of that body indulged themselves in pronouncing the most laboured and insipid invectives against the intrigues of England, the ambition of Russia, and the weakness and perfidy of the court of Vienna. But it would have been inconsistent with the character of Buonaparte to have suffered the attention of the senate to be wholly occupied by these ceremonies. Two important decrees were proposed; the one for the immediate levy of 30,000 conscripts, and the other for reorganizing and embodying the national guard, in order to secure the tranquillity of the country during the absence of the regular army. On the following day Buonaparte left Paris, and proceeded with the utmost rapidity to Strasburg.

In compliance with established custom, the courts of Vienna and the Thuilleries had made their several appeals to the opinion of Europe and an impartial posterity. It will be proper, before we enter upon the relation of the events of this memorable campaign, to state the principal points, whether of charge or of defence, which were insisted upon by the respective parties in this important dispute. The declaration of the court of Vienna bears date on the 3d of September. It was transmitted by the French government, in reply to M. Talleyrand's note, in which a categorical explanation had been required of the motives and object of the recent military preparations in the dominions of Austria.

It was alleged that France had infringed the treaty of Luneville in many of its most important provisions, and particularly in that article which stipulated and guarantied the independence of the republics of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, and assured to those countries the liberty of choosing their own government. That she had arrogated to herself a right of protection and influence founded neither upon the law of nations nor upon treaties. She spoke of the rights of victory after the peace which had annihilated those rights; —she employed force and terror to dictate laws to her neighbours, to oblige them to assimilate their constitutions to her own, or to wrest from them alliances, concessions,

acts of submission and of incorporation;—she pretended that her dignity was offended by well-founded representations, whilst her own publications attacked every sovereign in succession;—finally, she had erected herself into the sole arbitress of the fate and of the common interests of Europe, and aimed at excluding other powers from any share in the maintenance of the general tranquillity and equilibrium; some because they were too distant; others because an arm of the sea separated them from the continent; while she met the complaints of those powers which were nearest the danger with evasive answers, with the march of troops and menaces of war if they should assume a posture of defence.

His imperial majesty had fulfilled, with the extremest punctuality, the obligations of the treaty of Luneville, and upon the first departure of the French republic from the engagements of that treaty in its relation to the other republics, had displayed a spirit and temper of the utmost moderation. He had been willing to ascribe these changes to the necessity of securing from all external danger the execution of those plans which had been formed for the restoration of monarchical government in France; and it was hoped that the consolidation of the new empire of the French would speedily lead to a system of conduct compatible with the balance of power and the independence and safety of Europe.

These hopes, however, were soon discovered to be fallacious. New acts of encroachment were still meditated. Buonaparte had declared his intention of changing the constitution of the Italian republic, of converting the government into a monarchy, and of assuming the crown of the new kingdom. He had accompanied the communication of this design with threats and military preparations, which evinced his intention of resorting if necessary to force for the accomplishment of his object. His majesty did not take serious notice of this measure, because it was announced as a mere temporary arrangement; and he still cherished the hope, that upon the conclusion of a general peace the principle of separation and independence, which had been stipulated in the treaty, would, according to the assurances of the French government, be carried into complete execution.

The expectation which had been entertained of the near approach of that desirable event, in consequence of the overture made to his Britannic majesty, and the subsequent mission of an ambassador from the emperor of Russia, had suddenly vanished. At the very moment when the French government was sending to the Russian negotiator the passport demanded for his journey to France, fresh blows were struck, affecting the political existence of other independent states of Italy. The emperor Alexander, from that period, was obliged to consider his mediation as rejected. At the same time French armies were suddenly assembled in Italy, notwithstanding the promise that no armament should be made in that country. A camp of 30,000 men, collected in the plain of Marengo, was followed by another camp of 40,000, which was formed on the frontiers of the Tyrol and of the Venetian provinces of Austria.

His imperial majesty had thus found himself compelled to provide without delay for his own safety, and to adopt such measures as were

necessary

necessary for asserting his just rights, and maintaining the dignity of his empire. His majesty's first and only wish was to secure the permanent tranquillity of Europe; and he had accordingly invited the respective courts to renew the negotiation which had so abruptly terminated.

This interposition had been unexpectedly rejected by the French government, but was received with a favourable disposition on the part of the emperor of Russia. That monarch, however, was convinced of the necessity of a provisional armament, and had felt it therefore to be his duty to cause a part of his troops to advance for the purpose of conferring upon his mediation an importance and weight suitable to so great a potentate.

As a demonstration of the rectitude of the sentiments entertained by the two imperial courts, they were ready to enter into a negotiation with France for maintaining the peace of the continent on the most moderate terms compatible with the general tranquillity and safety. Whatever should be the issue of the negotiation,—should war become inevitable, they were mutually bound to each other to abstain from every attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of France, to disclaim all thoughts of altering the state of property and connections, as they were now legitimately established in the German empire, and to propose no assumption of the rights and interests of the Ottoman porte;—on the contrary, they were ready to defend, to the utmost of their means, the security and integrity of the Turkish dominions. Lastly, Great Britain had made a profession of sentiments perfectly analogous to theirs, and of a disposition equally moderate for the re-establishment of peace with France.

The French government, on the other hand, endeavoured to vindicate its own conduct, and to throw the odium of the war upon Austria. It complained, in its usual style of invective, of the pride, the avarice, and the ambition of England, and of her breach of faith with regard to the treaty of Amiens. The continent, however, was tranquil, and Buonaparte, relying upon his own pacific disposition and upon the obligation of treaties, had drawn his whole army to the sea coast, and was entirely occupied in the meditated descent upon England. The government of that country was alarmed at the danger with which it was menaced, and endeavoured to engage, at any price, the powers of the continent in a new war against France. For this purpose Great Britain had formed an union with Russia. But that power (such was the remoteness of its situation) was scarcely more connected with the system of the continent than herself:—Prussia was determined to support her neutrality; and the only hope, therefore, that remained, was centred in the court of Vienna.

Austria had been treated with almost unexampled indulgence at the pacifications of Campo Formio and Luneville; but she had been far from imitating, in a scrupulous adherence to her engagements, the honourable example of France.—The debt of Venice not only remained unsatisfied, but was pronounced to be extinguished. Justice was denied to the inhabitants of Milan and Mantua; and the court of Vienna constantly refused all payment, in defiance of its most solemn engagements. Notwithstanding the forms of peace, the

subjects of the French empire and of the kingdom of Italy experienced every obstruction in their commerce with the hereditary states. The greatest favour had been shown to Austria in the partition of the indemnities. She was still, however, unsatisfied, and endeavoured by menaces and by intrigue to induce the lesser princes to surrender such possessions as suited her convenience. It was thus that she had acquired Lindau, and the isle of Menau in the lake of Constance, which placed in her hands one of the keys of Switzerland. She had obtained, from the Teutonic order, Altkousen, which gave her the command of the important post of Rhinau. She had enlarged her territory by a multitude of other acquisitions, and she still meditated new encroachments. Under pretence of the right of escheat, which she had formally renounced by treaty, she appropriated to herself several of those possessions which in the partition of the indemnities had been assigned to other princes. She committed similar acts of injustice towards Switzerland, and sequestered in Bohemia the fiefs which belonged to a neighbouring prince, under the pretence of compensations due to the elector of Saltzburg, and of which she constituted herself the sole judge.—She insisted, even with menaces, upon maintaining her recruiting parties in Swabia and Franconia, and endeavoured by every means to impede the conscription for the electoral army. Since the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, Austria had upon more than one occasion manifested her partiality in favour of England; she had acknowledged the pretended right of blockade claimed by that power; and had suffered, without complaint, the neutrality of her flag to be violated, to the serious injury of France. All these facts were known to the French government; many of them excited its solicitude; they were just grounds for war. But such was the desire of Buonaparte to preserve peace, that he anxiously abstained even from remonstrance.

When he proceeded to Milan for the ceremony of his coronation, orders were issued that troops should be assembled and camps formed. It was his wish to increase the magnificence of the ceremony by the union of military pomp; he was desirous also (and the feeling was natural upon such an occasion) of meeting his companions in arms upon the theatre of their former triumphs. In order to prevent any anxiety on the part of Austria, he gave her every assurance of his pacific intentions.—He promised that after a few days the camps should be broken up, and the troops dispersed; and this engagement was punctually fulfilled. The reply of Austria was pacific and friendly; and Buonaparte quitted Italy with the persuasion that the peace of the continent would not be disturbed.

From Italy he repaired to Boulogne, to hasten the preparations, which were now almost complete, for the expedition against England. Scarcely had he arrived upon the coast before he was informed of extraordinary military movements in the dominions of Austria. Her armies were proceeding by forced marches to the Adige, the Tyrol, and the banks of the Inn. The agents of the government were employed in forming magazines, collecting horses, and manufacturing arms. Her engineers were fortifying Venice and the passes of the Tyrol. Astonished at these

proceedings,

proceedings, the French government complained and remonstrated. The answers of the court of Vienna contained the strongest assurances of its pacific intentions. Its designs, however, became every day more evident, its measures more dangerous and alarming. Under these circumstances Austria was required without delay to explain the motives of her conduct. She returned a tardy answer, in which she at length announced her union with the courts of London and St. Petersburgh, and her intention to admit a Russian force into her dominions. The French government, still desirous, if possible, of averting the evils of war, had prepared to transmit an answer to this communication, when intelligence was received of the invasion of Bavaria. It was evident that all further attempt at explanation was now become impossible. Nothing remained but an appeal to arms; it was the only course that could be pursued consistently with the honour of the French nation, and the reputation and character of its chief

CHAPTER XI.

Plan of the Campaign—Its Defects—Strength of the Austrian Army on the Adige—Departure of the Archduke Charles from Vienna—Strength of the French Army in Italy, under the Command of General Massena—Field-Marshal Mack, Commander of the Austrian Army in Germany—His Character—Position of the Austrians in Germany—A third Army in the Tyrol—Deviation from the original Plan of the Campaign—Buonaparte's Arrival at Strasburg—Passage of the Rhine—March of Bernadotte and Marmont to Wurtzburg—French Plan for the Campaign—Arrival of the French at Donawerth—March of the Combined Army of French and Bavarians from Wurtzburg to the Danube—Violation of the Neutral Territory of Anspach—Passage of the Danube by the French—Battles of Wertingen and Guntzburg—Reinforcements sent from the Italian Army—Battle of Albeck—Embarrassed Situation of the Austrians—Different Plans for the Rescue of the Army—General Jellachich detached to the Tyrol—Surrender of Memmingen to the French—Battle of Echlingen—The Austrians retire into Ulm—Retreat of Prince Ferdinand—Preparations for a general Assault—State of the Fortifications of Ulm—Violent Tempest—Destruction of the Bridges on the Danube—Conference between Buonaparte and Prince Lichtenstein—Capitulation of the Austrian Army—Marshal Lannes and Prince Murat proceed in Pursuit of Prince Ferdinand—Battle of Languenau—Capitulation of General Werneck at Nordlingen—Arrival of Prince Ferdinand in Bohemia—Second Convention between General Mack and the French—Activity and Policy of Buonaparte—Surrender of Ulm—Observations of Buonaparte to the Austrian Generals—Message to the Senate—Decrees of Buonaparte for the Reward of his Army—Occupation of the Austrian Possessions in Swabia—Alarm at Vienna—Proclamation of the Emperor—Arrival of

Marshal Bernadotte at Munich—Retreat of General Kienmayer—Disposition of the Bavarians—Auxiliary Force of Baden and Wurtemburg—Arrival of Buonaparte at Munich—His Reception—Plan for the further Prosecution of the Campaign—Passage of the Inn, and Capture of Braunau—Overtures for an Armistice from the Emperor of Germany—Retreat over the Danube by the Russians—Battle of Krems—Alarm at Vienna—Deputation to the French Camp—Arrival of the French at Vienna—Passage of the Danube at the Bridge of that City—Danger of the Russian Army—Provisional Government of Austria—Austrian Army on the Adige—Passage of the River by the French—Retreat of the Archduke Charles—Battle of Caldiero—Capitulation of General Hillinger's Column—Arrival of the Archduke at Laybach—Operations in the Tyrol—Surrender of Kuffstein—Of Scharnitz—Evacuation of the Tyrol by the Austrian Army—Proclamation of the Archduke John—Operations in the Voralberg—Capitulation of General Jellachich—Escape of a Part of the Wolfskehl Cavalry—Retreat of the Prince de Rohan—His Capitulation—Arrival of the Archduke Charles on the Frontiers of Hungary—Conduct of Prussia upon the Violation of the Neutrality of Anspach—Mission of Lord Harrowby to Berlin—Visit of the Emperor Alexander at that City—Mission of Count Haugwitz to the Head Quarters of the French Army—Delay of the Military Operations in the North of Germany—Error committed in the Employment of the combined Army in the Mediterranean—Treaty between France and Naples—Arrival of the Combined Squadron at Naples—Departure of the French Minister—Proclamation of the Court of Naples—Convention between Marshal Davoust and the Archduke Palatine for the Neutrality of Hungary—New Overtures from the Emperor of Austria—Mission of the Counts de Giulay and Stadion—Separation of the Austrians from the Division under General Kutusow—Perilous Situation of the Russian Army—Proposals from General Kutusow for a Capitulation—Convention concluded with Murat—Refusal of Buonaparte to ratify the Convention—Retreat of Kutusow to Znaim—Prince Pangration surrounded—Battle of Juntersdorff—Retreat of Prince Pangration and Junction with General Kutusow—Retreat of the Russians to Olmutz—Arrival of the two Emperors at Olmutz—Junction of General Kutusow with the second Division of Russians under General Buxhoeden—Hardships sustained by this Division upon its March to Moravia—Council of War assembled at Olmutz—Advance of the Combined Army to Wischaw—Mission of General Savary to the Russian Camp—His Report of the Temper and Spirit of the Russian Army—Stratagem of the French—Retreat of their Army—Mission of Prince Dolgorouki to the French Camp—Policy of Buonaparte—Battle of Austerlitz—Loss on the Part of the Allies—Armistice—Conferences between Buonaparte and Count Haugwitz at Brunn—Treaty with Prussia—Negotiations for a Peace between France and Austria—Treaty of Presburg—Departure of Buonaparte from Vienna.

PREVIOUSLY to the departure of M. Novosilzoff for Berlin, a plan of military operations, to be pursued if war should become inevitable, had been concerted between the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh. It was apparent from the distance of the Russian armies,

that Austria must rely solely upon her own strength in the commencement of the campaign, and the plan was accordingly formed upon this evident principle. It was requisite also to determine in what point the dominions of the enemy were the most assailable. To attempt to penetrate into France, either in the direction of Mentz, or through Alsace, appeared to be imprudent, if not altogether impracticable. It would be necessary in either of these cases to carry on a war of sieges; with a great consumption of men and money, and without the hope of making any immediate or decisive impression. The siege of Mentz would alone require an army of 50,000 men, and would consume nearly half a campaign. The number of troops employed in these operations would be so great as to render it difficult to provide a sufficient force to observe the motions of the enemy upon the upper Rhine. He would of course immediately avail himself of this advantage, and passing with a powerful army into Swabia would intercept the communications of the imperialists, and compel them suddenly to abandon all the objects of the campaign.

France was most vulnerable on the side of Franche Comté. In order, however, to attack her in this quarter, it would be necessary to penetrate through Switzerland, either by the Voralberg or below the lake of Constance. But before this could be attempted, it would be requisite, on account of the impossibility of sending supplies to Switzerland through the Tyrol, to make considerable progress in Swabia, and to station an army opposite Strasburgh for the purpose of checking the enemy in that direction. A further measure of precaution would be proper on the side of Italy. Should the Austrian army in that country be compelled to retreat, the enemy would become masters of the valley of the Adige, and of the communication between Switzerland and the hereditary states of Austria. In order to obviate this evil, the army on the Adige should be strengthened, and the war should be commenced by the most vigorous offensive operations in Italy. Every exertion should be made to obtain an immediate and decided superiority in that country. In the mean time the army of Germany should take a strong position upon the Lech, and there wait for the arrival of the Russians.

Although this plan of operations appears upon the first view judicious, yet upon a closer examination it will be found defective in one very important particular.—The whole success of the system would evidently depend upon the single circumstance of the Austrians being able to maintain their position upon the Lech till the arrival of the Russians. It was evident, however, that the French army might reach the banks of that river a considerable time before the first division of the troops of Russia. The enemy would therefore easily out-number the imperialists in Germany; and should the latter, in consequence of their inferiority, be compelled to retreat, the rear of the army of Italy would become exposed, and the whole arrangement for the campaign be entirely disconcerted.

In pursuance of the plan of operations which has been just described, the Austrian army upon the Adige was increased to 120,000 men; and the archduke Charles quitted Vienna about the middle of

September,

September, for the purpose of assuming the command. The French troops in Italy, under general Massena, did not at that period exceed 70,000.

The Austrian army in Germany was intrusted to the command of field-marshal baron Mack. This officer had for a considerable time enjoyed a very powerful influence over the military counsels of the court of Vienna. He was reputed to be admirably skilled in tactics, and in all the theory and details of war. Abounding in ingenuity and contrivance, he was prepared with plans of military operations adapted to every situation and every exigency. His persuasive address and plausible conversation and manner, enabled him with the utmost success to enforce his own schemes, and to triumph over the objections of his opponents.—Such were said to be his character and talents in council, and such the causes of the influence and ascendant which he had obtained. It was natural that this influence, thus acquired, should give umbrage to the archduke Charles; and accordingly he was regarded by that prince with jealousy, and even with aversion. In the field, general Mack was deficient in every thing that constitutes a great commander:—in simplicity of design, in decision, in promptitude, in vigour. His plans were without concert, his objects trifling and unimportant. He deliberated when circumstances required him to act, and balanced between different schemes till the power of choice was gone. These striking defects in his character rendered him the most unfit commander that the court of Vienna could have selected for the purpose of opposing an enemy remarkably distinguished for the impetuosity of his spirit, the rapidity of his movements, and the novelty and boldness of his designs.

The Austrian army, under the command of field-marshal Mack, having, as we have already observed, traversed the electorate of Bavaria, arrived on the banks of the Lech. Immediately afterwards, abandoning that position, it advanced to the Iller, and detachments were pushed towards Doneschingen and Stockach, and into the duchy of Wirtemberg

Besides these two armies stationed on the Adige and in Swabia, a considerable force was also assembled under the command of the archduke John in the Tyrol, which was destined to act as the events o the campaign might require. Such was the distribution of the Austrian troops about the commencement of the month of October.

What were the motives which induced the Austrian commander to depart from the original plan of the campaign, by advancing to the Iller instead of taking the position of the Lech, to which circumstance the subsequent disasters of the war are in a great measure to be ascribed, has never yet been explained. The line of the Lech was not inferior in strength to that of the Iller; it was equally favourable with reference to the operations of the Italian army; it was further removed from the French frontier, and was nearer to those succours which were expected from Russia. It will justly appear surprising that these considerations did not induce the Austrians to adhere to their original intention,—to confine themselves to the banks of the Lech, and to increase by every exertion the natural advantages of that position. But the plan of operations which the enemy adopted

seems

seems to have been wholly unforeseen. It was supposed that the French army would advance by the accustomed road through the passes of the Black Forest; and the Austrian commander hoped that the natural difficulties of the country would enable him effectually to check its progress. Should the Austrians even be compelled to retire, they might it was supposed at any time fall back upon the Lech, without sustaining any serious loss. These successive operations would allow ample opportunity for the arrival of the Russians; and the junction of this force would enable them to act upon the offensive, and to pursue with spirit the great objects of the campaign.

But the Austrians deviated from their previous arrangement in another material and important particular. It had been concerted between the allies that an attempt should be made to penetrate into Franche Comté by the way of Switzerland. This was indeed the only system for offensive warfare which it was practicable to pursue. But notwithstanding these considerations, the cabinet of Vienna agreed in the month of September to admit the neutrality of Switzerland; and it thus became impossible for the allies to execute their original design, without incurring the reproach and the odium of violating a recent and solemn engagement.

Buonaparte arrived at Strasburg upon the 26th of September: on the same day the greater part of the army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the coast, passed the Rhine at Manheim, Spires, and Durlach, under the command of marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lannes, with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under prince Murat, had crossed the river on the preceding day at Kehl. The army of Hanover, consisting of about 20,000 men, and commanded by marshal Bernadotte, having marched by Göttingen and Frankfort, had already arrived at the headquarters of the elector of Bavaria at Wurtzburg. In this position it was soon afterwards joined by general Marmont, and the Gallo-Batavian army which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz; and by this union the force collected at Wurtzburg, inclusive of the Bavarians, amounted to upwards of 60,000 men.

The plan of operations which Buonaparte had adopted for the opening of the campaign was of a most masterly character. Had he attempted to penetrate by the usual road through the passes of the Black Forest, and to the south of the Danube, he would have had many formidable obstacles to encounter. The passage of the Black Forest itself would have been attended with difficulty; his march would have been obstructed by the numerous rivers which flow from south to north through the valley of the Danube; his right flank would have been continually threatened from the defiles of the Tyrol, and a powerful army in front would have opposed and checked his progress. In order to avoid these inconveniences, Buonaparte resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and, passing the river below the position of the Austrians, to interpose his army between them and the Russians. It was with a view to this movement that marshal Bernadotte and general Marmont had been ordered to proceed to Wurtzburg. It was evident

evident that the Austrian commander might by an immediate retreat have disappointed the success of this plan. It was necessary therefore that the project should not only be disguised from the imperialists, but should be executed with the utmost possible rapidity. Prince Murat was therefore ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest in order to deceive the Austrians, and to induce them to suppose that the French army intended to force its way in that direction. General Mack fell into the snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to oppose the execution of this design. He had already fortified the banks of the Iller, and had issued orders to strengthen with the utmost expedition the positions of Memmingen and Ulm. At length, however, he discovered his error, and was compelled suddenly to change all his plans. In the mean time the French army had traversed with almost incredible rapidity the electorate of Wirtemberg and the plains of Nordlingen; and on the 6th of October, marshal Soult, at the head of his division, arrived on the Danube at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge of Munster.

The army assembled at Wurtzburg had not excited any considerable apprehension in the mind of the Austrian general. The territory of Anspach, a part of the dominions of Prussia, was interposed between that position and the Danube; and the court of Berlin had issued orders that every precaution should be taken to protect the neutrality of this district. General Mack did not suppose that Buonaparte, in the present critical situation of affairs, would run the risk of offending so great a power. He imagined therefore that this army was destined only for an irruption into Bohemia, and he contented himself with dispatching general Kienmayer with a small force to observe its motions. This was another capital error committed by the Austrians in the conduct of the campaign. It was of the utmost importance to the plan of operations which Buonaparte had formed, that the combined army assembled at Wurtzburg should proceed by the shortest possible course to the Danube. He was willing to incur every hazard for the attainment of this object; nor did he despair of being able to find means to allay the indignation of Prussia. His orders were therefore express and peremptory. Major Howen at the head of about 500 men, made an appearance of resistance. He was compelled however to submit to superior force, and the army passed without any further opposition. General Marmont reached Neuburg on the 8th, and shortly after marshal Bernadotte at the head of his division arrived at Ingolstadt. From this moment the issue of the campaign was decided. The army under general Mack did not exceed 80,000 men. A force nearly double that amount was now posted in his rear; while his communication with the Austrian states and the Russian auxiliaries, the first division of which had not yet arrived on the Inn, was upon the point of being completely intercepted.

On the 7th a part of the French army passed the Danube at Donawerth, and the division commanded by marshal Soult extended itself along the Lech to the city of Augsburg, and afterwards to Landsberg and Fuessen. In the mean time

time a strong detachment from the Austrian army was ordered to advance to Wertingen for the purpose of observing the motions and checking the progress of the enemy. This corps was attacked by the calvary under prince Murat and the division commanded by general Lannes. The Austrians, after a short contest in which they sustained considerable loss, were compelled to retire. On the following day a second action took place in the vicinity of Guntzburg. The division commanded by marshal Ney attacked the Austrians who were advantagesously posted upon the banks of the Danube. The enemy, after a sharp conflict, forced the passage of the river, and remained master of the bridges and the strong position of Guntzburg.

It has been already observed that the plan adopted for the campaign was defective in one essential particular. There was reason to apprehend that, if the Italian army should be so far strengthened as to enable it to undertake offensive operations, with a superiority so decided as to insure success, the army stationed in Germany would be insufficicent to resist the progress of the enemy in that country. The moment the French had passed the Rhine this defect became apparent. General Mack, alarmed at the accounts which he received of their numbers, was obliged to send for reinforcements to the Italian army. Prince Charles thus saw himself at once deprived of the means of pursuing those objects which he had hoped to accomplish. The necessity however was urgent; and he ordered, though with much ill-humour and reluctance, thirty battalions to march for the support of the army in Germany. Of this force a part only arrived on the banks of the Iller; some detachments were taken by the enemy, and the rest fell back upon the Tyrol.

The Austrian army was stationed on the banks of the Iller from Memmingen to the Danube; but its principal strength was collected on the left of this line, in the neighbourhood of Ulm. The French were rapidly advancing with their whole force to that quarter. The situation of the Austrians became every hour more and more critical; they found themselves straitened and enclosed on every side; and the commander saw the necessity of endeavouring to dislodge the enemy from some of his positions. Accordingly, on the 11th of October, a vigorous attack was made upon a French division posted under the command of general Ney at Albeck. The enemy was driven to a considerable distance along the banks of the Danube; and the event of the day was highly honourable to the Austrians. But no important advantage resulted from this victory; and it became necessary therefore to adopt some more decisive step for the purpose of extricating the army from its present difficulties.

Two plans of operation presented themselves; either to collect the whole army into one compact body, and to endeavour by a sudden and bold irruption to cut a passage through the enemy's positions, or to separate it into small divisions which might find their way by different roads into the Tyrol and Bohemia. The archduke Ferdinand, it is said, with the gallantry natural to a high-spirited prince, inclined to the former measure. General Mack, however, considered it as too hazardous an attempt in the

the present situation, and with the immense superiority of the enemy; and the prince yielded to his authority. General Jellachich was accordingly directed to proceed, at the head of sixteen battalions, with the utmost expedition to the Tyrol. An order was at the same time issued to the garrison of Memmingen to evacuate that place, and to join the corps under general Jellachich. This order, however, from some mistake or delay, was not executed. In the mean time marshal Soult, having left Landsberg, sat down on the 13th before Memmingen. On the following day the garrison capitulated, and were made prisoners of war. From Memmingen this division of the enemy immediately proceeded to Biberach, for the purpose of intercepting the Austrian communications in that quarter.

After the battles of Wertingen and Guntzburg Buonaparte repaired to the city of Augsburg, from which place he again returned on the 13th to the camp before Ulm. He issued immediate orders to force the bridge and position of Echlingen. This post, of great importance in the present situation of the armies, was defended by a body of 16,000 Austrians. The contest was long and obstinate. The French charged with their usual briskness and impetuosity; while the Austrians fought with all the fury of despair. Great numbers fell on both sides; but at length the Austrians were broken and driven from the field, and the enemy remained masters of Echlingen. Upon the same day, after a series of sharp and stubborn conflicts, the French under general Lannes possessed themselves of the heights of Michel Galgen and Kuhe in the vicinity of Ulm, while on the other side general Marmont occupied the bridges at the confluence of the Iller and the Danube. The situation of the Austrian army was now desperate. It was nearly encircled by the enemy, and was compelled to take refuge within the walls of Ulm. Prince Ferdinand was still in the city. He was desirous however of endeavouring, by a secret and rapid movement, to rescue at least a part of the army from the disgrace of a capitulation. Two divisions under generals Hohenzollern and Werneck, in pursuance of the plan which we have already mentioned, had been detached from the main army, and ordered to take the road to Heydenheim. It was already night; the rain fell in torrents; but every moment was of importance. At the head of four squadrons of cavalry well mounted and equipped the prince suddenly withdrew from the city, and proceeded with the utmost expedition to Aalen.

Upon the two following days the French were employed in making preparations for a general assault. The city was surrounded by a broad ditch filled with water; the fortifications were weak and unfinished. But a brave and veteran army consisting of more than 30,000 men might have made a fierce and dreadful resistance; and the Austrian commander had issued a proclamation declaring his intention of defending the place to the last extremity. On the night of the 16th, there arose a furious tempest: the waters of the Danube overflowed its banks: many of the bridges upon that river, and among the rest the bridge of Echlingen, were swept away by the rapidity of the torrent. The communication between the opposite sides of the river was interrupted; and a favourable opportunity was thus afforded to

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the Austrian army to endeavour to force its way through the posts of the enemy. But the commander was deficient in enterprise and activity: he had seen within the short compass of ten days the complete destruction of a powerful and gallant army which had been intrusted to his command; his spirits were subdued by the extent and complication of his misfortunes; and no attempt was therefore made to profit from this unforeseen and fortuitous occurrence.

A conference had been held between prince Lichtenstein and Buonaparte upon the terms of capitulation. The prince required that the Austrian army should be permitted to return home, upon condition that none of the troops should serve again until they were exchanged. "What security," said Buonaparte, "can I receive for the punctual performance of this engagement?" After a moment's pause he resumed, "I will rely upon the word of prince Ferdinand. If he is in the city, I will give him this proof of my esteem, hoping that the court of Vienna will respect the engagement of one of its princes." He was informed that prince Ferdinand had withdrawn from Ulm. "I cannot then be sure," he resumed, "that the condition will be performed;" and he refused to accede to the demand.

On the 17th the terms of the capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war: the officers were permitted to return home upon their parole; the soldiers were to be sent prisoners to France. It was further stipulated, that if by noon on the eighth day after the convention, a force sufficient to raise the blockade of the city should arrive at Ulm, the capitulation should no longer be binding, and that the garrison might then act as circumstances should render it expedient.

As soon as Buonaparte was informed that a part of the army had withdrawn from Ulm, he dispatched marshal Lannes with his corps, and the cavalry under Murat, in pursuit of this division. Prince Ferdinand had effected a junction with the force under generals Hohenzollern and Werneck; and the latter officer being directed to oppose himself to the progress of Murat, an action took place in the vicinity of Languenau, in which the Austrians were defeated. They still, however, continued their retreat, closely pressed by the enemy, and harassed with continual attacks. At length, exhausted with fatigue and anxiety, they arrived at Nordlingen. In this position they were surrounded by the enemy; and every communication being cut off they were compelled to capitulate. Prince Ferdinand himself had narrowly escaped being made prisoner at Neresheim. He was at dinner with his officers, when the alarm of the enemy was given, and had scarcely time to mount his horse before they entered the town. After the capitulation at Nordlingen the prince continued his flight at the head of the cavalry, and with about fifty pieces of cannon. He was closely pursued by Murat, the rear of the Austrians continually skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy. Passing with great expedition through Gunzenhausen, he arrived at Nuremberg in Franconia. Scarcely had he quitted that city before Murat appeared, and a party of Austrians were taken prisoners in the suburbs. Prince Ferdinand continued his course to Eschenau, and thence to

Grafenberg,

Grafenberg, by the road through the mountains. Here the French abandoned the pursuit, and returned, with their prisoners and a few pieces of cannon which they had taken, to Nuremberg. Prince Ferdinand arrived safely with the remains of his small corps in Bohemia.

Upon the second day after the capitulation of Ulm, another convention was concluded between Buonaparte and the Austrian commander. It had been agreed that the city should be surrendered by the Austrians on the 25th, unless before that period an army should arrive to raise the blockade. Marshal Berthier, in a conference which he afterwards had with general Mack, communicated to him the relative positions of the several columns of the French and Austrian armies, from which it appeared impossible that any succours could reach Ulm within the stipulated time; and he pledged his word of honour for the correctness of his statement. In consequence of this communication, general Mack was persuaded to consent to the immediate surrender of the city, upon condition only that the division under marshal Ney should remain in the vicinity of Ulm till the expiration of the period which had been fixed by the original capitulation.

It is difficult to discover the motive which induced the Austrian commander to make this extraordinary concession. It could scarcely be supposed that the enemy would have so far relied upon the faith of the capitulation, as to have withdrawn any considerable part of his troops, while an army of more than 30,000 men remained in the city. By this second agreement, however, the whole French force, with the single exception of marshal Ney's division, was set at liberty, and was left to pursue without obstruction the other objects of the campaign. This convention is the more unaccountable, because it does not appear that any correspondent benefit was secured to the Austrians.

During the operations which preceded and accompanied the surrender of Ulm, the rain fell almost without intermission. The rivers overflowed their banks, and the roads in many places were broken up and become almost impassable. Buonaparte, however, was continually in the midst of his troops; he encouraged and animated them to exertion; he shared all their hardships and privations, and distributed upon the field of battle rewards and honours, to those who had distinguished themselves in the different encounters with the enemy. By these popular arts he excited a spirit of enthusiasm in his army, which led them not only to encounter danger with alacrity, but to sustain with cheerfulness the severest toils. The dragoons had signalized their valour in the battle of Wertingen. Each regiment was ordered to present a soldier to its emperor; and the individuals thus selected, were decorated with the eagle of the legion of honour. The French relate that a private in passing the Lech had saved the life of his officer, by whom a few days before he had been degraded. Buonaparte presented him with the eagle. "I only performed my duty," said the soldier; "my captain had degraded me on account of some breach of discipline, but he knows that I was always a good soldier."

On the 20th, the Austrians, according to the terms of the capitulation

lation, marched out of Ulm. The French army occupied the heights. Buonaparte surrounded by his guards was a spectator of this humiliating scene. He sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them near his person while the troops defiled. They were treated with great personal attention and respect; but Buonaparte complained of the injustice and aggression of the emperor, and boasted in a haughty tone of his own power and resources. "I wish for nothing," he added, "upon the continent: France desires only to possess ships, colonies, and commerce, and it is for your advantage that we should obtain them."

The Austrian force which marched out of Ulm amounted to 33,000 men; three thousand sick and wounded remained in the hospitals. There also fell into the hands of the enemy, upon the surrender of the city, fifty standards, and sixty pieces of cannon. Thus within little more than ten days a well-appointed army, consisting of upwards of eighty thousand men, commanded by gallant and experienced officers, and composed of the best troops in the Austrian service, was in consequence of the inexplicable errors of its chief completely dispersed. Besides those who perished in the field, more than 50,000 were made prisoners of war; and a very small proportion succeeded, with great difficulty and the utmost exertion, in effecting its escape into the Austrian territories.

These great and extraordinary successes were announced to the senate by a message from Buonaparte. He presented that assembly with forty standards which had been taken from the Austrians previously to the surrender of Ulm; and called upon it to hasten by every exertion the march of the conscripts to reinforce his army. The senate replied in a suitable address, and appointed a deputation to present to the emperor this testimony of their admiration and homage. Buonaparte felt, and his policy led him to express, that some reward was due to the army for its extraordinary zeal and exertion. He accordingly issued a proclamation, in which he decreed that the month Vendemiaire should be computed as an entire campaign to every individual of the grand army, and that the ministers of war and of the treasury should make the proper dispositions for that purpose. Another decree was issued, ordering immediate possession to be taken of the Austrian establishments in Swabia; declaring all the magazines which had been captured, with the exception of the artillery and provisions, and all the contributions which either had been or should hereafter be levied, to be the property of the army; and directing that a distribution should be made, according to the rank of the several individuals of whom it was composed.

Information of the disasters in Germany and of the capitulation of Ulm was brought to Vienna by a messenger from the archduke Ferdinand. The intelligence was soon spread through the city. The houses were deserted, and the inhabitants crowded into the streets anxiously inquiring into the particulars of this disastrous event. When the full extent of the calamity was known, the people gave vent to their feelings in the bitterest expressions of indignation and rage. They saw, in their apprehensions, the French already at their gates. They loudly exclaimed against general Mack,

as the author of these misfortunes, and openly charged him with having betrayed and sold his country to the enemy. The emperor made every exertion to re-establish the public confidence, and to restore the tranquillity of his capital. It was ordered that all persons capable of bearing arms should be trained and embodied, and that every effort should be made to supply the deficiencies in the army. Instructions were at the same time issued to hasten the completion of the general levy in Hungary, which was conducted under the superintendence of the archduke palatine. The emperor published a proclamation, in which he appealed to the patriotism and loyalty of his subjects, and called upon them in the most earnest terms to unite with vigour for the protection of their country and his throne. "Let the intoxication of success (such is the language of this appeal) or the unhallowed and iniquitous spirit of revenge actuate the foe; calm and firm I stand in the midst of twenty-five millions of people who are dear to my heart and to my family. I have a claim upon their love, for I desire their happiness; I have a claim upon their assistance; for whatever they venture for the throne, they venture for themselves, their own families, and their posterity; for the preservation of all that is dear and sacred to them. By its fortitude the Austrian monarchy arose from every storm which menaced it at former periods. Its intrinsic vigour is still undecayed. There still exists in the breasts of those good and loyal men, for whose welfare and tranquillity I combat, that antient patriotic spirit which is ready to make the greatest sacrifices, and to brave every thing in order to preserve that which must be preserved,—their throne and their independence, the national honour and the national prosperity. From this spirit of patriotism on the part of my subjects, I expect with a proud and tranquil confidence every thing that is great and good; but above all things unanimity, and a quick, firm, and courageous co-operation in every measure that shall be ordered for the purpose of keeping the rapid strides of the enemy from our frontiers, until those numerous auxiliaries shall be able to act, which my exalted ally the emperor of Russia and other powers have destined to combat for the liberties of Europe, and the security of thrones and nations."

Immediately after the capitulation of Ulm, the most active exertions were made by the enemy for the further prosecution of the campaign. The first division of the Russians, under the command of general Kutusow, had already arrived upon the banks of the Inn, and, uniting itself to the Austrians in that quarter, formed an army of nearly 70,000 men. It was of importance, if possible, to attack this force before the arrival of the second division. Marshal Bernadotte with his corps, and the Bavarian army commanded by generals Deroi and Wreden, had entered Munich on the 12th. They had proceeded from Wurtzburg, through Aichstett and Ingoldstadt, directly to that city. General Marmont, with the Gallo-Batavian division, crossed the Danube at Neuburg, and turning to the right had co-operated with the main army in the attack upon Ulm. Marshal Bernadotte was ordered to observe the motions of the imperialists on the side of the Tyrol and the states of Austria.

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Accordingly, upon his arrival at Munich, he immediately directed his march towards the Inn, driving before him the feeble division under general Kienmayer, which before the passage of the Danube had been detached from the Austrian army at Ulm. General Kienmayer crossed the Inn, and united himself to the Russians. Bavaria was thus completely evacuated, and became a most useful and important ally to France. The Austrians, during their possession of that country, had displayed all the insolence and exercised all the severity of conquerors. The people and the government, perpetually jealous of the designs of the cabinet of Vienna, were now inflamed with the bitterest resentment and animosity. They considered the French therefore as their deliverers; and were disposed to support them in the prosecution of the war, with the utmost cordiality and zeal.

But this was not the only assistance which the French received on the side of Germany. The electors of Baden and Wurtemburg, either alarmed by the power, or, which is more probable, seduced by the promises, of Buonaparte, united their forces to the grand army. As soon as the French had passed the Rhine, they were joined by 4000 men in the service of the former of these princes; and upon the march of the army from Stutgard it was accompanied by a strong body of chasseurs belonging to the elector of Wurtemburg. But a further aid was expected from this sovereign. His contingent had been fixed during the residence of Buonaparte at the electoral court, in his progress from the Rhine to the Danube: and upon the 21st of October, the day after the surrender of Ulm, this auxiliary force arrived at Geislingen, in the vicinity of that city.

The whole army was now in motion. In every quarter the greatest spirit and activity prevailed. A battalion of the imperial guard entered with triumphal pomp the city of Augsburg.—Eighty grenadiers, selected for their martial appearance, bore aloft as many standards, which had been taken from the Austrians upon the surrender of Ulm. Buonaparte himself, passing through Augsburg, proceeded with the utmost expedition to Munich. Upon his arrival the city was illuminated; and he was welcomed with the acclamations and shouts of the multitude. In the evening he visited the theatre, which was thronged with spectators, anxious and eager to behold a man distinguished by so many memorable achievements.

The main army, having crossed the Iser at three different points, was in full march for the Inn. The arrangements for the further prosecution of the campaign were all completed. Marshal Ney's division and the Bavarian army were ordered to drive the Austrians from the Tyrol. The operations in the Voralberg were intrusted to marshal Augereau, who from the interior of France had arrived with a considerable force at Stockach; and general Baraguay de Hilliers was ordered to penetrate into Bohemia, and to observe the motions of the Austrians upon that side.

The French army which was advancing towards the Inn consisted of about 110,000 men: the allied troops stationed upon that river scarcely amounted to 70,000. It was impossible under the present circumstances to hazard an action with such a disparity of strength.

The allies therefore determined to retire, in order to effect a junction with the second Russian division, which was advancing under general Buxhovden. On the 5th, the corps under marshal Bernadotte crossed the river at Wasserberg, and turning to the right proceeded to Saltzburg. The other divisions, commanded by marshals Lannes, Davoust, and Soult, with the cavalry under prince Murat, proceeded towards Braunau. The allies had destroyed the bridges upon the Inn; but no serious attempt was made to dispute the passage of that river. The enemy entered Braunau on the 7th, from which place prince Murat immediately advanced in pursuit of the combined army on the road to Wels. Braunau was a place of considerable strength, and was provided with every thing necessary for sustaining a regular siege. But it was the obvious policy of the allies, in the present situation of their affairs, to surrender this fortress without resistance. To have left a garrison sufficient for its defence would have greatly weakened their army, already so inferior to that of the French. It would not have retarded the progress of the enemy; nor could the allies, however successful, hope to advance again to the Inn, before the place would be compelled to capitulate.

From the Inn, the combined army retired behind the Ems, their rear occasionally skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy. The principal part of the French force was assembled at Lintz, with the intention of advancing along the great road upon the south of the Danube. One division, however, under marshal Davoust, crossing the Ems at Steyer, marched towards Wahidoffen, in pursuit of the Austrians, who had retired in that direction; and for the purpose also of turning the Russian army, if it should attempt to maintain itself in the strong position upon the heights of Saint Polten.

In this situation of affairs, the emperor endeavoured by negotiation to avert the evils with which he was menaced. He saw the allied army compelled to retire before a superior force; the second division of the Russians was still at a distance; and it was evident that in a few days the French would become masters of his capital. The count de Guilay was accordingly directed to repair to the head quarters of the enemy at Lintz, and to propose an armistice, in order that negotiations might be commenced for a general peace. The answer of Buonaparte was concise and imperious. He demanded, as the price of an armistice, that the Russian forces should return home, that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded, and that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol. This reply was immediately communicated to the emperor. It was evident that to accede to such terms would be to place the imperial crown at the mercy of Buonaparte. He resolved therefore still to struggle with the difficulties of his situation; to trust to the support of his allies, to the fortune of his house, and to the affection and zeal of his people. "In such circumstances," said the emperor, "nothing remains for me but to rely upon those great and unexhausted resources which I find in the hearts, in the prosperity, in the loyalty, and the strength of my people, and in the yet undiminished force of my high allies and friends, the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia; and to persist in

in this firm and intimate connection, till the emperor of the French, with that moderation which is the brightest gem in the crown of a great monarch, shall consent to conditions of peace consistent with the honour and independence of a mighty state."

In the mean time the principal force of the enemy advanced by Ems and Amstetten to the abbey of Moelk. This abbey overlooks the Danube, standing upon an elevated situation on the banks of that river. The position, naturally strong, was fortified by the Roman emperors as a barrier against the incursions of the barbarians. Buonaparte removed his head quarters to Moelk on the 9th of November. In the mean time the Russians had retired to St. Polten. At Krems, not far from that place, there is a bridge over the Danube. It is the last bridge above the city of Vienna. The enemy had detached a considerable force over the river under the command of marshal Mortier, who was ordered to march with the utmost expedition for the purpose of seizing and destroying this bridge. If this operation had been successful, the Russians would have been compelled to retire to Vienna, and marshal Mortier's division, marching along the northern bank of the Danube, would have taken up a position opposite to that city. By this manœuvre, the communication with the second division of Russians advancing under general Buxhovden, would have been completely intercepted. It was of the utmost importance to the allies to anticipate this movement of the enemy, and their situation was fortunately favourable for that purpose. The course of the Danube forms itself at this place into an extensive curve, with the convex side extending towards the north. It was necessary therefore for marshal Mortier, who was upon the left bank of the river, to take a considerable compass in order to arrive at Krems, while the allies could reach the same point in a direct line. Every moment, however, was important: from Saint Polten, therefore, the Russians marched with the utmost expedition towards Krems; and having passed the river immediately destroyed the bridge. This operation was scarcely accomplished before marshal Mortier appeared, and falling with great spirit upon the Russian outposts, in the neighbourhood of Diernstein, drove them in upon the main army. It was now evening, and the situation of the allies, who were closely pressed upon the side of Stein, became extremely critical. It was necessary to force the enemy from his position. Accordingly, at daybreak on the following morning, the Russian army, having formed itself into three columns, advanced against the French lines with the utmost impetuosity and fury. The enemy after a sharp conflict was every where routed. Great numbers were slain; many escaped into the vessels which had been collected in the river; and about 2000 men, with a great proportion of officers, were taken prisoners. This victory, so important in the present situation of the army, was obtained without any considerable loss of men on the part of the Russians. There fell, however, in the heat of the engagement, the Austrian field-marshal Schmidt, a veteran officer of great bravery and merit, whose death was sincerely and deeply regretted.

Vienna was now left entirely without defence. The court, the nobility, and all those who could pro-

vide the means of flight, had abandoned the city. The utmost agitation and confusion prevailed, and the public anxiety increased with the accounts which were daily and hourly received of the rapid advance of the enemy. But when the people were informed that the Russian army, which they had regarded as their sole and last defence, had passed the Danube, and left the capital to its fate, they abandoned themselves to despair.

Every precaution, however, was taken by the government to preserve the public tranquillity, and to calm the apprehensions of the multitude. A proclamation was issued by the commissary of the court, the count de Wrbna, in the name and by the order of the emperor, who after assisting at the Hungarian diet had retired to Brunn in Moravia. "His majesty, from the regard which he felt for the safety of his faithful subjects of Vienna, and from his desire to free them as far as possible from the miseries of war, had determined not to attempt the defence of his capital. The inhabitants were assured that the utmost confidence might be placed in the discipline of the French army; and that they need entertain no fear of becoming the victims of military license: they were exhorted to conduct themselves individually with the utmost regularity and order, and were informed that his majesty, far from approving a misplaced zeal, which might expose to danger the lives and property of the citizens, would severely punish the slightest disorder." A deputation, with prince Sinzendorf at its head, was at the same time ordered to repair to the French camp, for the purpose of informing the commander, that the Austrian troops had entirely withdrawn from Vienna, that the inhabitants were prepared to surrender the city without resistance, and that they relied upon the generosity of their conquerors. The deputies were received by prince Murat with attention and respect; and after a short conference, in which they obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. Prince Murat, in consequence of the arrangements which had been made, immediately entered the city, and his troops were conducted to the quarters which had been assigned for their accommodation.

The Austrian force which had retired from Vienna upon the approach of the enemy amounted to about 10,000 men. They had crossed the Danube, and had proceeded towards Moravia, for the purpose of forming a junction with the Russians. In order to secure the retreat of this corps, and of the Russian division which had passed the Danube at Krems, the prince of Aversberg was directed to destroy the bridge at Vienna. He had given the necessary orders for this purpose; when a French officer sent by Murat rode up in great haste, and informed him that a treaty of peace was signed between France and Austria. The prince, not suspecting a falsehood, immediately revoked the orders which he had issued; and it was not till Murat himself arrived at the head of a considerable body of cavalry, and took possession of the bridge, that he discovered the deception. The advantage obtained by this unworthy falsehood, and the unpardonable credulity of the prince of Aversberg, exposed general Kutusow's army to the extremest peril. The French, arriving at Vienna in successive divisions, passed without stopping through that

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city, and immediately proceeded with the utmost expedition in pursuit of the Russians. The corps commanded by marshal Davoust, leaving the main army, marched towards Presburg. On the 14th, Buonaparte himself arrived at Vienna, and took up his residence in the castle of Schoenbrunn, a palace built by the empress Maria Theresa. So rapid had been the progress of the French, and such was the consternation which prevailed, that no effectual measures had been adopted for the removal of the artillery and military stores from the city. Two thousand pieces of cannon, a hundred thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of powder, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The French were now in complete possession of upper and lower Austria, and it became necessary to establish a provisional administration for the government of these extensive conquests. A code of regulations was soon prepared, and general Clarke was appointed governor, with very extensive powers. As soon as these important arrangements were completed, Buonaparte left Vienna and repaired to the army in Moravia.

It will now be proper to advert to the military operations in Italy and the Tyrol.

On the 18th of October the campaign was opened on the Adige. The Austrian army was strongly posted in Veronetta, a suburb of the city of Verona, situated upon the left side of the river. The enemy under Massena occupied the city upon the opposite bank. The communication between Verona and its suburb was by means of two bridges, the new bridge and the bridge of the old castle. Both parties had guarded against the passage of these bridges by strong works, which were raised at the opposite extremities. The archduke Charles was so far weakened, in consequence of the reinforcements which he had detached for the support of general Mack, that he was no longer in a condition to undertake offensive operations against the position of the enemy; and he looked with some solicitude to the result of the movements in Germany. The attack was begun by the French: Massena determined to force a passage over the bridge of the old castle. The Austrians had raised a wall across the middle of the bridge, and to increase their security the bridge itself was cut in two places. At the commencement of the assault the wall was blown up; the enemy with the assistance of planks, and under the fire of the castle, passed the bridge, and after a fierce and obstinate struggle made himself master of the Austrian entrenchments upon the opposite bank.

The Austrian army, however, still maintained its position in Veronetta and upon the heights in the vicinity of that place; and several days elapsed without any further attack being made by the enemy. In the mean time prince Charles was informed of the surrender of Ulm, and of the full extent of the disasters which had occurred upon the Danube. It was evident that his army, in its present advanced position, would be exposed to great danger from the progress of the enemy in Germany; and it was necessary also to endeavour by every exertion to protect the capital of the empire. He accordingly prepared to withdraw from Veronetta, and to fall back with his force towards Vienna. It was impossible that these pre-

parations should escape the observation of the enemy; and marshal Massena ordered a general attack to be made upon all the Austrian posts. Prince Charles, however, retired without any material loss, and took up a position beyond the small town of Saint Martin. On the following day the French renewed the attack; they were repulsed after a fierce and obstinate engagement with great slaughter, and prince Charles made good his retreat to the redoubts established beyond Caldiero. During these operations, an Austrian column consisting of about 5000 men, commanded by general Hillinger, was separated from the main army. This corps, having retired to the heights of St. Leonard, was summoned by a party of the enemy to surrender. The Austrian commander replied to this summons by a spirited and vigorous attack, and the French were driven under the walls of St. Felice. But the numbers of the enemy continually increasing, the Austrians were at length surrounded. They could now no longer hope either to rejoin the main army, or to extricate themselves in any way from their present difficulties; and in this situation they were therefore compelled to capitulate.

From Caldiero the army pursued its retreat, continually skirmishing with the enemy, to Vicenza, and across the Brenta to Citadella and Castel Franco. Here the enemy found it necessary to take some repose, and prince Charles continued his march without further molestation to the Tagliamento. After passing that river, he ordered the bridge to be destroyed, and took up a position for a short time upon the eastern bank. The enemy soon appeared upon the opposite side. A considerable division, consisting chiefly of cavalry, crossed the river above the position of the Austrians, and a partial action ensued. At the same time a brisk cannonade commenced across the river between the two armies. At night the Austrians broke up from their position, and retired by Palma Nuova to the Isonzo. Here separating their force into two divisions, the one, including the whole of the cavalry, took the main road towards Laybach; the other pursued its march to the same place, by the way of Idria and Oberlaybach. At the same time the garrison of Triest evacuated that city, and retired towards the main army. The enemy, still continuing the pursuit, arrived upon the Isonzo, having made himself master of the Austrian magazines at Palma and Udine. From this position general Massena ordered a detachment to proceed to the left towards Villach, and to endeavour to open a communication with the grand army.

While the archduke Charles was continuing his retreat, the French and Bavarians were pursuing their operations in the Tyrol and the Voralberg. The Bavarians laid siege to Kuffstein, a strong fortress situated upon the Inn. The commander, after a short resistance, agreed to surrender the place upon condition that the garrison should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, and to retire with their arms and effects. These terms were acceded to by the Bavarian general Mezzanelly, and he immediately took possession of the fortress. Marshal Ney in the mean time had proceeded towards Scharnitz, on the road to Inspruck. His march was impeded as well by the natural difficulties of the country

country as by the intrepid spirit of its inhabitants. The French having at length gained some Tyrolese hunters, they undertook to conduct a detachment of the army, by an obscure and circuitous path, to the rear of the Austrians. In consequence of this movement the imperialists were compelled to abandon their position, and the enemy arrived at Scharnitz. This fortress is built upon a rock, in an elevated and almost inaccessible position. The French attempted to ascend the height; but their progress was arrested by the Austrians and Tyrolese, who rolled down stones upon them from the summit. It was necessary however to possess Scharnitz, in order to arrive at Inspruck. Covering their heads therefore with their knapsacks, the French advanced a second time to the attack. The resistance was vigorous and desperate; great numbers perished in the attempt; many were precipitated from the sides of the mountain: but at length, a party having gained the summit, the Austrians and Tyrolese retired, and the enemy became masters of the fort.

The complete destruction of the army in Germany, and the retreat of prince Charles, had rendered it necessary to abandon the Tyrol. The capture of Scharnitz hastened the execution of this measure; and the archduke John, who commanded in that country, having issued a proclamation, in which he exhorted the inhabitants to submit peaceably to their invaders, since any further resistance would not only be unavailing but involve the country in ruin, retired by Luchsthal, and proceeded with his force to join the Italian army. The enemy entered Inspruck without opposition, and spread themselves over the whole of the Tyrol.

The French relate that two standards, which had been taken from the 76th regiment during the last war, were accidentally recognised in the arsenal at Inspruck. It happened that this corps formed a part of the division which had taken possession of that city. As soon as this discovery was made known, the soldiers of the regiment ran with eagerness to the arsenal, and exhibited the most extravagant indications of joy. Some of the multitude danced round the colours, and rent the air with their shouts; while others, with tears in their eyes, embraced these lost companions of their glory with every mark of veneration and attachment.

The defence of the Voralberg was intrusted to general Jellachich, who, as we have already observed, had been detached from the main army in Swabia. Marshal Augereau, at the head of a very superior force, penetrated into that country. A series of sharp encounters took place; the Austrians were driven from one position to another; and the concert of their movements being broken, their columns were at length separated. The commander in chief with a great part of his army was compelled to capitulate. The whole of the Voralberg, Pludentz, and the entire district to Arlemberg, together with the Austrian arsenals and magazines, were surrendered to the enemy. It was agreed that the Austrians, after laying down their arms, should be escorted to the frontiers of Bohemia; and they engaged not to serve either against France or Italy for one year from the date of the capitulation. Previous to this convention,

vention, a division of general Wolfskehl's cavalry, amounting to about 1000 men, under the command of two active and spirited officers, colonels counts Kinsky and Wartensleben, effected its escape. This corps traversed with great rapidity the whole of Swabia, passed through the midst of the enemy's posts in that country, collected upwards of 60,000 florins on their march, and at length, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, arrived in safety at Nuremberg in Franconia.

The remainder of the Austrian troops in the Voralberg, amounting to about 8000 men, under the command of the prince de Rohan, proceeded with the utmost expedition to the southward, for the purpose of forming a junction with the army in Italy. Information of these events was communicated to general Massena. It was immediately concluded that the prince de Rohan's division would endeavour to unite itself either to the Austrian force at Venice, or to the archduke Charles. Dispositions were accordingly made to defeat the execution of either of these designs. General St. Cyr, with the troops which he had marched from Naples, strengthened by a considerable detachment from the main army, had been stationed at Padua, with orders to observe Chiozza and Brondolo; and to oppose the Russians and English if they should attempt to land on the side of the Adriatic. Information was sent to this officer of the situation and probable designs of the prince de Rohan; while marshal Massena, at the head of a strong division, returned from the Isonzo to the banks of the Piave. Upon the 24th of November the Austrians suddenly appeared before Bassano; and the garrison, consisting of about five hundred men, surrendered without opposition. The prince immediately proceeded by hasty marches to Castel Franco. He was here opposed by the army under St. Cyr. The Austrians fell upon the enemy with great spirit and impetuosity. A sharp and vigorous conflict ensued. The prince was several times repulsed, and as often renewed the attack; but he was compelled at length to retire before the superior force of the enemy. His situation was now desperate. He fell back upon Castel Franco, and being surrounded by the whole French force was obliged to capitulate.

From Laybach the archduke continued his march without interruption to the frontiers of Hungary. Never were the military talents of this prince displayed with greater lustre than in the conduct of this masterly retreat. From the banks of the Adige to Laybach, a distance of two hundred miles, he was pursued and closely pressed by a superior force, and several partial actions took place, in all of which the enemy met with a brave and determined resistance. With the single exception of general Hillinger's column, which was accidentally separated from the main body after the battle of Caldiero, the Austrians sustained no very serious loss; and such were the admirable dispositions of the commander, that no part of the artillery or baggage fell into the hands of the enemy.—Nothing but the preservation of this army, at a juncture so critical, could have saved the house of Austria from complete destruction.

The violation of the neutrality of Anspach had excited a great sensation

sensation at Berlin. Every endeavour had before been made to induce Prussia to join the confederates. But the overtures for this purpose were received with coldness; and the allies had even some reason to apprehend that she might unite herself to France. When intelligence, however, was received that the French and Bavarian army, in defiance of the proclamation of the cabinet of Berlin, and the remonstrances of its officers, had forced a passage through a part of the Prussian territory, immediate preparations were made to avenge this insult. The troops were marched towards the frontiers, and every thing seemed to indicate an approaching war.—These events were viewed with great satisfaction by the allies, and they began to entertain sanguine hopes of the speedy co-operation of Prussia. Every exertion was made to profit from her present disposition; and lord Harrowby was accordingly dispatched to the court of Berlin with proposals from Great Britain. The emperor Alexander, full of zeal for the cause in which he was engaged, resolved to try the effect of a personal interview, and repaired for this purpose to the Prussian capital. He arrived in that city on the 26th of October, and was received with all the attention and respect which were due to his rank and personal character. The emperor continued some days at the Prussian court, and engagements of unalterable friendship were exchanged between the two monarchs. But the cabinet of Berlin soon relapsed into its former system. Before any decisive step could be taken, general Mack had capitulated, and the Austrian army was completely dispersed. These events disposed Prussia to listen to terms of accommodation; and count Haugwitz was ordered to proceed to the head quarters of the French army. The appointment of this ambassador afforded in itself a sufficient indication of the disposition of Prussia, and it was not difficult therefore to anticipate the issue of the negotiation.

It was a part of the plan of operations concerted by the allies, to create a powerful diversion in the north of Germany; and if an army of 30 or 40 thousand men had entered the Hanoverian territory towards the close of the month of September, general Bernadotte would have been prevented from marching to the Danube, and the subsequent disasters in Swabia might have been avoided. It was not, however, till the middle of November, when Vienna was already in the possession of the enemy, and the event of the campaign decided, that the confederates assembled their forces in this quarter.—This tardiness affords a signal and striking contrast to the activity and vigour of the enemy, and is indeed the more inexcusable, since the opening of the campaign appears to have depended solely upon the choice and determination of the allies.

Another equally unaccountable error was committed in the south of Europe. A treaty stipulating for the neutrality of Naples had been concluded between that country and France, in the month of September. In consequence of this agreement, the force under general St. Cyr was withdrawn, and was marched to reinforce the French army in the north of Italy. The combined army of English and Russians, at that time in the Mediterranean, amounted to upwards of 15,000 men. Had this force been landed in the Venetian territory, it would

would have supplied the place of those battalions which the archduke had detached to the aid of general Mack, and might perhaps have enabled that prince to obtain some signal advantage over the enemy.

Instead, however, of pursuing this natural course, the combined army landed about the middle of November in the kingdom of Naples, at the distance of several hundred miles from the nearest positions of the enemy. Here it remained entirely inactive; and this force, which might have been employed so beneficially to the allies, produced no effect upon the operations of the campaign. It was impossible to suppose that this measure could have been adopted without the concurrence of the cabinet of Naples; and accordingly, upon the arrival of the combined squadron, the French minister ordered the arms of France to be removed from the door of his hotel, and immediately withdrew to Rome. A proclamation was however issued by the Neapolitan government, complaining of the violation of its neutrality, and declaring its utter inability to resist the invaders. But Buonaparte was not of a character to be deceived by these professions; and the only effect of this fruitless and impolitic expedition was to excite the resentment of the French government, and to furnish it with a plausible pretence for overrunning the dominions and subverting the government of Naples.

We have already mentioned that marshal Davoust, leaving the main army, proceeded with his division from Vienna, towards Presburg. When he arrived in the vicinity of that city, he received overtures from count Palfy, the governor, in the name of the archduke palatine. After some negotiation, it was agreed that the military preparations in Hungary should be discontinued, and the neutrality of that kingdom admitted. The conclusion of this convention, necessary perhaps in the present situation of affairs, reduced the resources of the house of Austria to the army of the archduke Charles, and the small force under prince John of Lichtenstein, which had united itself to the Russians.

Prince Murat, with the cavalry, having crossed the Danube at Vienna, overtook the allied army of Austrians and Russians at Hollabrun. In the mean time the counts de Guilay and Stadion had been sent with new overtures to Buonaparte. The emperor of Austria proposed to enter into a negotiation for peace, as soon as he could concert measures for that purpose with the emperor Alexander, who was shortly expected at Olmutz. In consequence of some misconception arising out of these overtures, the commander of the Austrian division attached to the army of general Kutusow, sent a flag of truce to prince Murat, requesting permission to withdraw from the Russians. This request was readily granted; the Austrians retired; and by this movement the Russian division under prince Pangration was exposed to the entire force of the enemy. General Kutusow's army was now in a state of extreme peril. He perceived the difficulties of his situation, and sent the baron de Wintzingerode to prince Murat, to propose terms of capitulation. A convention, subject, however, to the ratification of Buonaparte, was soon concluded; by which it was stipulated that the Russian army should retire by a fixed route out of the Austrian dominions. But Buonaparte, who considered

sidered that the Russians were now at his mercy, and who was desirous of signalizing himself by a complete victory over their army, refused to ratify the convention. In the mean time general Kutusow had retired with the utmost expedition to Znaim, leaving the division under prince Pangration still opposed to the enemy. As soon as the answer arrived from Buonaparte, it was communicated to the prince; and upon the expiration of the time limited by the convention, his division was attacked and surrounded by the whole French army. The Russians defended themselves with resolution and spirit; and after a severe conflict, in which great numbers were slain upon both sides, they succeeded in cutting their way through the enemy, and effected a junction with the main army.

General Kutusow continued his march to Brunn, and, passing through that place, gradually retired to Olmutz. The second division of the Russian army was now approaching: the emperor Alexander, with a part of his guards, had already arrived at Olmutz; and the two sovereigns established their head quarters in that city. At length, on the 27th of November, the junction of the several divisions of the allied army, forming an effective force of about eighty thousand men, was completed. Of this force the Russians under generals Kutusow and Buxhovden amounted to about 60,000, while the Austrians, commanded by prince John of Lichtenstein, scarcely exceeded one-third of that number. The second division of the Russians, upon its march to Moravia, had been exposed to the severest hardships. Such was the rapid progress of the troops, in consequence of the disasters in Germany, that they were compelled to abandon their convoys, and no sufficient magazines had been formed for their support. The casual supplies of the country were soon consumed; and the whole district through which the march of the army extended was completely exhausted. The horses were so reduced that they could scarcely draw the artillery, and the want of food had impaired the general strength and spirit of the army.

Upon the arrival of the emperors at Olmutz, a council of war was assembled to concert the subsequent operations of the campaign. It was evidently impossible to retire with an enemy in the rear through an exhausted country. It was equally impossible that the army could long continue in its present position. No alternative seemed therefore to remain, but to try the issue of a general engagement.—Accordingly, on the morning of the 28th of November, a column of Russians, supported by a strong body of cavalry, was ordered to march to Wischaw. This division fell with great impetuosity and loud cries upon the advanced guard of prince Murat; they drove the enemy from his position, and after a slight resistance made themselves masters of the town. Upon the same day the head quarters of the emperor Alexander were removed to Wischaw, and the whole army, advancing, encamped in the vicinity of that place.

The object of the allies was now sufficiently apparent. It was indeed evident, from the moment of the junction of general Buxhovden's division, that an engagement must take place; and Buonaparte was therefore desirous of obtaining some information with respect to the disposition

position and character of the Russians. General Savary, his aid-de-camp, had been accordingly sent to congratulate the emperor Alexander upon his arrival, and with directions to observe attentively the temper and spirit of the hostile army. After remaining absent three days, general Savary returned to the French camp. He reported that the Russians entertained a very high opinion of their own prowess; that they were eager for battle; and felt assured of success. Buonaparte perceived all the advantage which might be derived from the confidence of his enemy. He immediately assumed an appearance of extraordinary circumspection and caution. He issued orders for his army to retire, as if apprehensive of an engagement with so formidable an enemy. In order to strengthen this impression, the retreat was made under cover of the night, and the army took up a strong position about ten miles in the rear of its former station.—Here the troops immediately began to throw up entrenchments, and to form batteries, as if for the purpose of defending themselves against the threatened attack of the hostile army. Every thing wore the appearance of alarm and confusion. Buonaparte had proposed an interview with the emperor of Russia. The emperor's aid-de-camp, the prince Dolgorucki, repaired in consequence to the French camp.—Buonaparte, as if anxious to conceal from the observation of the prince both the temper of his army and the measures which he had adopted for its security, received him at his outposts. Preparations had been artfully made for this interview. Wherever the Russian directed his eye, he discovered symptoms of anxiety and care. The troops were labouring with the utmost activity at the entrenchments, all the posts were strengthened, and every precaution seemed to be taken to guard against surprise.

These dispositions appear to have been attended with the desired effect. The confidence of the Russians increased; they considered the victory as secure, and were anxious only to prevent the escape of the enemy. The head quarters of the two emperors were removed to Austerlitz, and a powerful division was ordered to march to the left for the purpose of turning the right flank of the opposite army. The French relate, that as soon as Buonaparte observed this movement, he turned to his attendants, and repeatedly exclaimed, "Before to-morrow evening this army will be mine." The Russians continued their march at a short distance along the front of the French lines. The enemy still preserved the same cautious and timid appearance; his troops remained inactive in their respective stations; and prince Murat, having advanced at the head of a small body of cavalry into the plain between the two armies, instantly retired with the utmost speed, as if astonished at the force and confounded by the movements of the Russians.

When the day had closed, Buonaparte determined to proceed on foot and in private through the several quarters of the camp, for the purpose of discovering the temper, disposition, and opinions of his army. His person, however, was soon recognised, and in an instant lighted straw was raised upon a thousand poles. It was the eve of the anniversary of his coronation. The soldiers crowded around their chief, and he was greeted with acclamations and shouts of joy from

the whole camp. Upon his return to his tent, he made the dispositions and issued the necessary orders for battle. Marshal Davoust was directed to march with the utmost expedition to Raygern, for the purpose of keeping the Russians in check upon the right, and general Gudin was ordered to advance at break of day with his corps from Nicholsburg, to oppose that part of the Russian division which should extend itself beyond the position of marshal Davoust. The command of the right wing of the army, which was stationed next to Davoust's corps, was intrusted to marshal Soult. Marshal Bernadotte commanded the centre, and marshal Lannes the left. His flank was protected by the position of Santon, which had been strongly fortified, and was defended by eighteen pieces of cannon. The whole of the cavalry, under the command of prince Murat, was posted between the left wing and the centre. Buonaparte himself, attended by marshal Bertier, and all the officers of his staff, commanded the reserve, which was composed of the ten battalions of the imperial guard, and the ten battalions of the grenadiers of Oudinot, with forty pieces of cannon.

At sun-rise (it was a fine autumnal day) the battle began.—Buonaparte rode along the front of his army, and by his language and gestures encouraged and animated his troops. The soldiers, elevating their hats upon the points of their bayonets, answered in loud shouts, "Long live the emperor!" At the same instant a firing was heard upon the right. The Russians, in attempting to turn the enemy's flank, had been unexpectedly opposed and stopped by the corps under marshal Davoust, which had marched for that purpose to Raygern.

Opposite the right wing of the French army were situated the village and heights of Pratzen. This position was of the utmost importance in the present situation of the two armies. It formed a communication between the centre of the Russians and the division which had marched to the left. It was evident, therefore, that if the enemy could make himself master of Pratzen, this division would be cut off, the main army taken in flank, and the event of the day be at once decided.

Accordingly the first operations of the enemy were directed against Pratzen, and the whole of the right wing under marshal Soult advanced in two columns towards that position. It happened that a column of Russians had just marched from Pratzen toward the right of the French army, and another column was advancing to occupy the position from which the former had withdrawn, when the enemy suddenly appeared. The Russians were confounded; they expected to have been the assailants, and they found themselves unexpectedly attacked in the midst of their movements. The enemy's object was apparent; and general Kutusow, sensible of its importance, commanded the advanced guard of the fourth Russian column immediately to occupy the heights. At the same moment a third column of the French, forming a part of the centre, advanced towards the right of Pratzen. The attention and force of the Russians were divided. In the mean time marshal Soult continued to advance, and, overpowering by the immense superiority of his force the troops which

were

were opposed to him, made himself master of the heights. The Russian division which had marched to the left was thus completely separated from the main army. It was evident, that the battle was lost unless the communication could be restored. In this emergency the imperial guard, commanded by the archduke Constantine, was ordered to advance. It fell with great fury upon a battalion of the enemy, which was instantly routed. Marshal Bessieres was ordered to hasten at the head of the French guards to repair this disaster. The two corps were soon engaged: the fate of the day depended upon the issue of this contest; and the struggle was fierce and desperate. The Russians were at length broken, several of the guard, and among the rest prince Repnin, were taken prisoners, and great numbers were left dead upon the field.

As soon as marshal Soult found himself in secure possession of the heights of Pratzen, he directed his attention towards the left division of the Russians. This corps was now opposed in front by marshal Davoust, on the left by general Gudin, and by the troops under marshal Soult upon the right. In this situation the Russians attempted to retire. They were pursued and closely pressed by the enemy, and several partial actions took place. But every hour added to their perplexity. Several detached corps were already cut off: they had been compelled to abandon a great part of their artillery; and their situation, thus removed from the main army, was wholly without resource. The confusion incidental to such circumstances gradually increased; and their retreat, at first conducted with some regularity, was at length converted into a general and disorderly flight. The French relate that great numbers were drowned in attempting to pass the ice which covered the lakes*, in the neighbourhood of the field of battle. Many were slain in the pursuit; and the rest laid down their arms, and were made prisoners of war. In the meantime the main army was engaged with the centre and left wing of the French, commanded by marshals Bernadotte and Lannes. But the allies fought to great disadvantage. By the separation of the Russian division, their left flank was exposed without defence to the attack of the enemy; and they were disconcerted and discouraged by the unexpected failure of all their plans. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the troops displayed great gallantry and spirit; but at length, after a long and obstinate contest, the allies gradually retired, leaving the enemy in the undisputed possession of the field.

The loss in this engagement fell principally upon the Russians, and is said by the enemy to have amounted to twenty-two thousand in killed and wounded, and twenty thousand prisoners. In opposition however to this statement it is asserted in the official account afterwards published at St. Petersburgh, that the entire loss in the campaign did not exceed on the part of the Russians 17,000 men. The two commanders, Kutusow and Buxhovden, with several other

* Besides several smaller pieces of water in this vicinity, there is a lake of at least a league in extent, about five or six miles to the eastward of marshal Davoust's position at Raygern.

generals,

generals, and a great number of officers of all ranks, were wounded; several were among the slain, and many were taken prisoners. One hundred pieces of cannon and forty-five standards fell into the hands of the enemy.

This battle, which was styled by the French soldiers "the battle of the three emperors," terminated the campaign and the war. On the 4th, two days after the engagement, an interview took place at the French advanced posts between Buonaparte and the emperor of Austria, and an armistice was agreed upon, in which it was stipulated that the Russian army should within a limited time withdraw from the territories of Austria. General Savary, aid-de-camp to Bonaparte, was immediately sent to the head quarters of the Russians. The French relate that he found the Russian army in great disorder, and without either artillery or baggage. He was introduced to the emperor, and presented the terms of the armistice. Alexander acceded to this convention, and messengers were accordingly dispatched to marshal Davoust, and the other divisions of the French army, with orders that they should halt in the positions which they respectively occupied.

Count Haugwitz, the Prussian ambassador, had arrived at Vienna on the 30th day of November, and shortly afterwards set out for the head quarters of the French army at Brunn. Buonaparte in his conferences with this minister expressed the warmest esteem and attachment for Prussia, and his earnest desire to preserve peace with that country. The fate of the war with the allied powers was already decided. The rapidity of these events had confounded the speculations of the cabinet of Berlin; count Haugwitz saw the necessity of relaxing from his demands; and this dispute, which had promised such important consequences to Europe, was speedily adjusted. One of the principal stipulations of the treaty concluded upon this occasion (such was the political profligacy of the court of Berlin) secured the eventual cession of Hanover to Prussia, in exchange for some of her detached and remote dependences. This arrangement being completed, count Haugwitz returned to Berlin.

The armistice concluded in Moravia was followed by negotiations for peace between Austria and France. Prince John of Lichtenstein, the count de Guilay, and M. Talleyrand, the plenipotentiaries of the two powers, assembled for this purpose at Nicholsberg. The conferences after a short time were adjourned to the city of Presburg, and the conditions of a definitive treaty were soon settled. Buonaparte was in a situation to dictate terms to the emperor, and the latter had no alternative but to acquiesce. The provisions of this memorable treaty were of course sufficiently humiliating to Austria. It was agreed that the Venetian territory should be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy;—that the royal title which had been assumed by the electors of Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, should be acknowledged by the emperor;—that the margraviate of Burgau, the principality of Eichstadt, the part of the territory of Passau belonging to the elector of Salzburg, the country of the Tyrol, comprehending the principalities of Brixen and Botzen, and the seven lordships of the Voralberg, the county of Hohenems, the county of Konigsegg, Rottensels, the lordships

of Tetnany and Argen, and the town and territory of Lindau, should be ceded to the king of Bavaria;—that the five cities of the Danube, to wit, Ehingen, Munderkengen, Rufflingen, Mengen, and Salgaw, with their dependencies, the city of Constance excepted, and a part of the Brisgaw, should be ceded to the king of Wurtemberg; and the remainder of the Brisgaw, and the Ortensaw, the city of Constance, and the commandery of Meinau to the elector of Baden;—that the king of Bavaria should be allowed to occupy the city of Augsburg, with its territory, and unite it to his other dominions, and that the king of Wurtemberg should be permitted to do the same with respect to the county of Borndoff—It was on the other hand stipulated in favour of the emperor, that the county of Satzburg, and of Berchtolsgaden belonging to the arch-duke Ferdinand, should be incorporated with the Austrian empire; and Buonaparte engaged to procure as an equivalent for that prince the cession by the king of Bavaria of the principality of Wurtzburg.—It was also agreed, in conformity with the declaration made by Buonaparte at the moment when he assumed the crown of Italy, that as soon as the parties named in that declaration should have fulfilled the conditions which it expressed, the crowns of France and Italy should be separated for ever, and should not in any case be united on the same head.—It was further stipulated, that the prisoners of war, taken on both sides, should be restored within forty days from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty;—that in ten days from the same date, the armies of France and her allies should evacuate Moravia, Bohemia, the Viertel Unter Vienner Wald, the Viertel Unter Manhartsberg, Hungary, and the whole of Styria; in the ten following days they should evacuate the Viertel Vienner Wald, and the Viertel Ober Manhartsberg; and that finally, in the space of two months from the exchange of the ratifications, they should withdraw from the whole of the hereditary states, with the exception of Braunau, which should remain for one month at the disposal of the French as a place of depôt for the sick, and for the artillery.—This treaty was signed at Presburg on the 26th of December, and was ratified by Buonaparte on the following day, after which he immediately proceeded to Munich, on his return to France.

CHAPTER XII.

India.—Brief Account of the Campaign against Holkar—Capture of the Fort of Rampoorah—Operations in Bundelcund—Capture of Hingla Ghur—Battle of Deig—Defeat of the Army under Holkar—Operations in the Dekan—Maritime Affairs—Escape of the French Fleets—West Indies—Pursuit of Lord Nelson—Victory of Sir R. Calder—Victory off Trafalgar—Death of Lord Nelson—Victory of Sir R. Strachan.

FROM the disasters of the West we turn with some feelings of relief to our successes in the East. It is still, however, (we made the

the same profession in our volume for the preceding year,) wholly out of our power to speak with decision as to the justice or injustice of our transactions in that distant territory. The narrative from which alone at present our information can be derived, is drawn up under the immediate inspection and command of the late governor-general of India, the marquis of Wellesley; and it is therefore to be considered as the statement of an interested party. That the events, however, of the war with Holkar, were such finally as to justify a full belief in the triumph of the British arms, there can be entertained no reasonable doubt. The origin of Holkar, and his existence as a powerful Marhatta chieftain; his presumed connection with Scindia, and his designs upon the Peishwah, have been before related. At the conclusion of the peace with Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, he was at the head of a considerable body of troops, on the frontier of the domains of the Rajpoot-state of Jeynagur. Before the victorious British army quitted the field, it was judged proper to enter into negotiations, as a means of determining what the designs and pretensions of Holkar really were. The ministers of the rajah of Berar and of Scindia, after the defeat of their respective masters, scrupled not to admit, on the treaty of peace with them being signed, that Holkar had undoubtedly formed an engagement with them in opposition to the British power. As no act of direct hostility, however, was committed by him during the war, instructions were given by the governor-general and council to general Wellesley, not to wage hostilities on Holkar without further grounds of justification, than his mere intended junction with the vanquished confederates. In spite, however, of his public professions of amity towards the English government, his correspondence with many of the native princes owing allegiance to that government was of a nature not at all consonant with peaceful designs. Of this correspondence some letters were put into the hands of the British by the princes to whom they were addressed, and some were intercepted. Information also was received of the murder of three British subjects in his service, upon a false charge of a communication between them and the commander in chief. The plan laid down by the governor-general was intended to effect the reduction of the power of Holkar, without at the same time entering into any compromise of the rights of others. The British government was in no way pledged to support the claims of Cashu Rao Holkar, with respect to whom Holkar was no other than an usurper; but at the same time it was deemed a just precaution, that that usurpation should not be sanctioned and legitimatized by any interference which might be construed into a decision on the subject. On the 29th of January 1804, the commander in chief, in conformity with his instructions, required the immediate evacuation of the post occupied by the enemy, and stated that he should be left in the unmolested enjoyment of his authority, provided he retired into his own domains, and abstained from all further exactions of tribute from the allies of the East-India company. To this requisition a reply was returned on the 27th of February in amicable terms, and an assurance was given that vaqueels, *i. e.* ambassadors, should be sent to negotiate a treaty.

On the 16th of March they arrived, and proposed on his part terms of a nature sufficiently extensive. They demanded, "that he should be permitted to collect the choute agreeably to the custom of his ancestors; that the antient possessions formerly held by the family, such as Etawah, &c. (assigned to the company by the Nawaub vizier under the treaty of Lucknow in 1801) twelve pergunnahs in the Doab, and a pergunnah in Bundelcund, should be ceded to him; that the country of Hurriana, which was also formerly in the possession of the family, should be given up; and that the territory then occupied by him should be guarantied, and a treaty concluded with him on terms similar to that signed with Scindiah." These propositions were instantly rejected, and the offer of peace again made, solely on the condition that he should withdraw his troops within his own dominion. Several communications afterwards took place, all of them on his part evasive of this proposal. The last, about the 4th of April, stated that he was about to visit Ajmere, a province belonging to Scindiah; whence, after having performed some devotional duties assigned as the cause of his journey thither, he should commence his march home. At Ajmere he levied considerable contributions, and even made an attempt to possess himself of the fort. This transaction therefore, combined with the information afforded by the ministers of Scindiah, compelled the commander-in-chief at once to resolve upon war. It appears, that subsequent to the peace concluded between Scindiah and the company, Holkar earnestly pressed that prince to aid him in his hostile designs. Scindiah, averse to any renewal of a war in which he had already suffered so much, steadily refused all co-operation, but expressed his own desire to be at peace, complaining at the same time of the injury which had been committed upon him by the attack at Ajmere. Holkar, in justification of his conduct, alleged, that the rajah of Jodepoor (with whom he intended to leave his family, "*when he commenced his operations against the English*") was unwilling to take upon himself that charge, unless the fort and province of Ajmere were first made over to him, and insisted that Scindiah could not do otherwise than forgive a step necessary to that war which was to be waged for the independence of the Marhatta empire. With such motives for military movements, and reduced to the necessity of either maintaining the British army in the field in a state of inactivity, upon a scale of expense not inferior to that which the most active campaign would have occasioned, or of immediately commencing hostilities, it is not at all to be wondered that a determination was adopted in favour of the latter. Indeed the numerous bands out of employment in consequence of the peace, and which would necessarily have offered their services to the predatory forces of Holkar, joined to the consideration of the danger to which the opulent city of Jeynagur would be exposed in the absence of the British army, and the resources which its plunder would necessarily have yielded an enemy, rendered all hesitation dangerous and blamable. On the 16th of April therefore, orders were issued to the commander-in-chief for operations in Hindostan and the Dekan, a notification of which intention was conveyed by major Malcolm to Scindiah. The principal posses-

sions occupied by the followers of Jeswunt Rao Holkar in the Dekan were the fort and territory of Chandore, about one hundred and thirty miles north of Poonah, and the forts of Dhoorb, and Galna; a territory also was held under his authority in Candeish, together with a few districts intermixed with the dominions of the Nizan. The siege of Chandore and Galna, as the occupation of them would at once deprive the enemy of all his possessions in the Dekan, was naturally resolved upon. To the march of an army for that purpose the wasted country between Poonah and Chandore presented many difficulties, and an apprehension was entertained, that unless hostilities were postponed until the rainy season, no effective operations could take place in the Dekan. Major-general Wellesley, however, placed the troops under his command in a state of equipment for immediate service. The disposition made with a view to hostilities against Holkar was as follows: The principal corps was to assemble at Aurungabad under the command of lieutenant-colonel Wallace of his majesty's 19th dragoons, 4 regiments of native cavalry, 2 regiments of European infantry (the 74th and 94th), and 6 battalions of sepoys with a battering train and a proportion of artillery in pioneers, leaving a reserve at Poonah of 4 battalions of sepoys, at Hyderabad of 2 battalions, and a garrison of 1 battalion in Ahmednugger. In the judgment of the commander-in-chief, the advance of troops in the Guzerat, against the domains of Holkar in Malva, was likely to be attended with great advantage; and measures therefore were consequently adopted for reinforcing the troops in that quarter. Colonel Murray was the officer who received instructions relative to that branch of our attack. At the same time Scindiah was directed to employ his strength in the reduction of such parts of the possessions of Holkar as might be most accessible to his troops. This direction was received with respect and satisfaction. During the negotiation, which has already been spoken of, the commander-in-chief had continued slowly to advance towards the country of Jeynagur, with a view to accelerate the acceptance of our proposed accommodation, and for the protection of that province in case it was rejected. Lieutenant-colonel Ball was stationed with a detachment of troops near Canoon, a town about ninety miles south-west of Delhi, to oppose any irruption into the recently-acquired territory of the company in that direction. A detachment was also formed under lieutenant-colonel Monson for the defence of Jeypoor, which began its march towards Jeynagur on the 18th of April. On the 21st it arrived in the vicinity of that city. On the morning of the 23d, Holkar retired from his position in that territory, and commenced a precipitate retreat towards the southward. We should observe, that general Wellesley having received instructions from the governor-general in June, to proceed to Fort William on the public service, resigned, previous to the complete commencement of hostilities, the military powers intrusted to him. After a rest of two days, upon the further advance of colonel Monson with the detachment, followed at no great interval by general Lake with his main army, Holkar again resumed his precipitate retreat; which he continued till he reached Kotah, a

place so distant from the troops which followed, that he was necessarily secured from instant attack. The detached parties of Hindostanee horse which hung upon his flight, represent his force as much reduced. About seventy miles north-east of Kotah stood the fortress of Rampoora, for the attack of which lieutenant-colonel Don was selected. At the head of three battalions of native infantry, one regiment of native cavalry with heavy ordnance and field-artillery, that place was assaulted and carried on the 16th of May, 1804. The attack was commenced before day-break. Lieutenant-colonel Don determined to assail the gateways. He did not, however, take a position opposite to it, lest by such a movement his intention should be betrayed. Major Doveton's regiment was left within the camp, with orders as soon as the attack commenced to move down in the direction which the fugitives would naturally take, and to intercept them in their flight. The detachment under lieutenant-colonel Don moved on without discovery till within two hundred-and-fifty yards of the gateway, when a picquet of the Jonk battalion fired. The garrison, however, was still not alarmed, nor did any discharge of musquetry or artillery take place till the troops were within a hundred yards of the passage. A number of men were then seen running along the top of the glacis, endeavouring to gain the gateway; upon whom a heavy fire was immediately opened on the part of the British, which frustrated their intention. The gates were then blown open and the town entered. The fugitives, taking the direction which had been foreseen, were of course intercepted. The enemy's force was from one thousand to eleven hundred men, of whom near fifty were destroyed in passing through the gateways, and little short of three hundred in the flight towards the plain. A considerable number of guns, with powder, shot, &c. were taken in the fort. Lieut. Boileau was slightly wounded, and some loss was sustained of natives. We shall not enter into any minute detail with respect to the transactions of the province of Bundelcund. About the 21st of May, 1804, an incursion was made in that quarter by a body of predatory horse, amounting to little short of five thousand troops. On the 22d this squadron succeeded in cutting off a part of a detachment under captain Smith, who had been ordered by lieutenant-colonel Fawcett to attack a fort about five miles distant from colonel Fawcett's position at Kooch. The command of the British in the province had devolved upon this latter officer on the death of lieutenant-colonel Polhill. Capt. Smith himself with five companies of sepoys made his retreat, with the loss of one man only, to the camp of lieutenant-colonel Fawcett. The whole of the smaller detachment, however, under captain Feade and lieutenant Morris, was cut off, and their artillery, consisting of two howitzers, two twelve-pounders, and one six-pounder, captured. The body of banditti was fortunately defeated near Kooch on the 30th of May by colonel Shepherd: they then entirely evacuated the province. On the 29th of May captain Gardiner, who had been detached by the commander-in-chief with two parties of irregular horse to watch the motions of Holkar, fell in with a native chieftain named Tantia. Assisted by lieutenant Lucan, he made a successful

cessful movement upon this ally of Holkar's, which finally led to the surrender of a native leader named Parle, on condition of being safely conducted to the camp of Bappoo Scindiah, and of never again serving against the British government. Tantia himself with his cavalry made his retreat. Still more decisive success attended lieutenant-colonel Martindale: having attacked the position occupied by rajah Ram and the Negahs, he carried it with little loss, and with the capture of the baggage, tents, camels, horses, &c. of the enemy. On the second of July was assaulted the important fortress of Hinglais-Ghur; a place, in the language of the country deemed wholly impregnable. At half-past two, a party from lieutenant-colonel Monson's detachment, composed of the 2d battalion 2d regiment, six six-pounders, and a part of lieutenant Lucan's Hindostanee cavalry, the whole under the command of major Sinclair, advanced to the attack. The fire from the fortress was in the course of an hour entirely silenced, the walls were then escaladed, and the place carried without the loss of an officer. Hinglais-Ghur had been possessed by the family of Holkar for fifty years. It is surrounded by a natural ravine two hundred and fifty feet in breadth and two hundred in depth, the sides being perpendicular, on the inner side of which stood the walls of the fort. In addition to the importance of the place itself, was the possible practicability of communicating with colonel Murray, at that time on his march from Guzerat towards Ougein. With a view to a junction and in the hope of procuring supplies, colonel Monson advanced about fifty miles from the Mokundra pass. It was his first intention, if possible to give battle to the troops under the personal command of Holkar: finding himself, however, in great want of provisions, and learning that colonel Murray intended to fall back on the Myhie river, he judged it prudent to retire again to the pass. It was upon this march that intelligence was received of an attack having been made by Holkar on lieutenant Lucan, who it was stated had himself with several sirdars been taken prisoners. On the morning of the 10th of July Holkar's cavalry appeared in sight. So formidable was their number, that a demand was made requiring the surrender of the guns and small arms of the British detachment. This requisition was scornfully rejected; and Holkar in vain attempted to make an impression upon the firmness of colonel Monson's small army. Considerable difficulties were sustained in the retreat, and the different corps drew back in much disorder to Agra, which they all reached by the 31st of August. No united attack, however, was made by the enemy after the 28th.

We now proceed to the operations subsequent to the march from Cawnpore, in September 1804, under the commander-in-chief general Lake. After colonel Monson's retreat, Jeswunt Rao Holkar advanced to Muttra and took possession of that city, which is situated about thirty miles from Agra, whither general Lake arrived on the 22d. Having united his whole force at Secundra, he on the 1st of October marched against the troops of Holkar at Muttra, which city was abandoned by the enemy on the 3d. Upon the 8th, Holkar detached his infantry and guns to the attack at Delhi; which was

ortunately entered by col. Byrne, in time for its defence. On the 7th a heavy cannonade was opened against the place, but it did little injury; the walls, however, being much out of repair, and a breach being deemed practicable, it was thought necessary to check the progress of the assailants by a sortie: two hundred men were therefore selected from the 2d battalion of the 14th regiment, and one hundred and fifty from captain Harriot's corps. Lieutenant Rose, who commanded the party, led them instantly against the enemy's battery; possessed himself of their guns, and spiked them. A siege was sustained of nine days. On the 14th of the month a general assault was attempted, which entirely failing, the enemy on the 15th abandoned their attempt and retreated. The commander-in-chief having now completed his supplies at Muttra, on the 17th of October reached Delhi. Holkar with his cavalry immediately passed the Jumna, across which the commander-in-chief pursued him, taking the left bank of that river with the reserve under lieutenant-colonel Don, three regiments of dragoons, three of native cavalry, and the European mounted artillery. Major-general Frazer, with the remainder of the infantry, two regiments of native cavalry, and the park of artillery, at the same time took the right bank of the Jumna from Delhi. This movement was combined with a view to compel both the infantry and cavalry of Holkar to risk an action. The infantry and artillery of Holkar had at this period reached the fortress of Deig, where they were protected by the guns of that place. The force of the enemy encamped near Deig amounted to twenty-four battalions of infantry, a large body of horse, and one hundred and sixty pieces of ordnance. Major-general Fraser found the enemy very strongly intrenched, the left wing of their force extending to Deig, and a large jeel of water covering the whole of their right and front. The attack was delayed till the morning of November the 13th. At three o'clock a circuit was made to the left round the jeel, so as to open to us the right flank of the enemy. A large village which protected them was instantly carried. Major-general Fraser, following up his success, marched down on their line and seized the whole of their guns and howitzers; he, however, whilst at the head of the troops, received so serious a wound as to compel him to be carried off the field. Colonel Monson then assumed the command, and completed the victory; the enemy was driven under the fort, which commenced a very heavy fire. The loss of the British was in consequence very considerable; the whole, however, of the infantry, with the ordnance, under the command of Hernaut Dada, the chief officer of Holkar, fell into their hands. Two thousand of the enemy were killed, or drowned in their efforts to escape; and eighty-seven pieces of ordnance were captured. The rajah of Bhurtpore violated on this occasion his alliance with the East India company. The troops in the fortress which fired upon the British were the rajah's. The gallant general Fraser, having suffered amputation, unfortunately died on the 24th of November. Whilst Holkar's infantry was thus destroyed, general Lake in the mean while continued to pursue the main body of his cavalry: a march of four hundred and fourteen miles had been performed

performed in eighteen days. On the 17th of November the whole force of the enemy's cavalry was surprised near the city of Ferruckabad, a distance of fifty-eight miles, was overcome in a march of twenty-four hours, and a complete victory obtained. Holkar himself with difficulty escaped, and fled with a very small body of retainers. The fortress of Deig was soon after invested; and its outwork having been carried by assault, it was afterwards evacuated without further resistance. The war with Holkar after these actions was, in India, considered to be closed: it should however be stated, that the operations carried on in the Dekan were not less eminently successful than those which we have already detailed. Lieutenant-colonel Wallace is understood to have shown great skill and bravery; and the fall of the forts of Chandore, Dhoorb, and Galna was the honourable consequence of his exertions. The Indian documents received within the year, of the history of which we are treating, left the public mind, however, in a state of some anxiety. It has been already observed, that the loss sustained at Deig chiefly arose from the guns of the fort. It is, amongst other circumstances, a fact tending in some measure to show the real state of sentiment in India amongst the native princes, that notwithstanding an actual increase of territory had been assigned to the rajah of Bhurtpore out of the spoil of the confederates, he yet, when an opportunity occurred, was unable to resist the natural feeling which led him to assist his countrymen, although in opposition to the British government to whom he was indebted for an extended domain. His infidelity to, and desertion of, the interests of the company, were not suffered to go unpunished. The fort of Bhurtpore was invested, and several attempts made to gain possession of it by assault: they were for some time made in vain; and the accounts which reached England in 1805, conveyed only an expectation of ultimate success, and a report of the loss suffered by the besiegers. The fortune of general Lake is since known to have vanquished every difficulty.

From victories which, however grateful, when contrasted with the misfortunes experienced on the western continent by our allies, make nevertheless but a transient and vague impression upon the mind; from victories, the beneficial effects of which the inhabitants of the mother-country are generally little able to calculate, and which, waged against princes whose very names are almost unknown to us, excite few of the sympathies of triumph, we proceed to an object of necessarily dearer interest—to an object familiar to us in our childhood; with respect to which our fathers have instilled into us the impulses which they themselves were taught to feel by their own fathers; an object precious to us long 'before British India was;' to which, as soon as we were of an age to know that we had a country, the attention of us all, whether high or low, was affectionately directed—the naval glories of our countrymen. Without entering into any inquiry as to the utility or inefficiency of the system of blockade, we need only say, that upon the return of Mr. Pitt to power it was again acted upon with increased vigilance and effort. As early, however, as the month of January, after having remained in port for two years, a French squadron

dron at length ventured out to sea. It consisted of six sail of the line and two frigates, which quitted Rochefort upon the 11th, with a view, it was at first imagined, to unite itself with the larger force of Brest. The tone of France was at this period loud and menacing. "Years, it was true, had elapsed, but they had not been passed inactively. Arms, and ships and men had been secretly in preparation, and fleets were now to be poured forth from all her harbours. The ocean was no longer to be England's; she was bade to tremble in every quarter of the globe, for in every quarter of the globe would her possessions be assailed." Rumours were spread abroad upon the continent, now that the Brest fleet was out of port, now that that of Toulon was on its way—Sicily, Malta, Egypt; the West Indies, the Brazils, the East Indies; a descent in Ireland; a total junction of the several navies in alliance with, and under the control of France.—These were the points which variously were suggested as undoubtedly in the contemplation of the enemy. A general movement took place in her native maritime force; and it was ascertained, that in addition to the escape of the ships from Rochefort, a fleet of eleven ships of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, with from nine to ten thousand troops on board, set sail on the 15th from Toulon. This fleet, however, speedily returned to port through stress of weather, having first captured a few straggling merchantmen. In the West Indies, an attack was made on the island of Dominica on the 20th of February, by a force consisting of one three-decker, two seventy-fours, and some frigates. A landing was attempted, which was long gallantly resisted by general Prevost with very inferior strength. The ships of the line strove in vain to silence the batteries of the town of Roseau; for which, however, upon its accidentally taking fire, it was deemed prudent to capitulate. The general in the mean while, by a forced march, made good his retreat to St. Rupert's. His position there was so tenable, that the enemy finally abandoned his conquest. St. Nevis, St. Kitt's, and other of the smaller islands were afterwards plundered. Admiral Cochrane, with a squadron of six ships of the line, having been ordered some weeks before this intelligence arrived in England to that quarter of our possessions, the public anxiety was in some degree allayed; but it was not long before a new and more important danger awakened it into alarm. The French, having already made a show of sailing up the Archipelago, again took advantage of the temporary absence of the blockading fleet, and a second time put to sea. It was naturally imagined from their former motion that Egypt was likely to be their object. Lord Nelson, therefore, yielding to the deception, bore away from Sicily (to which he had pushed off in expectation of their venturing out of harbour, and with a view to intercept their passage) and sailed instantly upon hearing of their departure from port to Alexandria. The Toulon fleet moved down the Mediterranean, and directed its course to Cadiz. Sir John Orde, who commanded the British squadron off the Spanish coast, discovering that the combined force of the enemy would necessarily now be out of all proportion with his own (the French alone nearly doubling it), thought it prudent to retire from his station, and reinforce with his own vessels the fleet under lord Gardner in the Channel.

Channel. On the 14th of May the Brest fleet got under weigh and stood out from harbour. This, however, was either a mere movement of bravado, or else the admiral of the French declined executing his first intention, intimidated by the appearance of the British. It speedily resumed its former situation: it amounted to twenty-five sail of the line with frigates. Lord Gardner's force at this time was not more in number than seventeen sail. On the 19th of April, previous to this movement at Brest, the combined Spanish and French fleet quitted Cadiz. Its destination was long doubtful; but it was at length discovered on the 14th of May at Martinique. It was now that apprehension was at its height. The fate of Jamaica itself was considered as in hazard. Of lord Nelson nothing was known. Having been naturally and excusably deceived by the early motions of the French, it now seemed impossible for him to regain the days, which had so warrantably, though fruitlessly, been consumed in seeking them where they were not to be found. To follow them to the West Indies, even had he information of their having bent thither their course, was deemed likely to be utterly without effect. Unvictualled for such a voyage, and, as it was supposed, without the means in the Mediterranean of any preparation for the undertaking, an attempt to pursue was pronounced to be little short of madness. The position of his fleet was for some weeks as much unknown as that of the enemy. The resources, however, of a mind active as that of lord Nelson, were not to be estimated by the every-day probabilities of vulgar calculation. Having visited Alexandria, the scene of his former glories, and diligently traversed the whole of the Mediterranean; he hastily provisioned at Palermo, and departed from Europe. So incredibly great were his exertions, that on the 15th of May he passed twenty leagues to the eastward of Madeira, and on the 4th of June arrived at Barbadoes. The report of his approach had gone before him: his very name sounded terror to the enemy. Having left three thousand men intombed at Martinique from the prevailing distempers of the climate, without having achieved a single enterprise against a single island, the French fleet instantly took flight. Lord Nelson, however, fearing an attempt, steered to Antigua, with two thousand men from the garrison of Barbadoes. He there learned that the fugitive fleet had passed on the 12th. Debarking therefore his troops, he recommenced, without delay, his unexampled pursuit. Assured of the safety of our West Indian colonies, all minds now became alive to the hope of intercepting the returning enemy. That the combined fleet could never reach a friendly harbour, and that even, if it escaped lord Nelson, it yet could not avoid fallingin with some of our numerous armaments, seemed the general and just expectation. In truth it did not wholly escape, but it gained the coast of Spain with *comparatively* little injury. On the 22d of July vice-admiral sir Robert Calder, who held under his direction a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, came in view of the confederate squadrons: they consisted of twenty-sail of the line, of three large vessels armed en flute of about 50 guns each, with 5 frigates and 3 brigs. An action through the manœuvres of the British was brought on, which last-

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ed four hours. It ended in the capture of the San Rafael of 84 guns and the Firm of 74. The wind and weather were unfavourable through the whole battle; so thick a fog prevailed, that the British ships could hardly avoid firing into each other. Not a signal could be perceived, and all superiority of tactics was therefore done away. The Windsor Castle sustained so much damage as to be rendered unfit for further service. The fleets remained nearly in sight of each other for some days after the 22d, at which time sir Robert Calder imagined himself able to renew the action. On the 26th he lost sight of them. The conduct of the vice-admiral has since suffered a professional censure, but his courage is allowed to be unimpeached. The court-martial which at his own desire sate in judgment upon him, was of opinion that he neglected to do his utmost to renew the engagement, but that his error arose not from want of personal intrepidity, but from a culpable indecision. The fate of this gallant officer was considered by the better informed of the public as somewhat hard. It is a singular instance of the high confidence existing in the country with respect to our naval excellence, that an admiral with a fleet of *fifteen* sail should incur reproof for having obtained a partial victory in a contest with an adverse force of more than *twenty* sail. Lord Nelson reached Gibraltar on his return to Europe only three days before the combined squadron was met by sir Robert Calder. In the mean time, after the action on the 22d, they made their way good to Ferrol; where having formed a junction with the ships in that harbour, they again put to sea, and were discovered in the evening of the 13th amounting to a force of from 27 to 28 sail of the line with five frigates and three brigs: their destination excited as usual much speculation, till they finally again took a position in the port of Cadiz. Admiral Collingwood now formed an union with the squadron of admiral Calder and that of sir Robert Bickerton, and with a force therefore of 26 or 28 sail of the line blockaded anew the port. After the long cruise therefore of the French fleet little advantage seemed to have been obtained by it, other than that of exercising and disciplining their seamen. Cadiz, experience had shown, was more capable of a perfect blockade than any other of the enemy's naval stations. It now appeared, for some time at least, to be unfitted for all effective operations. The Victory with lord Nelson arrived at Spithead on the 18th of August: after a short stay in his native country he was sent out to take the command of the fleet before Cadiz.

During the summer various attacks were made upon the flotilla, which still continued to collect at Boulogne. Numerous gun brigs, schooners, and small craft from Ostend and Dunkirk, crept along the shore, the final rendezvous of which was the harbour of Boulogne. Our larger vessels could scarcely get near enough to land, so as to make a decisive attack. Many, however, were from time to time driven aground and dispersed. In one of our more serious attempts, not less, however, than 50 of the vessels were consumed and destroyed, and great part also of the town was burnt by our rockets.

The year now was wearing away, and the disasters of the Austrians on the continent, which, both from their unexampled suddenness and their

their extent, seized deeply on the public mind, whilst they failed not to elate the spirits of our adversaries, naturally created a sensation, not indeed of fear, but at least of awe, in the breasts of Englishmen. In little more than a month the main army of a powerful ally was swept away almost without a struggle, and the capital itself of that ally was felt to be nodding to its fall. The lateness of the season prevented any expectation of further naval operations, and all therefore was sad and heavy. It was at the moment that the Austrians under general Mack were piling up their arms before a French division, that lord Nelson encountered the fleet which he had before so long and so unremittingly pursued in vain. On the 19th of August, information was communicated by the watching frigates that the enemy had put to sea. Concluding their destined object was the Mediterranean, he instantly, with his squadron consisting of 27 ships, bore away to the entrance of the Straits, which, from assurances sufficiently to be relied on, he soon learnt had not been passed. On Monday the 21st, in the vicinity of Cape Trafalgar, at day-light, the French and Spaniards, offering a line of thirty-three ships, appeared in sight. Eighteen were French, and the remaining fifteen Spanish. The ships of the two nations were intermixed without any view to national distinction. Admiral Villeneuve the commander-in-chief in the Bucentaure was in the centre. Admiral Gravina, in the rear, hoisted his flag in the Prince of Asturias. Lord Nelson, to free himself from the inconvenience and delays usually attending the formation of a line of battle, and to render the repetition of numerous signals unnecessary, had long previously to action determined on a novel method of attack. As the fleet formed in order of sailing, he directed his ships to bear up in two columns; the one led by himself in the Victory, the other headed by vice-admiral Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign. The unusual mode of attack on the part of the British led the line of the enemy also to take an unusual form. As the English bore down, it extended itself in the shape of a crescent. About twelve o'clock the Victory broke through the enemy about the tenth ship from the van; the Royal Sovereign did the same in the rear; and the van of the adverse line was left unengaged. The commander-in-chief in the battle of the 14th of February 1797, off Cape St. Vincent, had fought with his usual gallantry the Santissima Trinidada. He had determined in the present action to engage his 'old acquaintance;' and the Victory therefore was ordered to carry him along-side of her. Each ship as it followed in either column broke separately in all parts through the adverse line, and opened their fire at the very muzzle of the guns of the enemy. The contest was severe, but never was a victory more complete. At three in the afternoon admiral Gravina stood towards Cadiz, many of the French and Spanish ships having by this time struck their colours, and their whole line being disordered. Five also of the headmost ships in the van of the enemy tacked and stood to the southward to windward of the British line. They were however compelled to re-engage, and the sternmost of them was taken. Nineteen ships of the line were left to the discretion of the British fleet. Two of these, the Santissima Trinidada and the

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Santa Anna, were first-rates; three flag officers were taken, admiral Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief; don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, vice-admiral; and the Spanish rear-admiral don Balthazar Hidalgo Cisneros. The Achille, a French seventy-four, after her surrender, through the mismanagement of her own crew, caught fire and blew up; but 200 of her men were saved by our tenders. The Temeraire, the ship that immediately succeeded the Victory in the van, during the action, either by accident or design, was boarded by a French ship on the one side and by a Spaniard on the other. The spirit of our countrymen proved invincible. The contest, while it lasted, was indeed vigorous; but the combined ensigns were at length torn away, and the British hoisted in their place.—"We buy our blessing at a price;" and the victory of Trafalgar, glorious as it was, was yet dearly purchased. Lord Nelson, about the middle of the action, received a musket-ball in his left breast. It was from the Redoutable that his lordship received his mortal wound. About fifteen minutes after one, in the heat of the engagement, as he stood on his quarter-deck, the fatal shot was fired from the enemy's mizen. It struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, and penetrated his chest. It was at thirty minutes past four when he expired. He lived long enough, however, to be assured that the triumph of his fleet was secure, and he died thanking God in a last effort, "that he had done his duty."—It is not under this division of our work that the character of lord Nelson can be given: it is enough for us to say, that as no individual ever better merited the tears and enthusiastic admiration of a country, so no country ever more deeply felt, or more nobly expressed than his own did, the sentiment of veneration which his unrivalled abilities and honourable application of them so justly and so universally inspired. Never was a race of fame more ably run, nor more gloriously concluded. The boast of France, that she had made for herself a marine of twenty thousand sailors, was annihilated at a blow; the vaunted labour of years was shaken to its foundation; and the visions of commerce, and colonies, and ships, which passed before the fond imagination of her chief, at once dissolved into air. The conquered ships, through the boisterous weather which immediately followed the battle, were most of them obliged to be destroyed. The Duguay Trouin, the Formidable, and the Montblanc, having escaped from the Victory of the 21st, on the 3d of November fell in with the squadron under sir R. J. Strachan, and, after a gallant but short resistance, all of them surrendered.

1805.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omn.	Irish 5 p. ct	Imp 3 p. ct.	Lottery Tickets	Prizes
Jan.	175 168	61⅝ 58¼	63 59½	78 74½	91½	100¾ 99½	18 17⅛	2¾ 2¼	192 186	1 2 dis.	65¾	59½		1 pr. 3 dis.	15½ 9¼ pr	89 87	61¼ 57¼	22 18 12	100
Feb.	180½ 175½	61⅞ 58	61⅛ 59	78 76¼	91⅞ 89	101½ 100¼	18 17¼	2½	188¾ 184¾	1 4 dis.	66 68¼		60⅜	2 pr. 3 dis.			60⅝ 57⅞	30 10 22 5	98
March	180 177	58½	58½	76⅝ 76⅛	90 89	101¼ 101	17⅝ 17	2¾	184 182½	1 2 dis.	68¼ 63¼		57⅞	2 pr. 1 dis.	4 3½ pr.	88¼ 88	58½ 57½	18 16 18 14	98
April	180¾ 172¼	57¼ 56⅜	58½ 57¼		89¾ 88⅜		17⅛		180½ 178	1 2 dis.	63⅝ 62⅞	56⅞	57½	1 pr. 2 dis.	3¾ 2 pr.	85 84¼	57⅞ 56	18 18	99
May	172½ 171	57⅞ 57	58⅞ 58	74½ 73½	90⅝ 88⅞	98⅛ 97⅛	16⅝ 16⅛	2¾ 2¼	183½ 178¾	1 2 dis.	63¼ 62½	57⅝ 56¾	58⅞ 57¼	3 pr. 2 dis.	3½ 2¼ pr.	85⅛ 84¾	57 56¼	19 10 18 19	100 98
June	179 172½	58⅝ 57⅞	60¼ 59¼	75⅝ 74⅝		98½	16¾	2⅜ 2¼	183 180¾	1 2 dis.	63	57¾		1 pr. 1 dis.	4 3¼ pr.	86⅝ 85¾	57¾ 56⅝		98
July	184⅓ 179¼	60⅝ 58½	61 58½	78 75½	89¾	100 98¾	18 16¾	2⅜ 2⅛	185¼ 180¼	1 3 dis.	64 62¾	59½ 53¾	58⅞	3 pr. 2 dis.	6¼ 4 pr.	87½ 86⅞	59¼ 57¾	19 3 18 17	99 98
Aug.	182¾ 177	59⅞ 58¼	58⅝ 57½	77¼ 75⅞	90 88⅞	100¼	17⅛ 16¾	2⅜	183 177½	2 dis.	62½ 61¾	59	58¾ 57¾	1 pr. 1 dis.	4⅝ 2¼ pr.	89 88⅝	58¾ 57⅜	19 10 19 3	100
Sept.	197 178	59⅜ 58½	58¾ 57⅞	76½	89⅜ 88¾	101 100½	17	2⅜	182 177½	1 2 dis.	63 62¾	58¾ 58	57¾	2 pr. 1 dis.	3½ 2¾ pr.	88½	58¾ 57⅞	19 13 19 10	100
Oct.	197½ 194		59½ 58¼		89⅞ 88¾				185 181	2 pr. 2 dis.				2 pr. 2 dis.	5¼ 3¼ pr.	86⅝ 85	58¼ 57⅛	21 15 19 13	98
Nov.	196¼ 190½	59¼ 58½	60¼ 59	76½ 74⅝	92½ 89½	99⅛ 98¼	17 16½	2 1⅞	189 187½	1 pr. par.	64⅝ 63¾	58½	60 58⅞	3 pr. 2 dis.	6½ 4½ pr	88⅞ 86½	58½ 57¼	19 15	98
Dec.	195 192	60⅞ 59¼	62⅛ 60¼	78 76⅛		99¼	17⅜ 16⅞	2 1⅞	190¾	1 pr. 2 dis.		60½		2 pr. 2 dis.	5¼ 5¾ pr		59⅝ 58⅝	19 17	100 99

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1805.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1805.

JANUARY.

1. PART of Clowes Wood, in Ireland, caught fire by the wind having dispersed some embers of wood, lighted for making wefts or bands. It began on the side of the wood, near the road to Swalcliffe, and extended in the direction of the wood, nearly through to Blean-common, where it luckily spent itself, by the opposition it received from the standard wood, after consuming 30 acres of furze and heath. The progress of the flames was considerably checked and prevented from spreading in lateral directions, by the patches of snow in different places. Fortunately, the wind was in a contrary direction, or, from the vicinity of the fire to Thorndon-wood, an extent of 700 acres, more damage might have ensued.

This night, about 8 o'clock, a fire broke out in the workshop of Mr. Brodie, carpenter, in Swallow-street. It was near an hour before water could be procured; but afterwards the engines played with such effect, as soon to subdue the fire.

8. A chimney-sweeper fell this morning from the top of a house in Bishopsgate-street, having protruded himself too far out at the chimney-pot, and was killed.

13. This morning, between three and four o'clock, a fire broke out in Mr. Dowding's cooperage, Wapping-wall, which consumed those extensive premises, together with an immense stock of casks, staves, &c. The flames extended to the premises of Mr. E[illegible]ington, wine-merchant, in Spring-street, whose warehouse and immense stock were entirely destroyed. His dwelling-house narrowly escaped the same fate, being partly consumed. Four houses in Sconce's alley were burned to the ground, and five or six tenements in Pu[illegible]'s court, all of them inhabited by very poor people, now left destitute of house and furniture. The rears of several houses in Star-street suffered considerably.

16. A coal-mine belonging to Mr. Gallimore, near Burslem, Staffordshire, having taken fire about two months ago, the flames were attempted to be extinguished by stopping up the tops of the pits to prevent the access of the air. This day, two of the workmen went down into the coal-pit before the fire was put out, and the impure

vapour suffocated one in a moment; the other was drawn up alive, and has recovered.

19. This morning, about three o'clock, the cotton factory belonging to Messrs. Rowley and Co. in Oldfield-lane, Salford, was totally consumed by fire, together with all the machinery contained therein. The same building caught fire on the 8th instant; but, being timely discovered, the flames were then suppressed.

The following curious and important cause came on this day, in the court of chancery. The plaintiff was the celebrated J. R. Dolder, the landamman or supreme magistrate of the Helvetian republic: the defendants, the Bank of England, lord Huntingfield, and the hon. R. Walpole. It appeared that when the cantons of Switzerland were threatened with destruction as an independent power, by the imposing situation of France in 1798, the cantons of Berne and Zurich had the prudence to invest a considerable portion of the funds of their respective states in the public securities of this country. Pursuant to this design, 85,449*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* was placed in the three per cent. consolidated annuities; in South Sea stock 158,383*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and about 34,000*l.* in bank stock. The agents of this country, for the appropriation of these moneys, were lord Huntingfield and the hon. Robert Walpole, who were directed to apply them in this manner, by the constituted authorities of the two cantons we have named. The dividends resulting from these investments, to the time when this bill was filed in chancery, amounted to the sum of 57,009*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* and the present application was to procure from the defendants the payment of this sum into court. Mr. Romilly, for the plaintiff, contended that he had a right to receive those dividends. Messrs. Richards and Hollis, on the other hand, objected to the character assumed by the plaintiff. This country did not acknowledge any Helvetian republic; and no municipal court here could therefore suppose such a power to exist. From the established forms founded on the royal rights, this court could not even agitate a question of this nature, excepting in the presence of his majesty's attorney-general. The lord chancellor said, that the money could not be taken out of the hands of the defendants, till all the parties interested in the cause, as well as the attorney-general, should appear before him in the proceedings. It was a subject of very large inquiry, whether a municipal court can act with the government of a country not yet acknowledged by its own.

Admiralty-office, Jan. 22.

A letter from capt. C. Elphinstone to lord Keith.

Greyhound, at Sea, Jan. 19

My lord,

Cruizing in conformity to your orders, I yesterday fell-in with, and after 11 hours' chase captured the French lugger-privateer L. Vimereux, Jean B. Pollet captain, armed with 15 guns, and having on board a complement of 69 men. She sailed from St. Vallery en Caux to which port she belonged, on Thursday, and had taken nothing. She is a remarkably fine vessel, about 60 tons burthen, nearly new, and sails so well, that, had we not been greatly favoured by frequent changes of wind, I believe all our efforts in pursuit of her would have

be

been fruitless. It was against this lugger that the gallant, although unfortunate, attempt was made by the boats of his majesty's sloop Rattler; and Folkestone lugger; and it is with great satisfaction I learnt, that the lieutenants of the Rattler and Folkestone were still living, and, although severely wounded, that there is very great expectation of their recovery.

I am, &c.

C. ELPHINSTONE.

27. A fire broke out in the house of Mr. Barr, tallow-chandler, Upper Adams-street, Edgware-road. Mr. and Mrs. Barr, with each an infant in their arms, were rescued by ladders placed against the windows. The house was soon in a blaze; and a coachman named Pierce was fortunate enough, at the risque of his life, to rescue his daughter, whom he carried down stairs amidst fire and smoke. Recollecting that his wife remained behind, he exclaimed, in an agony of grief, "Oh! Betsy, Betsy, Betsy!" To return as he came was impossible, as the staircase was completely enveloped with the flames; but he had scarcely uttered the above words, when one of the windows in the two pair of stairs front room opened, and the unfortunate woman presented herself. Without a moment's hesitation, she precipitated herself into the street. By the fall, her thigh was broken, her neck dislocated, and she instantly expired in the presence of her hubstand and daughter, who were eye-witnesses of her melancholy fate. The fire had by this time got possession of every part of the house, which presented nothing but one entire blaze, and no hope was left that any of the unfortunate inhabitants that remained in it could possibly escape. They consisted of Mr. Adams, a coachman and his wife, an elderly lady and her two grandsons, fine lads, and two young men, servants out of place; all of whom, to the number of seven, melancholy to relate! fell victims to the fury of the flames. Next morning, at nine, a great number of people assembled at the ruins, in expectation of seeing the firemen searching for the unfortunate sufferers; but on finding, as the houses were not insured, that the firemen were not obliged to undertake the melancholy business, four labourers, who were present, volunteered their services in digging; and about half past two discovered the body of Mrs. Jerams, the elderly woman, and, shortly after, her youngest son, a fine young man of 18 years, a postillion, and another son, a groom, 23 years of age. The bodies, when found, were entirely naked, the hair burned off; but, from the suddenness of the house falling in, they were not defaced, but appeared parboiled from the heat. At this moment, a servant in livery appeared, with his wife, and claimed the wretched sufferers, as his mother and brothers: but this was not the measure of their grief; for the next body found was their infant child, eleven months old, who, with its infant brother, three years old, fell victims to the flames.

FEBRUARY.

1. The Earl of Abergavenny East Indiaman sailed from Portsmouth this day in company with the outward-bound ships; when, the weather proving adverse, the commodore made signal on Tuesday for them to put into Portland roads. The Abergavenny having a pilot

on board who did not seem well acquainted with the coast, she struck on the shambles of the Bill of Portland, about two miles from the shore. Capt. Wordsworth and his officers were of opinion that the ship might be got off without sustaining material damage; and accordingly no guns of distress were fired for upwards of an hour and a half; when 20 were discharged. All this time the people were free from alarm, and no idea prevailed that it would be necessary to hoist out the boats. About five P. M. things bore a more unfavourable aspect; the carpenter announced that a considerable leak was discovered near the botton of the chain-pumps, which it was not in his power to stop. The pumps were set a-going, and part of the crew endeavoured to bail her at the fore-hatch; but all attempts to keep the water under were in vain. At six P. M. the inevitable loss of the ship became apparent; other leaks were discovered; the wind had increased to a gale; and the severe beating of the vessel upon the rocks threatened immediate destruction. As the night advanced, the situation of all on board became more terrible. At seven, the company was nearly exhausted; and the purser, Mr. Mortimer, was sent in one of the ship's boats with the papers and dispatches. The third mate, a cousin of the captain, accompanied the purser, with about six seamen. One boat came off as from the shore, which took on board the misses Evans, miss Jackson, Mr. Routledge, and Mr. Taylor, a cadet, all passengers. About nine o'clock the dreadful crisis approached; the passengers were informed of their situation, and every man was aware of his fate. The sailors, in a state of desperation, insisted on more liquor; but the officers guarded the spirit-room, and remained there even while the ship was sinking. Just before she went down, Mr. Bagget, the chief mate, went to capt. Wordsworth, and said, "We have done all we can, sir; she will sink in a moment." The captain replied, "It cannot be helped—God's will be done!" At eleven, the sea giving her a sudden shock, she sunk in twelve fathoms water; at which time between 80 and 90 persons were clinging to the tops of the masts, and were afterwards taken off. When the ship sunk, she did not go down in the usual way, by falling first upon her beam-ends: this deviation is supposed to have arisen from her being laden with treasure and porcelain ware. She had 70,000*l.* in specie on board, and nearly 400 persons. The crew consisted of 160 men, and there were between 50 and 60 passengers; the rest were recruits: about 30 Chinamen were also on board. The total number of the drowned is estimated at 300, and the whole value of the cargo at 200,000*l.* Nothing was saved except the dispatches and some valuable prints, which had been sent out for general Lake. Capt. Wordsworth, at the moment the ship was going down, was seen clinging to the ropes. Mr. Gilpin, one of the mates, used every persuasion to induce him to save his life, but all in vain. The names of the persons said to have been saved are, Messrs. G. W. E. Steuart, 2d mate; J. Wordsworth, 3d ditto; T. Gilpin, 4th; J. Clark, 5th; H. Mortimer, 6th; Davie, surgeon; Steuart, purser; Abbot, gunner; Addwater, carpenter; White, midshipman and cockswain; Pitcher, Rason, Yates, and Barnet, midshipmen; Akers, ship's steward;

steward; Ivers, boatswain's 2d mate; Dunn and Williams, gunner's mates; Barrett, Boyd, Palmer, Thompson, and J. Thompson, quarter-masters; Lundie, baker; Parsons, Swinie, and Bonge, seamen, and J. Thompson, Chinese servant.—Passengers; T. Evans, esq. senior merchant; misses Evans and Jackson; Mr. Routledge; cornet Burgoyne, 8th light-dragoons; Dr. Maxwell; Mr. Evans's black servant; Messrs. Baillie, Grimshaw, C. Taylor, Thwaites, and Johnson, cadets.—Exclusive of the above persons, about 20 soldiers, and from 40 to 50 of the petty-officers, and others of the ship's company, were saved, whose names have not been ascertained.—The total number saved is reckoned at from 90 to 100 persons.

Capt. Forbes and three privates, taken from the wreck in a benumbed state, and put into the hold of a small fishing-vessel, with as many as she could safely stow, to be conveyed to Weymouth, died in gaining the shore, though a distance of not more than two miles; all of whom, together with serjeant Hart, who died the same day, were buried on Friday with military honours. The spar-deck of the ship is come up, and with it many trunks of light goods; amongst others, the writing-case of cornet Burgoyne: it was found by some peasants near Osmington, who, not knowing the nature or consequence of some papers therein (as a will and other documents, with a considerable sum of money), took it to Mr. Coates, the vicar of the parish, who received the whole, and sent to inform Mr. Burgoyne thereof, who is come down to take possession of his property. Since this, many boxes have been found empty. The ship has been surveyed, and the company intend making an attempt to weigh her; and every hope is entertained of their succeeding in it, as she lies in not more than 10 fathoms of water. Her yards, masts, &c. have been brought into Weymouth.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 2.

Extract of a letter from capt. Owen, of the Immortalité, off Boulogne, to vice-admiral Holloway, dated Jan. 29.

A division of 17 brigs, three schooners, four sloops, a dogger, and six luggers, arrived this morning from the westward; and although I got close enough to exchange shot with the body of them, the wind and lee-tide enabled them to haul close to the beach, and pass in that manner. One lugger had carried away her foremast, and was cut off by the Harpy, whose fire she returned before she struck. I have sent her to the Downs with the Bruiser.

9. This Gazette contains the following letters:—one from capt. Nourse, of the Barbadoes, to commodore Hood, dated in November, announcing the capture of L'Heureux French privateer, of 10 six-pounders and 80 men, nine days from Guadaloupe.—Another from capt. Cadogan, of the Cyane, dated off Antigua, Dec. 12, mentioning the capture, off Marigalante, of the Buonaparte privateer-brig, of 18 long French 8-pounders, and 150 men. There were no men killed or wounded by the enemy's fire on board the Cyane, though some were hurt by the accidental explosion of a cartridge.—A third letter from lord M. Kerr, of the Fisgard, dated Dec. 22, (a

duplicate of one addressed to lord Nelson,) states the capture of the French privateer Le Tigre, formerly the Angola of Liverpool, from Cayenne to Cadiz, mounting twelve 18-pound carronades, and 2 brass four-pounders, with 40 men. She had captured an English brig from London to St. Michael's, the master and crew of which were on board.

On the 12th Jan. as the Doris frigate was proceeding to Quiberon-bay, through the Benequet passage, she struck upon a sunken rock, called the Diamond, and in consequence made so much water that capt. Campbell was obliged to throw all her guns and every weighty article overboard. During the following day it blew a tremendous gale at S. W.; but the weather moderating on the day following, they gained upon the leak, which was under the fore-foot, and in the evening she sailed for England with a fine breeze, accompanied by the Felix. In the night, however, it blew hard from the N. W. with a heavy sea, which tore off the foddering which had been put under her bottom to stop the leak, and the water gushed in with such violence, that every exertion to keep it out proved ineffectual; she became water-logged, would not answer her helm, and had drifted considerably to leeward during the night. In this predicament, capt. Campbell, finding it impossible to keep her above water, determined to abandon her, and accordingly brought her to an anchor.—"Our situation," says our informant, "was very critical. We were on the most dangerous part of the coast, between a reef of rocks off Crozie (near the mouth of the Loire) called Le Four, and a rock called the Turk; there was an excessive heavy swell running, and we could see the breakers directly astern, about three miles distant. Happily the wind abated, or we all must have perished. At this time a Danish brig was drifted in by the tide, and part of our people were put on-board her, with orders to proceed for England; the rest, including the captain and most of the officers, in all 117, got on board the Felix, with a few portable articles. Capt. Campbell then set the Doris on fire; in a short time the after-magazine blew up (the fore one had been drowned), and she immediately went down. On the 16th the Felix fell-in with the squadron under the orders of sir T. Graves, and delivered the Doris's people on board the Tonnet, which ship left that station on the 21st for England."

The Madras Gazette Extraordinary, of Aug. 14, contains a dispatch from brigadier Monson to general Lake, announcing the capture, by assault, of the fort of Hinglais Ghur, hitherto supposed to be impregnable, by a party composed of the 2d battalion 2d regiment, 6-pounders, and a party of lieut. Lucan's Hindostan cavalry, the whole under the command of major Sinclair.—After a heavy cannonade of an hour, our troops scaled the walls and took possession of the place, without having an officer either killed or wounded.—The garrison consisted of 300 cavalry and 800 infantry, commanded by Sham Rao Murray (the killedar of the place), who made his escape on the east side of the fort, with other fugitives, many of whom were found killed and wounded in the surrounding jungles.—The place had been in the possession of Holkar's family

for

for fifty years. It is surrounded by a deep natural ravine 250 feet in breadth, and 200 in depth, the sides perpendicular, on the inner of which are built the walls of the fort.

The Calcutta Gazette, of July 19, announces the complete success of col. Martindale, in Bundelcund, over a banditti under a chief named Rajah Ram Sing.—Captains O'Halloran and Anderson led two brigades against the enemy with great gallantry, as did capt. Watson, with the 1st battalion of the 18th regiment.

Letters from Bengal, of the 4th of August, announce a serious commotion to have taken place at Juthia, in Siam, from the following circumstance: The king, to indulge the personal resentment of his minister, caused twenty of the principal mandarins to be whipped with split rattans with such severity, that several of them died in consequence. Shortly after, some of the king's favourite elephants were killed during the night, and this was made the ground for fresh arrests and flagellations. The populace rose, rescued the prisoners, and gave battle to the king's troops. In this, however, they were defeated, and compelled to seek safety in the mountains S. W. of Keshó, where they have formed a junction with the insurgents on the frontiers of Cochin China.

15. The female servant of a farmer at Fundenhall, Norfolk, having lighted a fire in a heater stove, in which her master had incautiously placed a cannister full of gunpowder to dry, an explosion took place, which killed the poor woman on the spot, and did considerable damage to the house.

As a person of the name of Carter was returning, with his wife and another person named Burridge, in a cart, from Wisbech to Emneth, the horse, on leaving the town, got out of the road, and overturned the cart into the new canal; by which Messrs. Carter and Burridge were drowned.

A poor man, aged 75 residing in Castle-Cary, Somersetshire, lately strangled himself in his apartment. He was so determined on the commission of suicide, that, sitting on the bedstead, and fixing the cord round his neck, he forcibly bent himself forward, and so continued till he expired. His wife, who has for many years been confined to her bed, was in the room, and knew nothing of the transaction till he was dead.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 19.

Inclosure from adm. Cornwallis, K. B. to W. Marsden, esq. dated Ville de Paris, off Ushant, Feb. 13.

Melampus, off Ushant, Feb. 13.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that I this morning fell-in with and captured two gun-brigs, carrying two long 24-pounders and one 18-pounder each, having on-board 50 men, the greater part soldiers; also four luggers, mounting one long 18-pounder each, manned with 25 men, mostly soldiers. These vessels are part of 27 of the same description, from Bourdeaux to Brest; two more were captured (lugger-rigged) early the same morning, by the Rhoda and Frisk armed cutters.

I am, &c.

S. Poyntz.

Cutter

Cutter Frisk, at Sea, Feb. 13.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that at day-light yesterday (the Rhoda cutter in company) I discovered 10 sail of the enemy's gun-brigs and luggers had come through the Passage du Raz, and the wind blowing fresh to the eastward, they were not able to get to windward. I immediately gave chase to the weathermost, a lugger, and at half-past seven (Point du Raz S. S. W. distant five miles) I captured her, and sent her to Plymouth. She proves to be No. 288, gun-vessel, mounting one long 24-pounder, with 25 men, 20 of whom are troops of the 44th regiment, commanded by M. P. Roux, enseigne de vaisseau. At half-past 11 the Melampus hove in sight to leeward. I am, &c.

J. Nicholson.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 23.

Letter from lieut. Rose, of the Growler gun-brig, to W. Marsden, esq. dated Falmouth, Feb. 15.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, with my arrival at this port, with the French national gun-brig No. 193, which I fell-in with, and captured after a running action of one hour and a half. From what I can understand from the captain, she was one of four of the same class, from Bayonne, bound to Brest, commanded by an enseigne de vaisseau, had on-board 15 seamen, a captain in the army, and 34 soldiers, mounts two long 24-pounders, one 18-pounder, and four swivels, 65 feet on the keel, is quite new, and draws six feet water. I should be negligent in my duty were I to omit saying, that Mr. Henry Ellis, sub-lieutenant, with the other officers and crew, did their duty much to my satisfaction.

James Rose,
Lieutenant and commander.

28. The tunnel through Blisworth Hill, near Northampton, was this day completed. This tunnel is nearly two miles in length, and has been one of the greatest difficulties the grand junction canal have had to surmount, in executing their national undertakings. It opens a direct intercourse with the metropolis, by inland navigation, from the northern, north-eastern, north-western, and midland canals and manufactories.

MARCH.

Admiralty-office, March 2.

This Gazette contains a letter from capt. Lake, of the Topaze, to lord Gardner, announcing his having captured the French privateer General Augereau, of fourteen 12-pounders, and 88 men; and a letter from capt. Bouverie, of the Mercury, to sir John Orde, communicating the capture of El Fuerte de Gibraltar Spanish gun-vessel, carrying two long 12-pounders, two 16-pound carronades, several swivels, and 59 men, from Cadiz, bound to Algesiras, which had been driven from the land the evening before.

Admiralty-office, March 12.

This Gazette contains a letter from capt. F. F. Gardner, of the Princess Charlotte, to admiral Duckworth, announcing the capture of Le Regulus French privateer

teer brig, from Guadaloupe, of 14 guns and 84 men.—The vessel is an exceeding fast sailer, and perfectly fit for service.

Admiralty-office, March 14.

Letter from adm. Rainier, commander in chief in the East Indies, dated Trident, October 18, 1804.

On the 17th, Mons. Linois had seized on some country boats off Massulipatam-road, who gave him the intelligence of his majesty's ship Wilhelmina having left that road a few days before for Vizagapatam-road, with the Princess Charlotte Indiaman in convoy; and accordingly he dashed into that road in the forenoon of the 18th, and commenced a furious attack with the Marengo and frigates on his majesty's ship the Centurion, of 50 guns, whom I had a few days before substituted for the Wilhelmina, having ordered the latter to proceed to Calcutta with the Bengal and Asia Indiamen, who had some treasure on-board. For the particulars of what followed, I beg leave to refer their lordships to capt. James Lind's letter of the 19th, whom I had given an acting order to command that ship in the absence of capt. J. S. Rainier, left dangerously ill at sick quarters. The gallant and spirited conduct displayed by capt. Lind, his officers and crew, in the defence of his majesty's ship Centurion, against so great a superiority of force, under every advantage on the part of the assailants, with the complete defeat given the French admiral and squadron in the conclusion, merits every encomium, and, I trust, will be honoured with their lordships' approbation. For my part, I do not hesitate to rank this brilliant action with the most famous of the defensive kind recorded in the annals of the British navy.

Centurion, in Vizagapatam Road, Sept. 19.

Sir,

Yesterday morning, whilst at anchor in this roadsted, and waiting till the Indiaman the Princess Charlotte, and the country ship the Barnaby, the two ships you directed me to convoy to Madras, were loaded, three ships were perceived under the land in the south-west, coming down before the wind, with all sail set. About half-past nine A. M. it was seen that the strange ships were enemies, and were a line-of-battle ship and two frigates; the line-of-battle ship hoisted, with her colours, a flag at the mizen top-mast-head, and I believe was the Marengo, admiral Linois, and I shall so call her in this letter. The frigates appeared to be of 36 or 40 guns. For the information of the convoy, the signal of an enemy being in sight was hoisted, and soon afterwards one for the convoy, as they were best able to put into a port in view. This was done, that the two ships that we had taken under convoy might get close in shore for protection, or, if necessary, be run on it. The Barnaby complied with this signal; she ran in-shore, but unfortunately afterwards got into the surf, and was totally lost.

About 10 A. M. the headmost of the enemy's ships, a frigate, was about half a mile from the Centurion, without any colours flying. Several shot were fired at her. About the same time the cable was cut, and topsails sheeted home, which were already loose for the purpose: by this means the broad-

side

side was brought to bear upon the enemy, and prevented the ship being boarded or raked: by this manœuvre, likewise, a frigate, that was within a cable's length of the Centurion, and appeared to have an intention to board, got a close and well-directed broadside into her: the action soon became general; the three enemy's ships directed their fire on the Centurion, their only object, for the Princess Charlotte Indiaman had very early struck her colours. The Centurion stood in-shore, the Marengo and one frigate on the starboard quarter, the other frigate on the larboard; they were all less than half a mile distant, and kept firing; which the Centurion returned. Her fire was chiefly directed against the Marengo. About a quarter before eleven the French ships stood to sea; and immediately after this I got on-board, though with much difficulty and danger. I had been on-shore to expedite the sailing of the convoy, and was not present in this early part of the action; for till now, the Centurion had been under the direction of lieut. James Robert Philips, the first lieutenant; and before I proceed any further in this account, permit me to notice the judicious conduct of this deserving and old officer, and his gallant defence of the ship against so superior a force as that of the enemy. I hope, sir, his conduct will be thought worthy of a reward, and that he will be esteemed deserving of promotion.

On my coming on board, I found the sails and rigging so very much cut as to render the ship not in a state to be worked, and therefore anchored at the back of the surf, about a mile and a half to the north-east of the town: this situation was the best I had in my power to take, both for defence, and to prevent her falling into the possession of the enemy if overpowered.—A battery of three guns at the town, under the command of col. Campbell, of his majesty's 74th regiment, had kept a fire on the enemy whilst within reach in the roadsted, but now we were too far distant to receive any support from it. I sent on-shore to request guns might be brought on the beach near us: this was a thing, I have been since convinced of, totally impracticable, or it would have been done. We prepared again for action; and whilst thus employed, the enemy, in the offing, wore and stood towards us: the Marengo, after having repeatedly tried the range of her guns, came to an anchor abreast of us, and about a mile distant; clewed up her top-sails, furled her courses, and commenced cannonading. This threatening appearance of being determined to persevere and to succeed, only served to animate the officers and men of his majesty's ship to greater exertions of defence with the lower deck guns, the only ones that would reach the enemy, for she was too far distant for the carronades, but all the enemy's reached us. In the mean time one of the frigates kept under sail on our quarter, and nearer than the Marengo, and annoyed us much by her fire; the other frigate carried off the Indiaman from her anchorage in the road.—At a quarter past one P. M. nearly two hours after this cannonading commenced, and which had been kept up with vigour on both sides, the Marengo cut her cable, hoisted her jib, and stood to sea. By some of her last shot our cable was cut, and we made some sail, and got further off-shore before we brought up with the sheet anchor. When the Ma-

rengo

rengo first made sail, I supposed she intended to make a short stretch, tack, and renew the action nearer, and made all necessary preparations to receive her; but she, frigates, and prize Indiaman, stood to sea, and a little before sunset made up to the north-east, towards the bottom of the bay.—What damage the enemy has sustained, or from what cause they declined further contest with us, I cannot tell. After this full account of the transactions of the day, I feel it a duty incumbent on me not only to repeat the high sense I have of lieut. Philips's services, but likewise to inform you that the other lieutenants of this ship, lieuts. David Pringle, Richard Coote, and William Fair-brother Carrol, displayed great gallantry and spirit on the occasion: the last-mentioned, lieut. Carrol, though a young officer, has seen much service, and as his commission of lieutenant is not yet confirmed by my lords commissioners of the admiralty, may I request that you will be pleased to represent his great merit, to induce their lordships to do it? To the zeal and energy of lieut. Waring of the marines I am much indebted. To insert any thing in this letter in praise of the behaviour of the veteran and gallant crew of his majesty's ship Centurion, must be needless to you, sir, who are well acquainted with it; but I cannot refrain from saying that they displayed great experience and cool courage; and the good discipline of the ship was conspicuous, and does great credit to their proper commander, capt. Rainier. His majesty's ship has received considerable damage in her masts, yards, and rigging. The fore-mast, mizen-mast, and main yard, are badly wounded, as well as several smaller masts and yards; several shot remain in the bottom, between wind and water, one came through into the gunner's store-room: but for your full information of particulars, there accompany this, detailed reports of damages sustained in the gunner's, boatswain's, and carpenter's departments, as far as they have been yet ascertained. It is with pleasure I acquaint you that very few men, considering the long action, have suffered; none were killed, and only nine wounded; one of them is since dead, the others are not in apparent danger.—I have received all the assistance that this place could afford me from col. A. Campbell, of his majesty's 74th Highland regiment, commanding officer of the district, and from all the company's servants, both civil and military, at this settlement.

I am, &c.

JAMES LIND.

List of ships taken, destroyed, and recaptured, by the ships under the command of adm. Rainier, in the East Indies, between Dec. 21, 1803, and Nov. 1, 1804.

French ship Clarisse, of 12 guns and 157 men: taken by the Albion and Sceptre, Dec. 21, 1803, in lat. 1. deg. 18 min. S. long. 95 deg. 20 min. E.—French chasse marée Passe par Tout, of 2 guns, six swivels, and 25 men; taken by the San Fiorenzo, Jan. 14, 1804, off Mount Dilly.—French brig L'Espeigle, of 4 guns (4-pounders) and 36 men; taken by La Dedaigneuse, Dec. 14, 1803, off Cochin.—French brig Les Freres Unis, of 8 guns (9 and 6-pounders, pierced for 16 guns), 134 men, and 140 tons; taken by the Caro-

line,

line, Jan. 6, 1804, in the Bay of Bengal.—French ship General De Caen, of 26 guns (9-pounders, and heavy carronades), 200 men, and 360 tons; taken by the Caroline, Feb. 4, 1804, between the Cows and Andaman Isles.—French brig L'Alfred, of 14 guns (6 and 4-pounders), 75 men, and 110 tons; taken by the Sheerness, May 5, 1804, off Point de Galle.—French schooner Zephyr, of 4 men and 90 tons, laden with 114 slaves; taken by the Terpsichore, Aug. 27, 1804, off Grande Port.—French brig La Jeune Clementine, of 15 men, laden with 180 slaves; taken by the Sir Edward Hughes Indiaman, July 12, 1804, in lat. 4 deg. 13 min. S. long. 64. deg. E.

(Signed) PETER RAINIER.

[Capt. Musgrave, of the Kitty privateer of London, announces the capture of a Spanish privateer of 20 guns, and 170 men, 10 days from St. Andero, after an engagement of an hour and a half. The Kitty had one man killed and two dangerously wounded. The Spaniards had four killed and 14 wounded.]

COURT OF CHANCERY.

March 20.

Morice v. the Bishop of Durham.

This was an appeal by the defendant against the decree of the master of the rolls, under the following circumstances:

The late Mrs. Ann Cracherode, by her last will and testament, after a variety of other bequests, devised the residue of her large property, amounting nearly to 30,000*l.* to the bishop of Durham, in trust, "to be applied in acts of benevolence and liberality." The bishop accordingly applied the interest of that residue in such acts of charity as he considered to be comprehended in the words of the will, and the intent of the testatrix. The plaintiff, as the next of kin to the deceased, filed a bill in this court for the recovery of that residue; and the master of the rolls being of opinion that the true intent and meaning of the testatrix was not sufficiently expressed in the words of the will, and that the words "benevolence and liberality," without any further explanation, bore an indefinite signification, not sufficient to create a trust for any specific purpose in the bishop; his honour decreed, that the property should go to the plaintiff, as next of kin. From this decree the defendant appealed; and the cause came on to be heard on Monday the 18th, before the chancellor, when it underwent a very long and able discussion, by the attorney-general, Mr. Richards, and Mr. Martin, for the appellant; and Messrs. Romilly and Bell, for the respondent; in the course of which, much legal argument and logical reasoning were displayed by the learned counsel on each side, upon the question, whether the words "acts of benevolence and liberality" could be considered as meaning "acts of charity?" For this purpose, authorities from holy writ, from Cicero, Dr. Paley, the statute of Elizabeth, and a number of decided cases, were cited. The lord chancellor, after commenting on the whole of the case, considered that the words of the will were too indefinite, too vague, and too uncertain, to create a trust in the bishop of Durham; and therefore he was of opinion that the decree should be affirmed.

Admiralty-

Admiralty-office, March 23.

Letter from capt. Farquhar, late commander of the Acheron bomb, to W. Marsden, esq. dated in Malaga prison, Feb. 12.

Sir,

You will be pleased to lay before my lords commissioners of the admiralty the inclosed copy of an account, transmitted to lord Nelson, of the capture and destruction of his majesty's sloop Arrow, capt. Vincent, and Acheron bomb, under my command, acquainting their lordships that, from the uncertain state I am in with respect to the safety of capt. Vincent, or to what port he may have been carried, I have thought it my duty not to let an opportunity slip of giving his lordship the earliest information, as well as the commanding officer at Gibraltar, that immediate assistance and protection might be afforded to the convoy.

ART. FARQUHAR.

Proceedings of his majesty's bomb vessel Acheron, Sunday, Feb. 3.

My lord,

At day-light two strange sail were seen from the mast-head, bearing about E. S. E. of us; at eight A. M. they had considerably neared us; we were at this time in the rear of the convoy. About half-past ten, the Arrow asked, per telegraph, my opinion of ships to the eastward; I immediately wore ship and stood towards them; observed the headmost ship to shorten sail, by hauling down the studding sails; made signal 642 to the Arrow, then hoisted the private signal, and continued upon a wind standing to them; at a quarter past 11 made the signal for their being suspicious (they not having answered the private signal). I was now so near as to be able to observe they were frigates, and at half-past 11 to discover that they had their spare anchors in their main chains; which immediately led me to suppose that they were French. At 50 minutes past 11 wore ship, and made all sail towards the Arrow, who had by this time quitted her tow, and made signal for convoy to continue the same course, although ships of war acted otherwise. At half-past 12 P. M. (Monday per log) hoisted our colours and fired a gun, which they paid no attention to. Signals 360 and 322 were then made to the Arrow, who immediately made signal to the convoy for an enemy, and to make all possible sail to the appointed rendezvous; which was repeated. The frigates had by this time made all possible sail in chase of us; but the wind being light and variable from the eastward, we rather gained upon them. At half-past 4 P. M. having joined the Arrow, I went on board; capt. Vincent appeared satisfied they were enemy's ships; they were now about five miles from us; it was resolved to make sail, and keep in the rear of the convoy for their protection. It was calm until 11 P. M. when a breeze sprung up from the W. S. W. Wore ship, and stood towards the Arrow. At 12 she hailed, and desired we would keep in her wake in close order. At two A. M. saw two sail upon the lee bow; called the hands to quarters. At half-past came up with them, and discovered they were two of the convoy. At a quarter past 4 A. M. saw two other ships standing to us on the opposite tack. At 45 minutes past four the Arrow hailed the headmost ship, then passing under her lee; being in close order, she soon came abreast of the Acheron. I saw she was a large frigate

frigate prepared to engage. I hailed her, asking What ship is that? She answered, What ship are you? and immediately gave us her broadside of round and grape, which did us very considerable damage in rigging and sails, besides carrying away the slings of the main-yard, and main-top-gallant-yard in the slings, but did not kill or wound any one. We returned her fire, then hove about, and gave her the guns from the other side, and kept up the fire while our shot would reach her. The Arrow bore up and raked her. At or about half-past five the second frigate passed the Arrow (then lying-to upon the starboard tack) without firing; a little afterwards she appeared as if intending to wear, and having her stern towards the Acheron, we gave her two rounds from the larboard guns. She then hauled her wind, and stood towards the other frigate. The people were now employed in splicing the rigging and getting another top-gallant-yard and sail ready to send aloft. At day-light observed the enemy had French colours flying, and one of the frigates bearing a commodore's pendant. They then wore, and stood to us: answered our signal, and repeated the answer to one of the ships of the convoy; bore up to close the Arrow; at seven she hailed us, and desired we would keep in her wake, in close order; made sail on the starboard tack, closing with the enemy; at 25 minutes past seven, the headmost frigate being abreast of the Arrow, and within half musket-shot, fired her broadside at her, which was immediately returned; at 30 minutes past seven she was abreast of us, and gave us a broadside: we then commenced action with her, which we continued until the second frigate, which was the commodore's, came up to and fired into us (having engaged the Arrow in passing): we now turned our fire upon this ship until we came up with the Arrow, who had put her helm a-weather and was now raking her: we hauled our wind to clear the Arrow, who appeared to be wearing: I hailed, and asked if he meant to again come to the wind on the starboard tack, but could not understand what he said: as soon as clear of the Arrow, we again directed our fire into the commodore's ship, which we continued until eight, when, with the greatest grief, I saw the Arrow obliged to strike, being no longer able to contend with the great superiority of force opposed to her. She had, I conceive, received much damage in the act of wearing: the wind being light, she lay a considerable time with her head to the enemy. The Acheron being now very much disabled in masts, sails, and rigging, and part of her stern-post carried away, I considered further resistance on my part could answer no good; and, unwilling to sacrifice the lives of men who had given me the highest proof of their courage, I determined to make what sail I could, with little hopes of saving the ship, but with a view of prolonging the time of my being captured, to give the convoy the better chance of escaping. The superiority in sailing of the enemy's ship rendered the chase but short; at three quarters past eight, having received one broadside and part of another, and the enemy now very near us, with the greatest mortification and sorrow I was obliged to surrender to the French frigate L'Hortense, of 44 guns, commanded by Mons. De la Marre La Mellerie,

Mellerie, who, finding her much disabled, as soon as the officers and ship's company were removed, set her on fire.

[This Gazette likewise contains a letter from admiral Cochrane, dated Northumberland, off the Bar of Lisbon, March 6, announcing the capture of the Spanish privateer schooner Fama, of four guns and 62 men, by the Circe frigate, on the 1st of March, off Oporto.—It also contains an order in council, dated 21st March, for taking off the quarantine imposed by the order of November 14, on ships from Carolina.]

APRIL.

Admiralty-office, April 6.

Letter from capt. Bettesworth to sir S. Hood.

Curieux, at Sea, Feb. 8.

Sir,

I have to inform you, that this morning, at break of day, Barbadoes bearing west about 20 leagues, I perceived a large brig on our lee bow, who immediately bore up and made all sail away; and, after a chase of 12 hours, during which time she tried every point of sailing to escape us, we arrived within point-blank shot of her; when she took in her studding-sails, and brought-to on the starboard-tack, hoisted French colours, and commenced a very brisk and heavy fire of great guns and small arms: on our arriving within pistol shot, and ranging upon her weather quarter, we discharged our guns, and the action continued with great obstinacy on both sides for about 40 minutes; when, the enemy getting on our weather quarter, I conceived, from their having in great measure left their guns, and giving three cheers, that they intended to board us: she was then steering for our leeward quarter; when we put our helm to starboard, and caught her jib-boom between our after fore-shroud and fore-mast. In this situation she remained until her decks were completely cleared; when, at the moment we were going to take possession, the vessels parted, and her fore top-mast went overboard: she continued a short time firing with musketry, and then hauled down her colours, and proved to be La Dame Ernouf, of 16 long French sixes, and 120 men, out 20 days from Guadaloupe, and had taken one merchant ship (since re-taken by his majesty's sloop Nimrod); sails very fast, is coppered, and remarkably well found; but although she carries the same number of guns, and of the same calibre as the Curieux, she is not near so large. I can attribute her fighting so long and obstinately to nothing but the captain being part owner, her having run, since the commencement of the war, with so much success, and her being so well manned. His majesty's brig had five killed, and three wounded, besides myself; of the former I have to regret the loss of a valuable officer, Mr. Maddocks, the purser, who (on account of Mr. Boss, first lieutenant, having been left behind, on leave, from the hurry of our sailing) volunteered his services, and was killed gallantly fighting at the head of the small-arms men. I cannot help stating as a tribute to the memory of so worthy a young man, that to the service he is the loss of a very good officer, and to every body that knew him a very valuable friend and companion. Lieut. Boss having been left behind, deprived me of the services of an able

and gallant officer; but lieut. Donaldson so well supplied his place, not only by exertions at the guns, but putting the orders that were given in execution, although the only officer I had on board, but Mr. Caddy, master's mate, and Mr. Templeton, boatswain, that I did not, by their great assistance, feel the want of an individual. The enemy had 30 killed, and 41 wounded; and in justice to his gallantry, I must say, he never struck whilst there was a man on his decks.

I am, &c.
G. E. B. Bettesworth.

[This Gazette also contains the following dispatches:—a letter from capt. Selby, of the Cerberus, dated April 2, announces the capture, after a chase of six hours, of Le Bonheur, private brig of war, of 15 guns and 40 men, 13 days from Cherbourg, and had made one capture.—Another from capt. Owen, of L'Immortalité, to capt. Oliver, who had proceeded in chase of a large ship, which proved to be a Dane from Dartmouth, states the capture of the Spanish privateer brig El Intrepide Corune, alias La Maria, out 22 days from Corunna, without making any capture, carrying 14 guns and 66 men.

A dispatch from adm. Duckworth incloses a letter from capt. Lamborn, of the Peterell, stating the destruction, on the 23d January, off Cape Cerientes, of a French felucca, which ran ashore to avoid being taken, and was burnt by the Peterell's boats. She mounted one 4-pounder and one swivel, and had 24 men, who escaped on shore.

A letter from capt. Cribble, of the King's Fisher, to sir S. Hood, announces the capture of Les Deux Amis, French schooner privateer, pierced for 8 guns, but only two on-board, and 39 men; ten days from Guadaloupe.

A letter from sir S. Hood to W. Marsden, esq. dated February 6, also announces the capture of 23 French and Spanish vessels of different kinds, and the re-capture of 15 others, the names and destination of which are specified.]

9. This morning a young woman was killed in Little Britain. She was serving milk; and a cart having drawn up close to the pavement, to make way for a loaded waggon, the wheel of the latter came in contact with the off-wheel of the cart, and threw it on the pavement, by which means she was crushed between the tail-board of the cart and the house. The moment the cart righted, she fell; and her death was instantaneous. The deceased was a fine young woman, about 19, and had been from the country but three weeks.

Whitehall, April 15.—The following dispatch was this day received, by an overland conveyance, at the East India House, from the governor and council at Bombay:

To the secret committee of the court of directors of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honoured sirs,

1. In addition to the information communicated in our last overland dispatch, on the subject of the events of the war with Jeswunt Row Holkar, we take this occasion to report, that we have since been advised of an attack made by a division of Holkar's infantry and artillery on the city of Delhi, on the 8th ult.; lieut.-col. Burn, the officer

officer in command of the British troops at that station, reporting that, during the whole of that day, the enemy continued a very heavy cannonade; and that on the 9th they advanced and erected a 4-gun battery, very near to the south-east bastion of the city wall, where their shot had great effect. To check their progress in that quarter, a sortie was determined on; the party employed consisting of about 350 men, under the command of lieut. Rose, of which number 50, with a 6-pounder, composed the reserve, under lieut. Dickson. The whole are stated to have been speedily and well conducted to the enemy's battery, and to have soon got possession of their guns, and spiked them; the party then returning under a heavy discharge of shot and grape. Lieut. Rose, who led the detachment, and the whole of the officers, are reported to have executed that duty to the entire satisfaction of lieut.-col. Burn, who also mentions, in favourable terms, capt. Carnegie and lieut. Woodville, of capt. Harriot's battalion, and lieuts. Evans, Heathcote, and Lockett, of the 2d battalion 14th regiment, besides some others, whose names they advert to as having been reported to the commander in chief in a former dispatch, which has not reached us.

2. On the 14th the enemy attempted an assault on the town of Delhi, but were repulsed with considerable loss. The details of the assault had not been received up to the date of our latest advices from Calcutta; but in a dispatch from the commander in chief to his excellency the governor-general, he thus adverts to the spirit and gallantry of the troops at Delhi:—"The meritorious conduct of our troops, on both of the above-mentioned occasions, reflects on their courage and perseverance the highest credit. My letter from lieut.-col. Auchterlony, the acting president, speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of the troops under his orders. I beg to assure your excellency, that the arrangements made by that officer merit my warmest praise and approbation; on which I shall have the honour more fully to report hereafter."

3. Official advices had been received at Fort William, in a letter from the commander in chief, dated Sacrie, the 16th of October, stating, that the troops of Jeswunt Row Holkar had made a precipitate retreat on the morning of the 15th, from their position near the town of Delhi.

4. Since taking possession of Chandore, Dhoorp, and Galna, the force employed in the Deckan, under the command of lieut.-col. Wallace, has been advancing towards the river Taptie. According to the latest accounts from that officer, a party of the peshwa's troops, detached from Galna, had taken possession of the town of Nunderbar, and of the greater part of that district, without meeting with any opposition. As soon as the peshwa's officers should be in possession of the tract west of his position on the river Panja, and south of the Taptie, lieut.-col. Wallace intended to remove to Borenair. Holkar's retainers in Candeish appear now to be reduced to two or three inconsiderable chiefs, with but few followers.

We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN DUNCAN.
O. NICHOLLS.
L. COCKRAN.
T. LECHMERE.

Bombay Castle, Nov. 26, 1804.

[This Gazette also contains an account of the capture of two gun-boats, off the Penmarks, by the Growler gun-brig, lieut. Rose;—of a Dutch schooner, having 1000 stand of arms on-board, clothing for as many men, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores, by the Scorpion, capt. Carteret; and likewise of the Alert French lugger privateer, by the boats of the Inflexible, capt. Bayley.

21. This night, at nine o'clock, one of the extensive flour-mills of Messrs. John and Charles Millwood, at Bromley, near Bow, in Middlesex, was discovered to be on fire, and soon communicated to and consumed the second mill. The premises, which are completely levelled with the ground, were situated at the northern extremity of the Limehouse or Bromley cut, being an artificial channel connecting the Thames with the river Lea. The mills were in the occupation of Messrs. Millwood, but were the property of J. Lockwood, esq, of Lambourn in Essex. There are two distinctions of mills near this junction of the cut and the river; the one on the cut consists of water-mills, and has received the name of *the Four Mills;* the other, adjacent to the river, comprises wind-mills, and is called *the Three Mills.* The former are destroyed, the latter have suffered no injury whatever. Although the first have, for a series of years, been known by the appellation of *the Four Mills*, they in fact included five different aquatic wheels, and worked fourteen mill-stones. The cost of the erection of these was only 8000*l.* they were insured at 10,000*l.*; but we understand, in consequence of the prodigious increase in the price of labour and timber, they cannot be rebuilt at a less expense than double the amount of the sum insured. The other buildings, which have been reduced to a state of ruin, are, two granaries of Messrs. Millwood's, and one of Messrs. Hatch and Co. and a dwelling-house with a counting-house attached to it. The extremity of a malt-house across the channel was burnt, and the boarded front of a cottage, on the north side, was ripped off, to protect contiguous edifices. Two barges afloat, the one laden, the other empty, were burnt to the water's edge: a pleasure boat by the activity of the populace was rescued from the danger. Had not the wind suddenly turned to the north-east, the spacious structure of the distillery of Messrs. Hatch and Co. and the adjoining village must inevitably have been involved in the common calamity. For nearly two hours the fire raged with unabating fury, before any engine was brought to diminish its violence. All the inflammable materials on the adjacent road and bridge, and even the piles in the stream, to the distance of 8 feet from the principal scene of the conflagration, were in a blaze, and presented a spectacle not less singular than terrific. About 1000 sacks of corn and flour are supposed to have been burnt, and the total loss is conjectured to be 50,000*l.* The cause of this calamity is at present unknown. Of the five mills, three had not been worked, or even opened, during Sunday; the other two had been stopped and locked up at three in the afternoon of that day. In the latter, the fire did not make its appearance until nine in the evening. It is possible that the latent heat in a part of the machinery might subsequently communicate with some combustible materials.

Admiralty-

Admiralty-office, April 23.

A letter from vice-admiral sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. on the Halifax station, introduces the following:

Leander, off St. David's Head, Bermuda, March 6.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that I proceeded to sea, and cruized in his majesty's ship under my command, according to your orders, dated the 13th of last month. On Saturday the 23d February, at 12 o'clock at noon, a sail was seen from the mast-head, bearing south of us; the weather at this time was hazy, with squalls of wind and rain from the northward. All sail was immediately made in chase: the weather becoming still more hazy, in a few moments we lost sight of the chase: at half-past two it cleared away a little to the southward, and we again got sight of her. I found we had considerably neared the chase, and that it was a large ship under jury-masts, standing to the south-east. At three o'clock we saw another ship a short distance from the chase, steering the same course, also under jury-masts, in appearance a much larger vessel. As we closed them very fast, we soon clearly saw they were both frigates: on their making us out to be a man of war, they closed to support each other, firing a gun to leeward, and hoisting French ensigns from their main-stays: at 4 o'clock we were within gun-shot of them; they separated, the frigate nearest to us put before the wind, the other steered with it on her larboard quarter. By half-past four we got within musket-shot of the smallest frigate, gave her one of the main-deck guns; when, after a few minutes hesitation, she hauled down her colours and hove-to. On my hailing this frigate, I am sorry to tell you, sir, that I was informed by them, she was his majesty's ship Cleopatra, of 32 guns, lately commanded by sir Robert Lawrie, bart. She was taken on Sunday the 17th Feb. (after having brought to and sustained a most severe and gallant action for the space of three hours and a quarter) by a French frigate nearly double her force, in size, complement of men, and weight of metal. Observing that the part of the crew left on-board her, belonging to his majesty's ship Cleopatra, had come on-deck, and taken possession of her on the ship striking to us; I hailed, ordered them to make sail, and steer after his majesty's ship Leander; again made sail in chase, and in about an hour's time got alongside the French frigate; she hauled down her colours, and struck to us without a gun being fired on either side. On hailing the French frigate, you, sir, may easily judge how happy I must have felt, on hearing I was answered by my friend sir Robert Lawrie, who told me he was well, and that the ship was La Ville de Milan, 19 days from the island of Martinique, bound to France. La Ville de Milan is a remarkably fine and handsome frigate, about one year old, 1200 tons burthen, mounting 14 long 2-pounders on her quarter-deck, six long 9-pounders on the forecastle, 15 ports on a side on the main-deck; when she sailed from France, had twenty-eight 18-pounders mounted on it—now 26; two were landed from her at Martinique.

When the action commenced between La Ville de Milan and his majesty's ship Cleopatra, she was commanded by Mons. Reynaud, capitaine de vaisseau, had on-board

three hundred and sixty men, as her complement, besides a number of officers and soldiers of the French army, going passengers to Europe. The officers of La Ville de Milan agree in saying that, having dispatches on-board for France, with orders not to speak any thing during her passage, every thing in their power was done to avoid being brought to action by the Cleopatra. Mons. Renaud was killed by the last shot fired from the Cleopatra; he was esteemed an experienced and active officer; and had served in the late king of France's service as an auxiliary officer. He sailed in La Ville de Milan from L'Orient the first of last August, as commodore of six of their largest frigates, with troops embarked on-board them, to be landed on the island of Martinique: after having performed this service, he was ordered, as the French officers express it, to make a sweep through the islands. It is not possible for officers to speak in stronger terms than the French officers do in praise of sir Robert Lawrie's perseverance in so long a chase, except it is in the praise they bestow on him, his officers, seamen, and marines, for their gallant conduct during so long and severe an action. The French officers, whom I have prisoners on-board this ship, cannot themselves avoid to acknowledge, that had not the Cleopatra unfortunately forged a-head of La Ville de Milan, the latter part of the action, La Ville de Milan must have surrendered to the Cleopatra. It is a very painful part of my duty to be obliged to inform you, sir, that your eldest son, who was doing duty as an acting lieutenant, is included among the number of badly wounded on-board the Cleopatra.—Sir Robert Lawrie speaks in the highest terms of his conduct, and, indeed, of that of all the officers, seamen, and marines, of his majesty's ship Cleopatra.—Sir Robert has, at my request, been so kind as to take charge of the Cleopatra till she arrives in port. I have given Mr. Nairne, first lieutenant of his majesty's ship Leander, charge of La Ville de Milan, and nothing can exceed the exertions he has made in putting her in a sea-worthy state. The alacrity of the officers, seamen, and marines, of his majesty's ship under my command during the chase, and their steadiness on going down to attack the two frigates, who had closed, in appearance with a determination to make a formidable resistance, convinced me, sir, that had they waited to make the resistance they seemed disposed to do, the Leander would not have sullied her good name.

I am, &c.

JOHN TALBOT, post-capt.

[Here a letter from capt. Talbot introduces the following narrative of the action between the Cleopatra and La Ville de Milan.]

Cleopatra, at Sea, Feb. 25.

Sir,

I have to request that you will be pleased to acquaint the commander in chief, that, on Saturday the 16th inst. in lat. 28 deg. N. lon. 67 deg. W. at ten A. M. saw a ship in the S. E. standing to the E. N. E. the wind at N. W. made sail towards her; at 11 perceived the chase to be a large frigate, with 15 ports of a side on the main deck; cleared ship for action, and hoisted American colours to induce him to bring-to for us; but, instead of which, he made more sail: the weather squally; made and short-

ened

ened sail occasionally; carried away several studding-sail yards, and the fore-top-mast studding-sail boom shifted over the starboard one, and set the reefed lower studding-sail; a good deal of swell; the chase apparently steering so as to keep the studding-sails drawing full; and that at day-light on the 17th was about four miles a-head; fresh breezes and swell as before. At half-past 10 he took in his studding-sails, and hauled more up; when we got within about three quarters of a mile, took in ours also. At half-past 11 he hauled his main-sail up, and kept more to the wind; upon our steering so close with him upon his quarter, he again set it and stay-sails, trying to gain the wind of us (upon which point of sailing he had the advantage); we made all sail, the chase having some time before hoisted French colours, and we ours. On his seeming to draw a-head from us, at the distance of about half gun-shot, fired our bow-chasers, which he returned occasionally from his stern. His guns appearing so well directed, and of heavy metal, and to prevent being raked by them, I was obliged to steer so as to keep on his quarter, though prolonging the chase. Latitude, at noon, 29 deg. 24 min. N. long. 64 deg. 20 min. W. At half-past two P. M. having got within about a cable's length from the enemy, he luffed close to the wind, and gave us two broadsides; which, when at less than a half cable's distance, we returned, and a warm action commenced, both ships trimming sails, steering sometimes close to the wind, and at others about three points free, during which we had considerably the advantage. About five, having shot away his main-topsail-yard, we forged a-head, although the mizen-topsail was squared, and both jib, stay and haulyards gone, finding neither fore nor main clue-garnets left to haul the courses up, our running rigging cut to pieces, so as to render it impossible to either shorten or back a sail, and both main and spring stays shot away, the main-mast only supported by the storm staysail-stay, I was induced to cross his bow, and, by hauling up, to have raked him, in preference to exposing our stern to the fire of 25 pieces of cannon from his broadside; but in the act of which an unfortunate shot struck the wheel, the broken spokes were jammed against the deck, so as to render it immovable, as well as the rudder, which, at the same time, was choked in the end by splinters, pistols, &c. placed near it. Our opponent, availing himself of our ungovernable situation, with the wind upon his quarter, gave us the stern, running his head and bowsprit over our quarter-deck, just abaft the main rigging, and, under the cover of a very heavy fire of muskets and musketoons, attempted to board us, but was drove back; we exchanged a few musketry with them; but their great advantage in height, and superiority of numbers, as well as by their musketoons from their tops, cleared our decks, and in at our ports. The only two guns we could bring to bear, being fired from within-board, did them little injury, the shot passing their lower deck. Most of our sails laying a-shiver, or partly a-back, and bore down by so heavy a ship (having been intended for a 74), going almost before the wind, and much sea running, appearing to cut us asunder at every send, I saw no

prospect of saving the ship, or the lives of the numerous wounded that were then below. On the suggestion of the first lieutenant, we attempted to hoist the fore-topmast staysail; and I directed the sprit-sail-topsail to be set also; but, in the execution of which orders, every man was knocked down by their musketry and other small shot as they made their appearance. At a quarter past five they succeeded in boarding, and I was compelled to surrender to the French frigate La Ville de Milan, of 46 guns, French 18-pounders, on the main-deck, and eights on the quarter-deck and forecastle; 350 men, besides several officers and passengers; commanded by Mons. Renaud, capitaine de vaisseau, and Mons. Gillet, capitaine de frégate; the former was killed, and the latter badly wounded in the action; and immediately afterwards the Cleopatra became a perfect wreck, not a spar standing but the mizen-mast, the bowsprit and other masts gone by the board, and I fully expected she would have foundered before both ships could get clear of each other. I trust it will be found that every exertion was made to bring a ship of so superior a force into action, and in maintaining of it. La Ville de Milan is nearly double our size and force, being a new ship of about 1200 tons burthen, and having almost twice our number of men on-board, as we only mustered at quarters 199, being 10 short of complement, and that from the strength of the ship's company in able seamen: there were several on the sick list. —More gallantry and bravery could not have been displayed than by both officers and men of so young a ship's company, many being under 20 years of age, and only three marines who had joined that corps more than two weeks before they embarked. I have no hesitation in saying, that had not the above unlucky accident occurred, she must have struck to us, as the next morning her foremast and bowsprit were the only masts standing, much cut in the hull, and I counted 11 shot in the wreck of her main-mast; that our 12-pounders could not do that justice too from its size, nor the thickness of her sides, that was so well intended.

I am, &c.

ROB. LAWRIE.

To capt. Talbot, of the Leander.

Return of killed and wounded on-board the Cleopatra.

Total.—20 killed, 2 since dead of wounds, 18 dangerously wounded, and 18 slightly wounded.

[This Gazette likewise contains a letter from capt. Langford, of his majesty's sloop Lark, giving an account of the capture of the Spanish schooner Camerara, pierced for 16 guns, off the Bay of Senegal.]

Admiralty-office, April 27.

Enclosures from lord Keith, dated on-board the Monarch, off Ramsgate, April 25.

Leda, off Boulogne, April 24.

Sir,

About six this morning, 26 of the enemy's vessels were discovered coming round Cape Griznez; I immediately made the signal for the detached squadron to get under weigh, which consisted of the vessels named in the margin*, and

* Leda, Fury, Harpy, Railleur, Bruiser, Gallant, Archer, Locust, Tickler, Watchful, Monkey, Firm.

have

have great pleasure in acquainting you, that after engaging them about two hours, we succeeded in cutting off seven schuyts. There was only one slightly wounded on board the Archer, and both officers and men performed this service to my satisfaction.

I am, &c.

Rob. Honyman.

Gazette Extraordinary, April 27.

India-Board, Whitehall, April 27.

The following accounts have this day been received from India:

Letter from major of brigade J. Menzies to capt. Armstrong, military secretary to the governor-general, dated Camp, 3 miles S. W. of Deeg, Nov. 13.

Sir,

I am directed by major-general Frazer, to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the governor-general, that the army under his command arrived within three coss of the fort of Deeg yesterday, and found the enemy strongly encamped, with their left extending to Deeg, and a large jeel of water extending to their right, and covering the whole of their front. From the late hour at which the army encamped, and not having correct information of the enemy's position, the general thought it advisable to delay the attack until morning. Having made his arrangements for the security of his camp, he marched with the 1st brigade of infantry, under the hon. lieut.-col. Monson; the 2d under lieut.-col. G. S. Browne; and the two regiments of native cavalry, under lieut.-col. T. Browne; and part of the park, under lieut.-col. Horsford, at three o'clock this morning. We made a circuit to our left round the jeel, to enable us to come on their right flank: a little after day-break, we formed in two lines, attacked and carried a large village which was on their right flank. The major-general immediately pursued his success, and marched down on their lines, and took possession of their guns and howitzers, which are now bringing into camp. I regret to say, that general Frazer has been severely wounded while at the head of the troops, leading them into action, and in consequence was obliged to be carried off the field. The hon. col. Monson then assumed the command, and achieved what general Frazer so happily commenced. We drove the whole of the enemy under the fort of Deeg, when the people in the fort opened a very heavy fire upon us. The number of guns is not yet ascertained, nor that of the killed and wounded, but our loss has been severe. Regular returns of the number of guns, and the killed and wounded, will be sent by the hon. col. Monson to-morrow, who will likewise give a detailed account of the action. Major-gen. Frazer feels it impossible to express his high sense of obligation to the whole of the troops under his command, for their undaunted courage and gallantry, particularly to his majesty's 76th regiment, who have, on this occasion, as on every former one, done honour to themselves and their country.

(Signed) J. Menzies, major of brigade.

Letter

Letter from brig.-gen. Monson to marquis Wellesley, dated Camp, near Deeg, Nov. 14.

My lord,

However proud and happy I may feel in communicating to your excellency some particulars respecting the brilliant and decided victory, which, through the favour of Providence, we have obtained over the whole of the infantry and guns of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, commanded by his chief sirdar, Hernaut Dada, at the same time I cannot sufficiently lament the event which has made it fall to my lot, in consequence of major-gen. Frazer having received a severe wound, which obliged him to quit the field. I attribute our decided and glorious victory over the enemy, entirely to the arrangements made for the attack by major-general Frazer, and to the confidence and enthusiasm with which he inspired the whole army, heading his majesty's 76th regiment with the most undaunted gallantry. Your excellency has already heard from major-gen. Frazer the particulars respecting the commencement of the action. After we had carried the village, we descended the hill, and charged the enemy's advanced party under a most tremendous discharge of round, grape, and chain, from their guns, which they abandoned as we came up to them, retiring to fresh batteries, the whole of which we carried for upwards of two miles, they flying before us in every direction, numbers of them perishing in the swamp which encompasses that angle of the fort of Deeg, and even in the ditch of the fort itself, being pursued by us up to the walls. After having carried the different ranges of guns, which extended from the village on their right flank to the S. E. angle of the fort, we returned to attack a large body of the enemy, drawn up to the eastward of the lower end of the lake, and who kept annoying us with a most destructive fire from 18 and 12-pounders, which, until now, we had no opportunity of dispersing. These, however, were kept in check by major Hammond, with the 1st battalion 2d regiment, and three 6-pounders, who maintained his position with the utmost steadiness and gallantry. I ordered some more 6-pounders to be brought up, and, under cover of their fire, I moved round upon the enemy's left flank, who, as we advanced, made a precipitate retreat into the lake, where numbers perished, among whom were, Mahummud Shah Khan, and Adill Khan, two of the principal sirdars of the Ally-goles. After this the enemy quitted the field, flying in all directions. Lieut.-col. Browne, with the 2d regiment, and 3d regiment of native cavalry, and gallopers, continued to watch the motions of a considerable body of horse during the action, and afterwards moved down to the field of engagement, to protect the removal of the captured guns, and our wounded, who were unavoidably left there. Lieut.-col. Ball at the same time moved down with the 3d brigade to support the cavalry. I find it impossible to express my gratitude and obligation for the support I received from every officer and soldier engaged. Were I allowed to offer my individual thanks to lieut.-col. Horsford, commanding the artillery, and to lieut.-col. Browne, commanding the 2d brigade of infantry, they are particularly due. From brigadier-maj. Menzies,

Menzies, capts. Fraser and M'Night, the officers of major-gen. Frazer's staff, I received the most active assistance, for which I feel myself highly indebted. My sincere thanks are also due to my brigade major capt. Carr, and to ensign Bowyer, of the 12th regiment native infantry, who acted as my aide-de-camp on this occasion. I should not be doing justice to my feelings were I not to mention, in the most pointed manner, the undaunted bravery and steadiness of his majesty's 76th regiment, which was never more conspicuously displayed than on this day. I have equal satisfaction in mentioning the conduct of the 1st European regiment under the command of lieut.-col. Burnet, who showed themselves in every way worthy of the name of British troops. From the most accurate accounts I can obtain, the enemy's force consisted of 24 battalions, a considerable body of horse, and 160 pieces of cannon, the greater part of which is already brought to camp. The enemy's loss, as far as I can ascertain, has been very great, and it is supposed near 2000 have been killed and drowned in their efforts to escape. At the same time, glorious as has been the result of this day, I have to lament the death of many a gallant soldier.—The remains of the enemy's army, which took shelter in the fort of Deeg, are in the greatest consternation, and are deserting in vast numbers.—I have the honour to inclose a general return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the corps engaged, and a return of ordnance, &c. captured and brought into camp: more guns are hourly discovered. I have the satisfaction to add, that among the captured guns are eleven 6-pounders, and two 12-pounders lost by the detachment under my command.

W. Monson, brigadier.

Total killed, wounded, and missing.

Europeans.—1 general officer, 3 captains, 17 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 12 serjeants, 22 corporals, 1 gunner, 3 drummers, 218 privates, 2 staff-officers' horses, and 57 bullocks.

Natives.—Five soubidars, 6 jemidars, 22 havildars, 11 naicks, 1 drummer, 265 privates, 1 serang, 1 tindal, 20 lascars, 4 bheesties, 6 bildars, and 31 bullock-drivers.

Officers killed.—His majesty's 76th regiment, capt. Henry Narford. 1st bat. 2d reg. N. I. lieut. John Forbes. 1st bat. 4th reg. N. I. lieut. C. C. Faithful; lieut. —— Burgess. 2d bat. 1st reg. N. I. assist. surg. J. Lyons.

Officers wounded.—Major-gen. Frazer, severely. His majesty's 88th reg. capt. Chisholm, doing duty with his majesy's 76th reg. His majesty's 78th reg. lieut. Mansel, doing duty with recovered Europeans. His majesty's 76th reg. ensign W. Bampton. 1st bat. 4th N. I. capt. lieut. Nicholl, doing duty. European regiment, lieuts. A. Maxton, severely; T. Chatfield, ditto; T. Bryant, ditto; T. Brown, ditto; and T. Merriman, slightly. 1st bat. 2d reg. N. I. James Murray, slightly. 1st bat. 14th reg. N. I. —— Hunter, doing duty. 1st bat. 15th reg. N. I. James Turner, H. Sibley, C. Schnel, —— Penny, slightly. 2d bat. 15th reg. N. I. —— Hales, since dead; —— Boyd.—Grand total: of Europeans, 64 killed, 195 wounded, 12 missing. —Of natives, 84 killed, 274 wounded, 13 missing. Missing supposed to be killed.—The total of ordnance captured is 83 pieces.

(Signed) J. Menzies, maj. of brig.

[Since

[Since the receipt of the above letters, a dispatch had been received from maj.-gen. Dowdeswell, dated Cawnpoor, Nov. 17, 1804, by which it appears that general Frazer's leg had been amputated near the ankle, and that this gallant and distinguished officer was doing well.]

Letter from lieutenant-general Lake to marquis Wellesley.

Head-quarters, Futtyghur, Nov. 18, 1804.

My lord,

My report of yesterday conveyed to your lordship an account of my attack on the enemy's cavalry. I now think it my duty to point out the very meritorious conduct of the troops engaged on this occasion. Since I left Delhi on the 31st ult. the troops have daily marched a distance of 23 or 24 miles. During the day and night previous to the action they marched 58 miles, and from the distance to which they pursued the enemy, the space passed over before they had taken up their ground must have exceeded 70 miles. The patience, perseverance, and discipline, which they displayed under such uncommon fatigue, and the activity, zeal, and resolution, with which they at last attacked the enemy, are circumstances which entitle them to my highest praise and approbation. I feel myself particularly indebted on this occasion to col. Macan, the commander of cavalry. The merits of this officer are so fully known to your lordship, that I feel it unnecessary to say more than that he manifested the same judgment, spirit, and zeal, which have so often distinguished him. Lieut.-col. Vandeleur, who commanded the 1st brigade of cavalry, brought his corps into action with the utmost rapidity, and displayed the greatest judgment and gallantry in his repeated and vigorous charges of the enemy.—His majesty's 8th regiment of dragoons, commanded by capt. Abercrombie, and the 1st and 6th regiments of native cavalry, the former commanded by capt. Welsh, and the latter by capt. Swinton, charged through different bodies of the enemy's horse with the greatest resolution and effect. A small party of the 8th dragoons totally destroyed a considerable party of Ally-gole infantry, which formed part of the enemy's force. Lieut.-col. Need, who commanded the second brigade, is likewise entitled to my highest praise and approbation. His majesty's 27th and 29th regiments of light dragoons, the former commanded by capt. Philpot, and the latter by major Wade, and the 4th regiment of native cavalry, commanded by capt. Elliot, attacked, with the utmost energy and effect, the different bodies of the enemy to which they were opposed. Lieut.-col. Toone commanded the advanced guard, and deserves my gratitude and approbation for the spirit and activity which he displayed in that situation. I have great satisfaction in reporting to your lordship the very meritorious conduct of capt. Browne, and the corps of horse artillery under his command, who, by the rapidity of their movements, were enabled to do great execution. Capt. Browne's great attention to the management of his corps, and his zeal and activity when called into action, have, on every occasion, merited my best acknowledgments. I cannot conclude this dispatch without expressing to your lordship the satisfaction

tion I have derived from the good conduct of the infantry commanded by lieut.-col. Don. Though not present in the affair of yesterday, the zeal and patience with which they have supported the fatigues of so ardous a march deserve my warmest thanks. Their eagerness in the pursuit would, there is no doubt, have been equalled by their gallantry in the attack of the enemy, had they come up with them. I have not yet ascertained completely where the enemy have fled to; but all accounts lead me to believe that they are scattered over the country, and no where collected in any considerable numbers.

G. LAKE.

Total killed, wounded, and missing.
1 havildar, 19 rank and file, 1 bildar, 5 lascars, 2 syces, 75 horses.

MAY.

1. A poor man walked over the cliff near Seaford. He was dashed to-pieces, having fallen from a perpendicular height of 300 feet.

Downing-street, May 6.

The following dispatch has been this day received by earl Camden, K. G. from lieut.-gen. sir William Myers, bart. commanding his majesty's troops in the Windward and Leeward Islands.

Barbadoes, March 9.

My lord,

I have the honour to inclose to your lordship a copy of a dispatch from brigadier-general Prevost, dated Dominica, 1st March. The details contained therein are so highly reputable to the brigadier-general, and the small portion of troops employed against so numerous an enemy, that I have great satisfaction in recommending that their gallant exertions may be laid before his majesty: the zeal and talent manifested by the brigadier-general upon this occasion it is my duty to present for his royal consideration; and at the same time I beg to be permitted to express the high sense I entertain of the distinguished bravery of his majesty's troops, and the militia of the colony, employed upon that service. The vigorous resistance which the enemy have experienced, and the loss which they have sustained in this attack, must evince to them, that however inferior our numbers were on this occasion, British troops are not to be hostilely approached with impunity; and had not the town of Roseau been accidentally destroyed by fire, we should have little to regret, and much to exult in. Your lordship will perceive by the returns, that our loss in men, compared to that of the enemy, is but trifling; but I have sincerely to lament that of major Nunn, of the first West India regiment, whose wound is reported to be of a dangerous kind; he is an excellent man, and a meritorious officer.

I am, &c.

W. MYERS.

Head-quarters, Prince Rupert's, Dominica, March 1.

Sir,

About an hour before the dawn of day on the 22d ult. an alarm was fired at Scotshead, and soon after a cluster of ships was discovered off Roseau. As our light increased, I made out five large ships, three frigates, two brigs, and small craft, under British colours, a ship of three decks carrying

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ing a flag at the mizen. The frigates ranging too close to Fort Young, I ordered them to be fired on, and soon after, 19 large barges, full of troops, appeared coming from under the lee of the other ships, attended and protected by an armed schooner full of men, and seven other boats carrying carronades. The English flag was lowered, and that of France hoisted. A landing was immediately attempted on my left flank, between the town of Roseau and the post of Cachecrow. The light infantry of the 1st West India regiment were the first on the march to support capt. Senant's company of militia, which, throughout the day, behaved with great gallantry. It was immediately supported by the grenadiers of the 46th regiment. The first boats were beat off; but the schooner and one of the brigs coming close in-shore, to cover the landing, compelled our troops to occupy a better position, a defile leading to the town. At this moment I brought up the grenadiers of the St. George's regiment of militia, and soon after the remainder of the 46th, and gave over to major Nunn these brave troops, with orders not to yield the enemy one inch of ground. Two field-pieces (an amuzette and a six-pounder) were brought into action for their support, under the command of serjeant Creed, of the 46th regiment, manned by additional gunners and sailors. These guns, and a 24-pounder from Melville-battery, shook the French advancing column by the execution they did. I sent two companies of the St. George's militia, under the command of lieut.-col Constable, and a company of the 46th, to prevent the enemy from getting into the rear of the position occupied by major Nunn. On my return, we found the Majestueux, of 120 guns, lying opposite to Fort Young, pouring into the town and batteries her broadsides, followed by the other seventy-fours, and frigates, doing the same. Some artillery, several captains of merchantmen, with their sailors, and the artillery militia, manned five 24-pounders, and three eighteens, at the fort, and five twenty-fours at Melville's battery, and returned an uninterrupted fire. From the first post red-hot shot were thrown. At about 10 o'clock, A. M. major Nunn, most unfortunately for his majesty's service, whilst faithfully executing the orders I had given, was wounded, I fear, mortally. This did not discourage the brave fellows. Capt. O'Connell, of the 1st West India regiment, received the command, and a wound, almost at the same time: however, the last circumstance could not induce him to give up the honour of the first, and he continued in the field, animating his men, and resisting the repeated charges of the enemy, until about one o'clock, when he obliged the French to retire from their advanced position with great slaughter. It is impossible for me to do justice to the merit of that officer. You will, I doubt not, favourably report his conduct to his majesty, and at the same time that of capt. James, who commanded the 46th, and capt. Archibald Campbell, who commanded the grenadiers of the 46th. Foiled and beat off on the left, the right flank was attempted, and a considerable force was landed near Morne Daniel. The regulars, not exceeding 200, employed on the left in opposing the advance of their columns, consisting of 2000 men, could afford me no reinforcement; I had only the right wing of the St.

St. George's regiment of militia to oppose them, of about 100 men. They attacked with spirit; but unfortunately the frigates stood in so close to the shore to protect this disembarkation, that, after receiving a destructive fire, they fled back and occupied the heights of Woodbridge estate. Then it was that a column of the enemy marched up to Morne Daniel, and stormed the redoubt, defended by a small detachment, which, after an obstinate resistance, they carried. On my left, capt. O'Connell was gaining ground, notwithstanding a fresh supply of troops and several field-pieces which had been brought on shore by the enemy. I now observed a large column climbing the mountain to get in his rear. The town, which had been for some time in flames, was only protected by a light howitzer, and a 6-pounder to the right, supported by part of the light company of the St. George's regiment. The enemy's large ships in Woodbridge-bay out of the reach of my guns, my right flank gained, and my retreat to Prince Rupert's almost cut off, I determined on one attempt to keep the sovereignty of the island, which the excellent troops I had, warranted. I ordered the militia to remain at their posts, except such as were inclined to encounter more hardships and severe service; and capt. O'Connell, with the 46th under the command of capt. James, and the light company of the 1st West India regiment, were directed to make a forced march to Prince Rupert's. I then allowed the president to enter into terms for the town of Roseau; and then demanded from the French general that private property should be respected, and that no wanton or disgraceful pillage should be allowed. This done, only attended by brigade-major Prevost, and deputy quarter-master-general Hopley, of the militia forces, I crossed the island, and in 24 hours, with the aid of the inhabitants, and the exertions of the Caribs, I got to this garrison on the 23d. After four days continued march, through the most difficult country, I might almost say, existing, capt. O'Connell joined me at Prince Rupert's, wounded himself, and bringing in his wounded, with a few of the royal artillery, and the precious remains of the 46th regiment and the 1st West India light company. I had no sooner got to the fort than I ordered cattle to be drove in, and took measures for getting a store of water from the river in the bay. I found my signals to lieut.-col. Broughton, from Roseau, made soon after the enemy had landed, had been received, and that, in consequence, he had made the most judicious arrangements his garrison would allow of for the defence of this important post. On the 25th I received the letter of summons I have now the honour to transmit, from general of division La Grange, and, without delay, sent the reply you will find accompanying it. On the 27th the enemy's cruizers hovered about the head: however, the Centaur's tender (Vigilante) came in, and was saved by our guns. I landed Mr. Henderson, her commander, and his crew, to assist in the defence we were prepared to make. As far as can be collected, the enemy had about 4000 men on-board, and the whole of their force was compelled to disembark before they gained an inch of ground. I trust this dispatch to capt. O'Connell, to whom I beg to refer you: his services entitle him to consideration. I am much indebted to the zeal and discernment of fort-adjutant Gualy,

Gualy, who was very accessary to the execution of my orders. I cannot pass unnoticed the very soldier-like conduct of lieut. Wallis, of 46th regiment, to whom I had intrusted the post of Cachecrow, or Scotshead: perceiving our retreat, he spiked his guns, destroyed his ammunition, and immediately commenced his march to join me at Prince Rupert's, with his detachment; nor that of lieut. Shaw, of the same regiment, who acted as an officer of artillery, and behaved with uncommon coolness and judgment, whilst on the battery, and great presence of mind in securing the retreat of the additional gunners belonging to the 46th regiment. On the 27th, after levying a contribution on Roseau, the enemy reimbarked, and hovered that day and the next about this post. This morning the French fleet is seen off the south end of Guadaloupe, under easy sail. Our loss, you will perceive by the returns I have the honour to transmit, was inconsiderable, when compared with that acknowledged by the enemy, which included several officers of rank, and about 300 others.

GEO. PREVOST.

Lieut. sir W. Myers, bart.

P. S. As I find I cannot spare capt. O'Connell from the duty of this garrison, I must refer you to the master of a neutral vessel, who has engaged to deliver this dispatch.

(TRANSLATION.)

From the general of division La Grange, &c. to his excellency general Prevost, &c.

Head-quarters at Roseau, the 5th Ventose, year 13, February 25.

The general of division La Grange, grand officer of the legion of honour, inspector-general of the gendarmerie, commander in chief of the troops of the expedition of the Leeward Islands.

General,

Before I commence any military operations against the fort into which it appears that you have retired, I shall fulfil a preliminary duty, authorised and practised by civilized nations. You are aware, no less than myself, of the nature of your position, and of the entire inutility of occasioning any further effusion of blood. You witnessed with grief the melancholy fate of the town of Roseau; my first endeavours on entering it were to issue orders for stopping the progress of the conflagration; but, unfortunately, considerable destruction had already taken place. The want of necessaries is ever attended with the most cruel consequences, the evils of which can easily be calculated. This consideration is more than sufficient, without reference to the particular circumstances in which you are placed, to induce you to accept the honourable conditions that I am ready to grant you, and thus to preserve the interesting inhabitants of this colony from fresh calamities, which are inseparable from the occurrences of war. I beg you, general, to make me an early communication of your answer; and, in the mean time, to receive the assurance of the high consideration which I have for you. I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed) LA GRANGE.

Head-quarters, Prince Rupert's, Feb. 25.

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your letter. My duty to my king and country is so superior to every other consideration, that I have only

only to thank you for the observations you have been pleased to make on the often inevitable consequences of war. Give me leave, individually, to express the greatest gratitude for your humanity and kind treatment of my wife and children; at the same time to request a continuance thereof, not only to her and them, but towards every other object you may meet with.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. PREVOST.

Killed and wounded in the actions of the 22d of February, 1805, at Point Michael, Morne Daniel, and Roseau.

Total.—1 serjeant, 1 drummer, and 19 rank and file, killed; 1 field officer, 2 captains, and 18 rank and file, wounded; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, and 6 rank and file taken by the enemy.

Names of the officers wounded.—Capt. Colin Campbell, of the 46th regiment; major Nunn and capt. O'Connell, of the 1st West India regiment.

N. B. Three sailors wounded, exclusive of the militia, from which no return has been received, but whose loss is considerable.

JAMES PREVOST, maj. of brig.

Brimstone-hill, St. Kitt's, March 8.

Sir,

I did myself the honour of writing to you on the 27th inst. by the mail-boat, to say that intelligence had been received here, on that morning, of the arrival of a French force at Dominica, and the steps I had taken to make such circumstances known to government. I lost no time in placing this garrison in the best state to repel any attack that might be made by the enemy, and increasing the provisions to a quantity sufficient to maintain a garrison of 500 men for three months; which was, by the exertions of the resident commissary, effected on the 1st inst. I have now to inform you, that on the morning of the 5th inst. a French squadron, consisting of five line-of-battle ships (one a three-decker), three frigates, two brigs of war, and a schooner, with, according to accounts since received, 3,500 men on-board, appeared off Nevis-point, and stood in for Basseterre, where the frigates only anchored. I did not think it consistent with the safety of this garrison to divide the small force of regular troops under my command; and the militia being found inadequate to give effectual opposition, it was previously agreed with president Woodley, that 300 of them should be thrown into this garrison in the event of the enemy's effecting a landing; in consequence of which, and the enemy having landed about 500 men at Basseterre, he marched in here with great promptness on the same day, with the above 300 men, including seamen and militia. The enemy took possession of the town, demanding the immediate payment of 40,000*l.* sterling, in failure of which it should be burned. The inhabitants with difficulty raised 18; with which sum they embarked, intimating an intention of attacking this hill: and from the state of preparation we were in, as well as the zeal shown by the troops in this garrison, I have every reason to believe that the result would have been such as you would wish. It does not appear, however, that this squadron wish to attack where opposition may be expected, but to plunder the inhabitants, and burn and destroy the shipping. Six mer-

chant-ships, some of them very valuable, have been towed from the anchorage at Basseterre, set on fire, and allowed to drift to sea.

James Foster, maj. 11th reg.

10. The lightning was very vivid at Fritton, where a man was struck dead whilst driving some pigs, and a tree shivered to pieces. At Morton, a shepherd was also killed by the lightning, whilst in the field with his sheep.

11. This day a violent thunder-storm was felt in the neighbourhood of Norwich.—At Honingham, the seat of lord Bayning, a house on the Brakes, called the Shepherd's Lodge, was nearly demolished. The shepherd (who had gone in at the approach of the storm) was struck blind; a child was burnt, and it is thought will not recover; the door and windows were shivered to pieces, and many of the bricks forced out of the wall, and carried with surprising velocity to a very great distance.

12. Three persons in the neighbourhood of Evesham were struck blind with a flash of lightning. One has since recovered his sight.

Admiralty-office, May 18.

Copy of a letter from captain Mitchell, of his majesty's sloop Inspector, to William Marsden, esq. dated Yarmouth roads, May 14, 1804.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that his majesty's sloop Musquito has sent in this morning the French privateer Orestes, dogger-rigged, mounting one long twenty-four pounder and six swivels, and manned with thirty-four men.

I am, sir, &c.

E. J. Mitchell.

East-Indies.

Calcutta Gazette.

Fort William, Dec. 6, 1804.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, governor-general, &c.

My lord,

Confident that every instance of good conduct, firmness, and steady attachment of our native troops will afford your lordship sincere pleasure, I think it my duty not to withhold from your lordship the accompanying detail from lieutenant-colonel Burn, who commanded the detachment which I relieved at Shamlie.

The firmness and perseverance of our troops on this occasion reflect on them the highest credit, and will, I have no doubt, afford your lordship the greatest satisfaction.

The services of col. Burn, and the officers of his detachment, were no less conspicuously meritorious on this occasion, than in the gallant defence of Delhi, and gave them fresh claims to my gratitude and approbation. I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

G. Lake.

Head-quarters, camp at Kethowhe, Nov. 7, 1804.

To lieut.-col. Gerard, &c. &c.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that, agreeably to instructions from the resident at Delhi, I crossed the Jumna with my detachment on the 26th, and arrived at Kakarah on the 27th. On the 28th I proceeded to Soornepoor: here lieut. Rose received

received from colonel Ochterlony a letter, mentioning a report of Holkar, with his cavalry, having arrived at Sunpur; but the native accounts varying so much, I did not think myself warranted in delaying the march of my detachment. On the 29th we reached Bagourah, and about one o'clock that day, the enemy's horse appeared and succeeded in carrying off some camels. As the situation of the camp was very unfavourable, being almost entirely surrounded by sugar-cane and jungle, I judged it prudent to move immediately into a plain; but the night proving uncommonly fine, I continued marching for this place, which we reached at day-break on the 30th, although harassed the whole way by the enemy's horse, which obliged us to keep up a constant fire.

I have the satisfaction to add, that, with the exception of a few hackeries and some private baggage, unable to keep up, we experienced no loss. I immediately encamped in a square near the town of Shamlie: in about two hours the enemy appeared in front of our position in large bodies, making several attempts to come down, and were as often driven back; but, as they were hourly increasing in numbers, it was impossible to prevent them surrounding us by the evening. At four o'clock the next morning we began to move. The enemy, supposing it our intention to proceed towards Saharunpore, had posted their horse on the road leading to that place, which enabled the detachment to enter a small gurrie bordering on the city without molestation; and I determined to make every possible resistance in the gurrie, till reinforcements should arrive, or till I received information of their march. I found such a readiness in both officers and men, of all descriptions, to submit to every deprivation, that it enabled me to adopt with success the plan of defending the gurrie, and rely with confidence on their firmness and devotion to the service, should circumstances at last oblige us to fight our way to Delhi. No time was lost, after gaining possession of the place, in repairing the bastions, and mounting four six-pounders, which have had considerable effect in dispersing the enemy whenever they appeared within reach. On the night of the 30th, lieutenant Martin was detached with 100 men to collect some grain; but, from the camp followers that attended being too few, scarcely any was procured. On the 31st I detached lieutenant Rose with an equal number for the same purpose, who traversed the fields in every direction, even close to the enemy's posts; but found they had entirely consumed or destroyed the whole that was ripe; which made me resolve upon fighting my way to Baugpur the next night. While dispositions were making, I received from colonel Ochterlony information of his excellency's march; which again determined me to prolong our stay. Notwithstanding the sepoys were almost destitute of every thing, too much credit cannot be allowed them for the patience with which they supported it for four days. The people of the city, from the morning of the 30th, were active in favour of the enemy; and kept up a constant fire of matchlocks day and night; which has occasioned us some loss, particularly in a most active and meritorious officer, lieutenant Martin, who received a very severe

wound on the morning of the 2d. As nothing further has occurred, it only remains for me to assure his excellency, that both officers and men, for their steadiness and exertion, have acquired fresh claims to my approbation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

Camp, Shamlie, W. BURN.

Nov. 3, 1804.

20. Lieutenant Clarke of the 71st Highland regiment was attacked by six footpads, a few miles from Limerick. The lieutenant was in a travelling chaise, and happened to be asleep when the horses were stopped, and the chaise-boy knocked down between them by the stroke of a pistol. Each door of the chaise was immediately opened, and the lieutenant pinioned; the tearing off his epaulets awoke him; and finding them rifling his pockets, he attempted to preserve his watch, on which one of the villains fired at his head, but happily missed him. Mr. Clarke having got his hand into the basket of his broad sword, forced his way out of the carriage, and while doing so one of the robbers seized his sword by the scabbard, and unsheathed it. The moment Mr. Clarke got out he received a severe blow on the temple, by which he was stunned and desperately cut. Recovering, however, he disabled the first of his assailants who approached, and drove his sword into the body of the second; on which the remaining four fled. Mr. Clarke returned then into Limerick with his two prisoners, and lodged them in jail. We understand the magistrates of that county intend to manifest, by a handsome compliment, their approbation of his meritorious conduct.—Mr. Clarke is a native of Ireland.

Admiralty-office, May 21.

Letter to the right hon. lord Keith.

Musquito, Yarmouth Roads, April 14.

My lord,

I beg to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 12th inst. Scarborough W. 13 miles, three sail were discovered in the offing, two of them firing guns apparently to bring-to the third. I immediately made sail in chase of them. The first I came up with was a sloop from Guernsey, with a cargo of contraband goods, who informed me that the other two were French privateers: no time was lost in making all sail after them; and though night was setting in, I am happy to say we succeeded in capturing the first about 12 o'clock, and the other shortly after day-light the next morning: they proved to be the Orestes and Pylades, Dutch-built koffs, fitted out as a deception, with a French commission, generally under Prussian colours, commanded by citizens Wepperman and Cavin, each armed with a 24-pound carronade, six swivels, a considerable number of small arms, and manned with 33 men. This is their first cruize; they have been at sea three weeks, but owing to the bad weather have made no captures. By their charts, I find their views were directed chiefly against the trade on the coast of Scotland, and might have done a great deal of mischief, as no one would have suspected them of being privateers.

I am, &c.

S. JACKSON.

Eagle, Carlisle Bay, April 3.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that

that the schooner I parted company from the squadron by signal last evening, I came up with and captured at midnight: she proved to be the Empereur privateer, belonging to Guadaloupe; she is a very fine vessel of her description, coppered, and sails well, is 160 tons, mounts 14 6-pounders, and had on board 82 men; had been out 46 days at sea, but made no captures. DAVID COLBY.

24. Mr. Foote, an eminent banker in the city, was this day unfortunately drowned in the river Thames. He was of the firm of Martin and Co. Lombard-street, and considered one of our first-rate amateurs in sailing. He had just got a new pleasure-boat built, one of the most elegant of the day; and, accompanied by his sister and two servants, went the beginning of the week to Gravesend, to indulge in his favourite amusement. This morning they embarked, as usual, and sailed up and down, under the most flattering auspices of wind and weather; when, on a sudden, a breeze from the land upset the boat, which instantly sunk, and it is supposed the body of Mr. Foote is under it, as it has not yet been found. Miss Foote was buoyed up by her clothes, and floated upon the water, until she was taken up in a state of insensibility: the servants were also saved. Mr. Foote was a very handsome and very amiable young man, about twenty-eight years of age, and brother to captain Foote, of the royal navy. He was very athletic, and considered the best amateur rower on the river.

Admiralty-office, May 25.

Rear-admiral Dacres, dated Port Royal, March 15, incloses the following:

His majesty's sloop Rein Deer, off Montego Bay, March 7.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that after a chase of five hours and a half, in company with his majesty's sloop Hunter, I have captured the Spanish schooner privateer Santa Rosalia Galandrina, commanded by Francisco de Naras, having on board 57 men. Previous to our falling-in with her, she appears to have mounted three guns, which were thrown overboard during the chase (one of eight and a half and two of four pounds calibre); and has on board musketry for the whole of her crew. She sails remarkably fast; is victualled for fourteen days; left Caliodam, in Cuba, yesterday, but belongs to St. Jago; has taken nothing during her cruize. The privateer I have sent into Port Royal, under the protection of his majesty's sloop Hunter, with the greatest part of her crew, having only 15 remaining on board the Rein Deer.

J. FYFFE.

[This night's Gazette also contains a letter from commodore sir Samuel Hood, inclosing the following:

Epervier, Tortola, Jan. 31.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 26th inst. Crab island bearing north two leagues, I saw a suspicious sail to the southward, and, after five hours chase in his majesty's sloop under my command, came up with and captured L'Elizabeth French schooner privateer, belonging to Mariagalante, mounting four carriage-guns, with muskets, pistols, cutlasses, &c. and manned with 34 men, one of whom was killed by their obstinate attempt to escape. The schooner had previously taken a sloop be-

longing to Tortola, and sent her into St. Thomas's.

I am, &c.
JOHN IMPEY.

OPENING OF THE LONDON DOCKS.

May 27.

In a nation which owes its splendour, power, and pre-eminent rank to its naval strength and maritime commerce, whatever has a reference to these, its most cherished objects, has never failed deeply to interest the mind of the public. On no occasion has this remark been more completely exemplified than by the scene exhibited on Saturday last. It was a proud display of national wealth, and an additional trophy to the industry and inexhaustible resources of a brave and provident people. There was one circumstance which, doubtless, enhanced the expectations of the public. It was generally supposed that his majesty would have graced the solemnity with his presence. This hope was groundless, and the disappointment was severely felt by all ranks.—As early as ten in the morning the company began to assemble. Tickets of admission were issued of two kinds, one for the side of the dock nearest London, and the other for the space fronting the warehouses. Both commanded an uninterrupted view, but the latter was more peculiarly appropriated for the visitors of distinction.—Fronting the centre warehouse, there were rows of seats for the accommodation of the ladies. They were entirely occupied by beauties of the first class and fashion. The company continued arriving in carriages till near three o'clock. Each side of the inner bason was crowded with spectators. The band of the East India Company's volunteers were stationed in front of the warehouses, and the duke of York's band on the right side of the dock; they played a variety of grand pieces of military music during the whole of the morning. Nothing could be more picturesque than the appearance of the place. Every surrounding eminence, and the yards and masts of every ship were crowded with people. In the lower bason nearest the Thames were two port traders, the Thames of London, and the Triumvirate. These were dressed out with the colours of all nations. Above them all waved the British standard. It is not possible to describe the beautiful effect they had when they were moving from their station to the flood-gates, through which they were admitted into the inner dock. The band of the first loyal London were on board the Thames; the decks of both vessels were thronged with company. Towards three o'clock the lord mayor, sheriffs, aldermen Shaw, Curtis, and others of the corporation, arrived. Soon after Mr. Pitt came. He was accompanied by lord Hawkesbury, lord Camden, lord Harrowby, lord Mulgrave, right honourable Mr. Foster, Mr. Long, Mr. Canning, sir James Pulteney, and a number of the members of both houses of parliament. A procession was formed of the proprietors of the docks, with Mr. Pitt and his party at their head. They went round to the flood-gates, and got on board the Thames. The chancellor of the exchequer, both by his voice and action, animated the rest; and waving his hat in the air, "sung out," as the sailors call it, which was followed by three cheers from the whole ship's company. At this moment all was expectation. The gates were thrown open, and the Thames, arrayed in all her magni-

magnificence, moved slowly and majestically into the inner dock. A discharge of twenty-one pieces of cannon saluted her entrance. The three bands of music struck up Rule Britannia, and upwards of 30,000 spectators, as if actuated by one impulse, cheered her while she exultant ploughed the wave. The sight was superb. She was followed by the Triumvirate, and the same ceremonies were repeated as she entered the dock. Several valuable Spanish prizes were afterwards towed in. The Thames and the Triumvirate came directly across to that part fronting the seats, the music still playing, and the people continuing to cheer. Both vessels were laid along-side the dock; and Mr. Pitt, and the rest of the company on board, landed, and were received with reiterated acclamations. This concluded the ceremony. Mr. Pitt, and those who accompanied him, were invited to partake of a cold collation. Upon the whole, a more delightful spectacle never was seen. Without particularizing names, it is only necessary to observe, that most of the nobility and gentry from the west end of the town were present.

Whitehall, May 27.

Dispatches have been received over land at the India-house from Bombay, dated the 21st December, 1804, enclosing a copy of a letter from lord Lake to marquis Wellesley of the 17th of November, giving an account of the result of his attack upon the cavalry of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, commanded by that chief in person upon that day, being the letter which was referred to by lord Lake in his subsequent letter of the 18th November, as published in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 27th April, 1805, and which was noticed in that Gazette as not having then arrived in England.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, governor-general, &c.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship that, in pursuance of my intentions, expressed in my dispatch of yesterday's date, I reached this place this morning, with the cavalry, before day-break, after a march of upwards of 34 miles.

The enemy occupied a position close under the walls of Ferruckabad, and I completely succeeded in surprising them. The consequence has been, that vast numbers of their men and horses have been destroyed, and the whole cattle and baggage taken which they possessed.

Jeswunt Rao Holkar escaped by an early flight; but his troops, in the greatest confusion, were pursued, and every where cut to pieces by my cavalry. I am happy to add that we have sustained very little loss either in men or horses.

I have not time at the present moment to express the satisfaction I have derived from the good conduct of all the corps engaged; but I shall have the honour of forwarding to your lordship my sentiments on this subject as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. LAKE.

Head-quarters, Ferruckabad,
Nov. 1784.

The same dispatches contain the following paragraphs respecting our military operations in Malwa:

"We feel also much pleasure in reporting the successful progress of

the division of the army in Malwa, under the command of colonel Murray, which, after completing the conquest of Holkar's possessions west of the Chumbiels, reached Muccondra on the 30th November, and still continued to advance."

On the 8th inst. (Dec. 1804) general Jones was at Jowra, one march beyond Rutlam, and would probably have joined colonel Murray's army by or before the present date."

28. Last night, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in the warehouses in the centre of Grosvenor Mews, belonging to Messrs. Smith and Turner, cabinet-makers, in Bond-street. The warehouses were filled with an immense quantity of cabinet work in a finished and unfinished state, and great quantities of valuable timber. The progress of the flames, fed with such combustible matter, was of course uncommonly rapid, and in a few moments the atmosphere was in a blaze; and the fire had, at a distance, every appearance of a general conflagration in that quarter of the town. The warehouses being entirely surrounded by stables, and only separated from them by a narrow lane, the greatest apprehension was entertained that they must become the prey of the flames. One of the first cares was, therefore, to save the horses, which, to the number of between 60 and 70, were taken out of the several stables, and removed to a place of safety. Meantime the Globe, the British, the Sun, Imperial, Phœnix, Royal Exchange, and several other engines, had arrived, and began to play upon the burning warehouses. Several volunteer corps, among whom we observed the St. George's, Mary-la-Bonne, and the Westminster, also mustered very strong, and proceeded with expedition to the spot; where, by their exertions, every kind of pillage and disorder was prevented. In about two hours the roof of the building which first took fire fell in with a tremendous crash; but the engines, being well supplied with water, and worked with great activity, began to gain upon the flames. About twelve o'clock the fire was so far subdued as not to threaten any further mischief. Scarcely an article of value was saved from the warehouses; the loss of Messrs. Smith and Turner must therefore be very considerable. For several hours after the horses were taken from the surrounding stables, men were employed in throwing the hay and oats, saddles, bridles, &c. &c. into the yards, from which they were carried into the street. Fortunately, the activity of the engines prevented the fire from extending to them. Much, however, of the property was damaged or destroyed in the removal; and so great was the heat, that the paint and varnish of several carriages in the adjoining coach-houses were entirely spoiled. The cause of the fire has not been ascertained. There was no person at work in the warehouses when it took place.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, MAY 29.

Before lord Ellenborough.

Roach v. *Clarke.—Assault.*

In this action the plaintiff was mate of the Queen Charlotte, a merchantman bound from Barbadoes to England, and the defendant was the captain. It was brought to recover a compensation for an assault and false imprisonment, attended with circumstances of

of extreme aggravation. The Queen Charlotte was under convoy of the Curieux, and the plaintiff suspected that his captain owed him ill will, and meditated sending him on board the king's ship. The captain went on board the Curieux to visit the lieutenants, and returned with three of them to his own vessel. They had been drinking before; but not satisfied, they went into the cabin to take more wine. Shortly after one of the lieutenants of the Curieux came on deck, and entered into conversation with the plaintiff, observing that the Queen Charlotte sailed well. The plaintiff replied, that she sailed faster than the Curieux. The other said that it was false, or a lie, or to that effect. High words ensued, and the lieutenant said, D—n you, do you know whom you are talking to? do you know I am one of the lieutenants of a king's ship? Damn the lieutenant of a king's ship, replied the plaintiff. At this moment the captain and the two other lieutenants came up; when the one who had been quarrelling with the plaintiff exclaimed, "Here's a pretty fellow! he damns the lieutenant of a king's ship; we'll take him on board and give him a flogging." The captain of the Queen Charlotte seconded the proposal, and recommended them to take him on board, and give him a good pointing. The plaintiff was immediately dragged to the wheel, tied hands and feet, and taken on board the Curieux. The next morning, when reason had resumed her empire, the officers, instead of being ashamed of what they had done, had the man tied up, and flogged with the utmost severity. They then sent him on board the Queen Charlotte, where he remained ill a considerable time. The present action was brought against the defendant, because he had permitted and encouraged the officers to act as they had done.

Lord Ellenborough, in very pointed terms, reprobated the conduct of the three officers. He trusted that, if there was any thing like discipline in the navy, the lieutenants who had been guilty of so daring a violation of the law would not be suffered to dishonour the service, and disgrace the king's uniform. With respect to the plaintiff, the jury would, no doubt, return that verdict which would have the effect of atoning to the plaintiff for the injury he had sustained, and at the same time punish the defendant.

The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 100*l.*

CONSISTORY COURT, MAY 31.

Frankland v. *Nicholson.*

This was a cause of nullity of marriage, promoted by Anthony Frankland, of the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, against Ann Nicholson, falsely calling herself Frankland. By the proceedings it appeared, that Anthony Frankland and Ann Nicholson were married on the 19th of October, 1803, in the parish church of St. Paul, Covent-garden, by the officiating minister of that parish, by the false and assumed name of Ann Ross, in pursuance of the banns of matrimony three times published.—On the part of the husband it was argued, that a change of name, to be considered as a true name, must be by the king's royal licence, or act of parliament; and therefore this must have been a fraud practised on the husband, with respect to the parentage and family of the party with whom he was about to contract-

contract. It was also a fraud practised on the clergyman, and likewise against the law, which was a principal point in a court of justice to be considered. On the part of the wife it was contended, that there had been no fraud committed on the parents, inasmuch as both the parties were of legal age; and that, if the party was deceived with respect to the name, he could not be so as to the person on whom he had fixed his affections; and it was further contended, that there was no fraud whatever to affect the rights which were intended to be sustained by the marriage act. The court said, it was clear in this case that fraud had been practised, and therefore it was of opinion that the marriage was not a legal one, and must be pronounced null and void.

JUNE.

From the London Gazette, June 1.

This Gazette contains a letter from sir S. Hood, dated Barbadoes, 28th March, communicating the capture of L'Intrepide French privateer of 4 guns and 62 men, by the armed brig Grenada, lieut. Baker, on the 16th preceding. Also a letter from lieut. Blew, of the Charger gun-brig, stating his having captured the De Zenno, a small cutter privateer from Flushing, carrying 13 men and small arms.

This Gazette likewise contains an order in council, dated May 30, continuing for six months the free importation of numerous kinds of provisions, and for prohibiting their exportation.

3. On Tuesday an inquisition was held on the body of Emanuel Portello, a Spanish prisoner, on board the San Damaso prison ship, who died in consequence of a stab with a knife in his left thigh. It appeared upon the examination, which lasted six hours, that the deceased was discovered by the Spanish surgeon in the orlop deck, weltering in his blood, from the loss of which he was so exhausted that he could not be understood; that the knife was found several yards from where he lay, without any traces of blood to the spot, which must have been the case, had he inflicted the wound on himself; and that he had been gambling with another prisoner, who underwent a strict examination.—The jury upon these, and other strong collateral circumstances, returned a verdict of—Wilfully stabbed by some person or persons unknown.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

June 5.

The King v. *Alexander Cassing.*

This was an indictment against the defendant, who is a bookseller in Pall-mall, on the charge of offering bribes to a custom-house officer, with the intent to defraud his majesty's revenue.

The solicitor general said this action was preferred in order to recover from the defendant the penalty of 100*l.* for an offence, which, if not repressed, would not only injure the revenue, but would endanger the rights and liberties of the country. The facts were these: The defendant had imported a quantity of books from the continent, which were embarked in the ship named the Jong Agatha. On their arrival at the port of London they were put on board a boat, in order to be conveyed to the Custom-house quay. The defendant and John Short, an officer of the customs, were in the same boat, which, from a sudden gust, was overset; when the crew, with difficulty,

culty, escaped on some rafts, while the books were floating on the waves. Another boat was procured, and the property was collected, although much injured by the accident. In this situation the defendant offered 5*l.* to the officer to admit the goods to go by land to the custom-house. The latter accepted the reward; and when they had proceeded as far as Tower-hill by land carriage, the defendant again importuned the officer, and offered the same consideration, with equal effect, that the goods might be taken to his shop to be dried, instead of being conveyed immediately to the custom-house. This was, however, acceded to, under a promise that they should be brought to the proper place in two or three days. With this the bookseller did not think fit to comply, and Mr. J. Short (the officer employed) gave the intelligence on which this indictment was grounded. After the evidence had been gone through on the part of the prosecution,

Lord Ellenborough said "that there was a fatal incongruity, as it was stated in evidence, that the books were to be delivered at the king's warehouse; when, by the declaration, it appeared that the place was at the quay or wharf of the custom-house. He was sorry to turn the prosecutor round upon this error in the locality, but the necessary regards to the forms of proceeding made it unavoidable." Verdict—Not guilty.

BOW-STREET.

June 8.

Sacrilege.

On the night of the 27th ult. the parish church of Kingsbury was broken open and robbed of several articles of considerable value.—About the same time the churches of Wilsdon and Mortlake were likewise broke open and robbed.—Hand-bills were issued by the churchwardens of Kingsbury, offering a reward for the apprehension of the robber, and circulated in that county, and in London.

In a few days after the robbery, the hand-bills were seen by a bookseller in Broad-street, St. Giles's; and he having purchased two large prayer-books and a bible, the day previous, which he supposed answered the description of those that had been stolen from Kingsbury church, he went to Mr. Downs, the printer of the bills, who accompanied him to Bow-street office; when, from the bookseller's description of the books, there was strong suspicion they were those stolen from Kingsbury church. In consequence of which, Miller and Limerick, the officers, were dispatched to the lodgings of the man the bookseller said he purchased them of, in Wright's buildings, Chick-lane: the officers found him in bed. On searching his bedroom they found a bunch of keys, which they suspecting to belong to a church, seized. The officer took the man into custody to the office. Mr. Bond dispatched the officers to Kingsbury with the books, to ascertain if they were those stolen. On their way they stopped at Wilsdon, to inquire how far they were from Kingsbury, &c. likewise if Kingsbury church had not been robbed. The man whom they made the inquiries of is the parish clerk of Wilsdon; he replied in the affirmative, and observed that their church had likewise been robbed of a bible and two prayer-books. The officers then showed him the books; he immediately

immediately identified them to belong to their church, by the name of Wilsdon being inside of the covers, and a particular leaf. The officers then went to the church and tried the keys, and found one to open the church, and others opened the pews. Yesterday the man was brought before Mr. Bond and sir W. Parsons for further examination; when the parish clerk of Wilsdon attended, and identified the books; and a labouring man proved the prisoner to have been looking into the church on the day previous to the robbery. He was fully committed for trial.

Admiralty-office, June 8.

The following letter is transmitted by sir R. Bickerton, under date Royal Sovereign, Gibraltar, May 13.

Seahorse, Gibraltar Bay, May 8.

My lord,

On the 4th instant I learnt that a Spanish convoy was on the coast to the westward of Carthagena, chiefly loaded on government account, with gunpowder, ordnance, and naval stores for the gun-boats at Malaga, Ceuta, and Algesiras. Conceiving the destruction of the same of consequence, I kept close along shore, with the hope of falling in with them, and effecting my wishes; at two P. M. they were discovered from the mast-head; at five I observed them haul into St. Pedro, an anchorage to the eastward of Cape de Gatte, under the protection of a fort, two armed schooners, and three gun and mortar launches, where I determined to attempt to destroy them: the vessel of greatest consequence to get out was an ordnance brig, loaded with 1170 quintals of powder, and various other stores, commanded by don Juan Terragut, master in the Spanish navy; which was effected by lieut. Downie, first of the Seahorse, in a six-oared cutter, in the most gallant and well-judged manner, whose conduct on this, as well as every other occasion, I feel it my duty to mention to your lordship as that of a most zealous officer; and I beg leave to add, that lieut. Downie assures me he met with every possible assistance from Mr. Thomas Napper, midshipman, who accompanied him in a four-oared boat. The Seahorse during the time kept up a quick and well-directed fire on the fort, gun-vessels, and convoy; and having every reason to believe I had sunk one of the gun-launches, and damaged and sunk several others of the convoy, night coming on, with light winds, the main-top-gallant-mast, sails, braces, bowlines shot away, I felt it imprudent any longer to attempt the destruction of the whole by exposing the ship to the well-directed fire of the gun-vessels, which latterly struck her every shot. For the exertions, on this occasion, of lieut. Ogle Moore, lieutenant Charles Brown Younge, who had not received his confirmed commission, Mr. Spratt master, lieut. Clarke of the royal marines, and lieut. Hagemeister of the Russian navy, I feel severally indebted; and indeed I should do injustice to every other officer on board, did I not mention them in the same manner. It would give me greater satisfaction could I inform your lordship we met with no loss on this service: however, I feel that sustained, in having only one seaman killed, as trifling, considering the well-directed fire, in so many different directions, of the enemy. Trusting that my

my proceedings will meet with your lordships' approbation,

I am, &c.

C. Boyle.

[Lieut. Carpenter, of the Milbrook schooner, in a letter to capt. Snell, announces the capture of the Spanish lugger privateer La Travella, of three guns and 40 men, off Oporto, and the re-capture of the Stork, one of the Newfoundland convoy taken by the Fenix Spanish privateer, on the 9th April.]

Admiralty-office, June 15.

This Gazette, after an introductory letter from adm. Dacres, commander in chief in Jamaica, presents the following narration of a most gallant achievement :

Bacchante, New Providence, April 13.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 3d inst. his majesty's ship under my direction captured, off the Havannah, his catholic majesty's schooner La Elizabeth, of 10 guns and 57 men, commanded by don Joseph Fer Fexeyron. She was charged with dispatches from the governor of Pensacola, which were thrown overboard previous to her surrendering. Having received information that there were three French privateers in the harbour of Mariel (a small convenient port, a little to the westward of the Havannah), which had annoyed most considerably the trade of his majesty's subjects transiently passing through the gulph, I determined, if possible, to rout this band of pirates; for, from their plundering and ill-treating the crew of every vessel they met with, most particularly the Americans, they were nothing better; and lieuts. Oliver and Campbell having, in the most handsome manner, volunteered their service on this hazardous occasion, I dispatched those excellent officers, accompanied by the hon. Almericas de Courcy, midshipman, on the evening of the 5th inst. in two boats; and as it was absolutely necessary to gain possession of a round tower near 40 feet high, on the top of which were planted three long 24-pounders, with loop-holes round its circumference for musketry, and manned with a captain and 30 soldiers, I gave directions to attack and carry the fort previous to their entering the harbour, so as to enable them to secure a safe retreat. Lieut. Oliver, the senior officer, being in the headmost boat, finding himself discovered, and as not a moment was to be lost at such a critical period, most nobly advanced, without waiting for his friend, landed in the face of, and in opposition to, a most tremendous fire, without condescending to return the salutation, mounted the fort by a ladder which he had previously provided, and fairly carried it by a coup de main with 13 men, leaving Mr. De Courcy, with three others, to guard the boat, with an accident to only one brave man (G. Allison) wounded, who was unfortunately shot through the body before the boat touched the ground: but I am happy to say he is already rapidly recovering.—The enemy had two killed and three wounded.

Lieut. Oliver, leaving serjeant Denslow of the marines (who, from his bravery and good conduct, deserves great praise) with six men to guard the fort; and having been rejoined by lieut. Campbell, dashed on to attack the privateers, but to their great mortification found

found they had sailed the day previous on a cruize: he was therefore obliged to be contented with taking possession of two schooners laden with sugar, which he most gallantly brought away from alongside a wharf, in spite of repeated discharges of musketry from the troops and militia, which poured down in numbers from the surrounding country.

I should not have been thus particular in recounting a circumstance which was not attended with ultimate success, were it not to mark my admiration of the noble conduct of lieut. Oliver in so gallantly attacking and carrying a fort which, with the men it contained, ought to have maintained its position against fifty times the number that were opposed: but nothing could withstand the prompt and manly steps taken by that officer and his gallant crew on this occasion; and as, in my humble judgment, the attempt was most daring and hazardous, and, had the privateers been there, I doubt not but success would have attended it, so I humbly solicit the honour of notice to this most gallant officer.

C. DASHWOOD.

[This Gazette likewise states the capture, on the Jamaica station, of Le Hazard French schooner privateer, of three guns and 50 men, by capt. Z. Mudge, of the ship Blanche;—of the cutting out the Dutch schooner privateer Antelope, of five guns and 54 men, from the harbour of Porto Rico, by the boats of the Stork sloop;—of the capture of the Orquijo Spanish corvette, of 18 guns and 80 men, off the Havannah, by the Pique, capt. Ross;—of the capture of the Spanish privateers Napoleon, of 20 guns and 109 men, and El Fenix, of 15 guns and 84 men, by the Topaze, capt. Lake.]

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, JUNE 10.

Adjourned London sittings at Guildhall.

Charles Payne v. *the hon. Elphinstone Flemming.*

The plaintiff was harpooner on board the Greenwich whaler; the defendant is captain of the frigate Egyptienne. Mr. Erskine, on the part of the latter, made application to postpone this trial, under an affidavit, deposing to the impossibility of finding the witness, lieutenant Conelly; but by a singular coincidence, his name being mentioned loudly in court, he presented himself at the bar. The cause then commenced before the special jury appointed for its decision.

Mr. Garrow said, the officer from whom his client now sought a compensation in damages, was known to the whole country; but whatever might be his general merits, the obscure individual for whom he (the learned counsel) now appeared, had not exhibited less courage for the protection and glory of his country. He had boarded a French ship in a dangerous exploit, which he was appointed to superintend, when he received a wound in the groin, which he concealed, until, exhausted with agony, he fell into the arms of the companions of his triumph. The wisdom of the British legislature, for the purposes of commerce, under several acts of parliament (20 Geo. III. 28 Geo. III. 35 Geo. III.) had granted exemptions from the impress to persons employed in the whale fishery. The plaintiff was returning from a long voyage in the immeasurable waters of the Pacific, when an officer

ficer of impress boarded his ship (the Greenwich), and hurried him, and two of his companions, on board the Egyptienne, commanded by this defendant. It was in vain that they showed their protections to the defendant; he said "he wanted men, and men he would have." The two messmates of the plaintiff finding it impossible to escape, to use a strange perversion of language, entered as volunteers; but the plaintiff persisted in asserting his rights. Soon afterwards a bailiff came on board the Egyptienne for a bonâ fide debt, and arrested the plaintiff; on which the lieutenant, who was then on board in command, was constrained to resign him, that he might answer the claims of the law. When the defendant was made acquainted with this circumstance, he hastened to the spunging-house, discharged the debt and costs, and the man was again brought on board the vessel, under an escort of marines. On his arrival on deck he was instantly put in irons, in which state he continued for three days: at the end of that term he was fastened to the capstan, and received three dozen lashes with the cat, under the orders and in the presence of the defendant; who, not contented with this severity, sent the unfortunate person on board the Fairy sloop, commanded by lord Wm. Fitzroy, destined to the West Indies. Here the learned counsel had serious reason to complain, for the object seemed to be to prevent the plaintiff from obtaining redress from the humane institutions of public law: but, whatever was the design, the effect was, that in the dangerous climate to which he was exposed, he suffered two attacks of the yellow fever, and it seemed to be only by the miraculous interposition of Providence that he was now able to demand justice from the hands of a British jury.

Mr. Matthew Miller, from the custom-house, exhibited the muster-roll of the ship Greenwich, by which it appeared that the plaintiff was a harpooner on board that vessel.

Mr. Charles Sayers, a clerk of the admiralty, produced the book of entry, by which the exemption of the plaintiff was certified.

William Toone, a seaman, messmate of the plaintiff, gave evidence to his being confined for three days by a long bolt, with shackles, on the deck. The witness added, they beat the divisions (assembled the crew), after which he was tied up, and received three dozen lashes at the capstan.

James Warren, who assisted in the flogging, confirmed these particulars.

Lord William Fitzroy (from the bench)—"My lord, I am called upon to give evidence; but before I do so, I think it right to mention, that I have come from Plymouth at a considerable charge, and my expenses have not been tendered me; my ship is ready to sail, and may depart before I return."

Lord Ellenborough—"The court will inforce what is right in this respect."

Lord William Fitzroy then deposed to the plaintiff having been sent on board his ship, not by the defendant, but under an order from admiral Montague, dated from the admiralty. The plaintiff behaved well; and before his lordship's return from the West Indies the man was promoted, and removed

removed to the Hercule, the flag-ship under admiral sir John Duckworth.

Mr. Erskine said, the subject of the complaint arose at the beginning of the present war, when the security of the state in a great degree depended on the activity and spirit of our naval officers. In this situation, all protections were withdrawn not authorised by the statutes: the defendant, a very young man, did not make the distinction between protections of office, and under the statutes, and in his zeal for the service committed this offence. He having then stepped beyond the limits prescribed by law, could have no jurisdiction whatever over the plaintiff; and the impress, as well as the punishment, became illegal. The jury would determine on such damages as would meet the case under these peculiar circumstances.

Lord Ellenborough having summed up the evidence, the jury withdrew, and in less than an hour returned with a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 300*l.*

12. Mr. Whitbread brought forward his motion, that Henry lord viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours.—An amendment was moved by Mr. Bond, that "the attorney general be directed to prosecute Henry lord viscount Melville, criminally, for the offences stated in the Reports of the Naval Commission and the Select Committee, and to suspend the civil action already ordered by the house, till the other is determined." The amendment was supported by Mr. Hiley Addington, who declared that, if it should not be acceded to, he should vote for the impeachment.

13. Between five and six o'clock this morning the debate upon Mr. Whitbread's motion closed, and the house divided, when the motion for the impeachment was lost by a majority of 77—195 being for it, and 272 against it.

A second division took place immediately afterwards upon Mr. Bond's amendment for a criminal prosecution against lord Melville, which was carried by a small majority of nine—238 being for the amendment, and 229 against it.—Four hundred and sixty-seven members divided on each question.

Admiralty-office, June 18.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Drury to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Trent, in Cork harbour, the 10th inst.

Sir,

Enclosed I transmit you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter from captain Losack, of his majesty's sloop Helena, giving an account of the capture of the Santa Leocadia, a Spanish privateer of 14 guns and 114 men. I am, &c.

W. O'B. Drury.

His majesty's ship Helena, at sea, 9th June, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the station prescribed by your order of the 21st of March, his majesty's sloop under my command captured on the 5th instant, after a chase of ten hours, and a smart exchange of shot for fifteen minutes, the Santa Leocadia Spanish ship privateer, pierced for 20 guns, fourteen 9-pounders mounted, and a complement of 114 men. I am happy, sir, to add, that no person was hurt on board the Helena, although the enemy's guns were

were well supplied with grape and langridge: she was 54 days from St. Sebastian, not having made any capture, perfectly new, coppered, sails well, and in my opinion calculated for the king's service. Could I venture, sir, on this short trial of the officers and crew I have the pleasure to command, to mention their conduct, I should certainly recommend them to notice; among whom lieut. Hugh Wylie, first of the Helena; and messrs. Watson and Willitts, who have both passed for lieutenants, and anxiously waiting their lordships' patronage.

I am, &c.

WOODLEY LOSACK.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Shark, Port Royal, 8th of April, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit, for their lordships' information, the copy of a letter received from captain Mudge, of the Blanche, acquainting me of his having captured a French privateer.

I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's ship Blanche, off cape Tiberon, April 5, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you with having, this day, captured the French schooner privateer, Le Hazard, mounting three guns and 58 men, after a chase of 26 hours.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Z. MUDGE.

Rear-admiral Dacres,
commander in chief, &c.
1805.

Copy of another letter from rear-admiral Dacres to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Hercule, Port Royal Harbour, April 12, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose, for their lordships' information, the copy of a letter I have received from captain Le Geyte, of the Stork, acquainting me that the pinnace and cutter had cut out a Dutch privateer; also another letter from capt. Ross, of the Pique, to vice-admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, stating that he had captured his catholic majesty's corvette Orquijo.

I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's sloop Stork, off Mona, March 25, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the pinnace and cutter of the Stork, with eighteen men, under the command of lieut. Robertson, assisted by lieut. Murray, on the night of the 23d instant, cut out of the harbour of cape Roxo, in Porto Rico, the Dutch schooner privateer Antelope, of five guns and 54 men, 40 of whom only were on board, and of that number but 15 were made prisoners, the rest making their escape by jumping into the water. As the Antelope was prepared to heave down on the following day, her guns, &c. were on board a brig, along-side of which she was lashed; and from the circumstance of her crew being divided between the two vessels, and prepared to defend themselves, it became necessary to board them both at once; which was effected in a very gallant manner, without any other accident on our part than that of lieut. Murray and one seaman being slightly wounded. Lieut.

(D) Robertson,

Robertson, whom I have always found an active and valuable officer, appears to have conducted himself upon the present occasion with great steadiness, and I have much pleasure in acknowledging the sense I entertain of his merit, as well as that of lieut. Murray and the seamen employed. The Antelope is a fine vessel, and a remarkably fast sailer.

I am, &c.

G. Le Geyte.

To rear-adm. Dacres,
commander in chief.

His majesty's ship Pique, off the Havannah, Feb. 8.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you of our having, this afternoon, captured his catholic majesty's corvette Orquijo, of 18 guns and 82 men, commanded by don Manuel Degongra, from Carthagena to Havannah, with dispatches, which were thrown over-board before we took possession.

I am, &c.

C. B. H. Ross.

To sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.

Copy of a letter from captain Dashwood, of his majesty's ship Bacchante, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the said ship at New Providence, 13th of April, 1805.

Sir,

I avail myself of the opportunity of a packet sailing for England to enclose you a copy of a letter which I have this day transmitted to rear-admiral Dacres, commander in chief at Jamaica, giving an account of my having captured his catholic majesty's schooner La Elizabeth, commanded by don Josef Fer Fexeyron, of 10 guns and 57 men. Also of a most gallant exploit performed by lieutenant Oliver, in storming and taking a fort, in order to effect the capture of three French privateers supposed to be lying in the harbour of Mariel, on the island of Cuba, and who, from their piratical depredations, had much annoyed the trade of his majesty's subjects, as well as the commerce of neutral nations; and although the object of the expedition was not fully obtained, in consequence of their having sailed the evening previous to the attack, yet still, I trust, the bold and manly conduct displayed by lieutenant Oliver will be honoured with the approbation of my lords commissioners of the admiralty; and although lieutenant Campbell had not the good fortune to share in the glory of this well-intended enterprise, yet great credit is due to his intentions and exertions. Lieutenant Oliver speaks in the highest terms of commendation of the spirit and alacrity of the hon. Almeira de Courcy, as well as the whole of his intrepid crew.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. Dashwood.

Copies of two letters from captain Lake, commander of his majesty's ship Topaze, to William Marsden, esq.

Topaze, at sea, May 7, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of my letter to admiral lord Gardner of this date.

I am, &c.

W. T. Lake.

William Marsden, esq.

Topaze, May 7, 1805.

My lord,

I have the honour to acquaint you,

you, that his majesty's ship under my command has just captured the Spanish ship privateer Napoleon, of St. Sebastian, pierced for 20 guns, and mounting ten nine-pounders and four eighteen-pound carronades, with one hundred and eight men on board. She sailed 57 days since from Bourdeaux, and has taken, in this her first cruise, the Westmorland, an outward-bound letter of marque, of Liverpool, after a smart action, and the brig Brunswick from Honduras.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. T. LAKE.

Admiral lord Gardner, &c.

Topaze, at sea, May 20, 1805.

My lord,

I enclose herewith, for their lordships' information, a copy of a letter I have written this day to admiral lord Gardner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. T. LAKE.

William Marsden, esq.

Topaze, at sea, May 20, 1805.

My lord,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that his majesty's ship under my command has been again successful, having this day captured El Fenix, a Spanish privateer brig of 14 guns and 85 men, of St. Sebastian, out from Vigo ten days, without making a capture.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. T. LAKE.

Admiral lord Gardner, &c.

Whitehall, June 18.

The following intelligence has been received at the East India House from Bengal.

To his excellency marquis Wellesley.

My lord,

My dispatches of the 24th and 25th inst. will have informed your lordship of the complete success of our operations against the town and fort of Deig.—I attribute our early possession of this strong fortress, entirely to the panic which the garrison experienced, on witnessing the irresistible valour and intrepidity of our troops in carrying by assault the outwork, and storming their numerous batteries, under the walls of their town, which were supported by extensive intrenchments, occupied by a large force, consisting of several of the rajah of Bhurtpore's battalions, and the remaining infantry of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. The number of the enemy killed on the night of the 23d inst. was immense.—The ardent zeal, energy, and irresistible valour, which have marked the conduct of our officers and troops employed on this occasion, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and danger, must ever reflect on them the highest credit; and the benefit the nation has received from their exemplary and heroic behaviour, must be matter of proud exultation to every well-wisher of the British empire. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on every corps engaged, for the perfect regularity with which this service was performed. I found it necessary to divide the force destined for this service into three columns, the whole moving off so as to reach the different points of attack a little before twelve at night.—The right column, under capt. Kelly, consisting of four battalion companies of the hon. company's European regiments, and five companies of the 1st battalion 12th regiment native infantry, were ordered to carry the enemy's batteries and trenches on the high ground to the left of the town. The success of this par-

ty was complete, and entitles capt. Kelly to every praise for the manner in which it was conducted, and for the coolness and gallantry he displayed under every trying circumstance, exposed to a heavy fire from artillery, which was defended with desperate resolution. Capt. Raban, of the artillery, who accompanied this party for the purpose of spiking or bringing off the captured ordnance, particularly signalized himself on this dangerous service. The left column, under major Radcliffe, consisting of the remaining four battalion companies of the hon. company's European regiment, and five companies of the 1st battalion 12th regiment native infantry, were destined to carry the trenches and batteries on the enemy's right. This column was equally successful with that opposed to their left; and the service was performed with equal gallantry and spirit, and reflects infinite credit on major Radcliffe. The centre column, led by lieut.-col. Macrae (who had the general command of the whole), consisting of the flank companies of his majesty's 22d, 76th, and of the hon. company's European regiment, and of the 1st battalion 8th regiment native infantry, composed the storming party. I have hardly words to express my sense of the conduct of this party, who, under a galling fire, on their flanks, of cannon and musketry from the enemy's batteries and trenches, and over broken and extremely unfavourable ground, rushed on to the breach, and gained possession of the work, with a spirit and ardour which must have ensured success whatever might have been the opposition. I feel myself under the greatest obligations to lieut.-col. Macrae, to whose conduct on this occasion I attribute the ultimate success of the attack. Lieut.-col. Ball, who commanded the 1st battalion 8th regiment native infantry, is entitled to the greatest praise for the activity and spirit he displayed in leading on his men; and for the able assistance he rendered col. Macrae, in the adoption of such measures as became afterwards necessary to secure us in possession of the place. It is with sincere grief I add, that this valuable officer received a severe, though I trust not dangerous, wound, but which will, I fear, deprive me of his services for some time. The conduct of capt. Lindsay, of his majesty's 22d regiment, has been represented to me as highly meritorious; I lament to add, that this gallant officer is likewise wounded. It is unnecessary for me to detail more fully the conduct of individuals on a service where merit has been, throughout all ranks, so eminently conspicuous; but I feel it my duty to draw your lordship's attention to the services rendered by lieut.-col. Horsford, commanding the artillery, to whose professional knowledge and activity throughout this siege, and on every other occasion, I feel infinitely indebted, as well as to the whole of that corps, for their spirited and unremitted exertions. The officers of the engineer department, capt. Robertson and lieut. Smith, have peculiar merit, and are entitled to my best thanks and approbation. The corps of pioneers, under the orders of capt. Swinton, command my warmest praise, for the cheerfulness with which they performed their laborious duties, and particularly for the alacrity they displayed on the night of the 23d inst. Too much credit cannot be bestowed on capt. Swinton, who on this and every former occasion has been

most

most zealous and active. I am sorry to add that this excellent officer is severely wounded, as is lieut. Forrest, of the same corps, whose conduct was equally meritorious. Your lordship will, I am confident, receive much pleasure in learning the highly exemplary conduct of the three corps of British cavalry in camp, the whole of whom volunteered their services as working parties for the trenches and batteries, and assisted very materially in accelerating our operations against this place: they have received my sincere thanks for their exertions, and for a zeal so honourable to the British character. I have the honour to inclose returns of the killed and wounded during the siege, and on the night of the assault, with a return of the captured ordnance, &c. The fugitives, composed of the rajah of Bhurtpore's battalions, and his garrison, with the remainder of Jeswunt Rao Holkar's infantry, appeared generally to have taken the direction of Bhurtpore. By every information, great numbers have deserted, and I do not imagine they will again attempt to oppose us. I shall move towards Bhurtpore as soon as possible. Before I conclude this dispatch, I beg leave to mention to your lordship the very spirited conduct of Mr. Metcalf, of the civil service. He volunteered to accompany the storming party, and was, I am informed, among the foremost who ascended the breach.

(Signed) G. LAKE.

Head-quarters, camp near Deig,
Dec. 26, 1804.

Killed and wounded of the troops that formed the storming party, commanded by brigadier Macrae, on the night of the 23d instant.

Europeans, 28 killed, 78 wounded.—Natives, 101 killed, 106 wounded, 5 missing (supposed to be killed).

(Signed) J. GERRARD, adj. gen.

Officers killed and wounded.—Killed, 8th reg. N. I. capt. Young.—12th ditto, lieut. Bower.—Wounded, artillery, lieut. Smith.—His majesty's 22d reg. capts. Lindsay and Macknight; lieuts. Swotenham and Cresswell.—76th reg. capt. Scot.—Hon. company's European reg. lieut. Merriman.—1st bat. 8th reg. N. I. lieut.-col. Ball; major Basset; lieuts. Abernethy and Anderson.—Corps of pioneers, capt. Swinton; and lieut. Forest.

J. GERRARD, adj.-gen.

Ordnance, &c. captured in the line before Deig, Dec. 23.

12 brass pieces of different calibres.—9 iron pieces of different calibres.—Total 21.

Ordnance, &c. captured in the town and fort of Deig, Dec. 23 and 24.

4 brass pieces of different calibres.—55 iron pieces of different calibres.—Total 59. 20 one-pound iron swivels.—Shot, powder, and military stores in the magazines, not yet taken account of.

J. HORSFORD, lieut.-colonel.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, &c.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship that, in consequence of the breach in the wall of the town being reported practicable, I determined on storming the place yesterday evening. I chose this time, in order to prevent the enemy from stockading the breach during the

night, which had hitherto been the case. I am sorry to add, that obstacles of an insurmountable nature were opposed to the storming party on their arrival at the breach; the water in the ditch was exceedingly deep: this difficulty however was speedily surmounted, and the party gained the foot of the breach; but, though every exertion was made by both officers and men, the breach was so imperfect, that every effort to gain the top proved fruitless, and the column, after making several attempts with heavy loss, was obliged to retire, which they did in excellent order, to our battery. Among the many brave men who have fallen on this occasion, it is with sincere grief I report the death of lieut.-col. Maitland, of the 75th regiment, who commanded the storming party; his exertions are described by all to have been of a nature the most heroic, and his example animated the men to persevere in their attempts, which nothing but difficulties of a nature the most unexpected could have rendered unsuccessful. This gallant officer, though he had received several severe wounds, continued to exert himself until he received a shot in the head, which proved instantaneously mortal. Although we unfortunately failed in gaining possession of the place, we were not wholly unsuccessful: a flanking column on the right, under the orders of major Hawkes, gained possession of the enemy's battery, and succeeded in spiking and disabling their guns, and in destroying the greatest part of the enemy who were opposed to them. I beg to assure your lordship, that the conduct of our officers and men employed last night, has been as exemplary as on every former occasion; but circumstances of an unexpected and unfortunate nature occurred, which their utmost efforts could not surmount: but I hope in a few days their excellent conduct will be rewarded by the possession of the place.

G. LAKE.

Head-quarters, camp before Bhurtpore, Jan. 10, 1805.

Killed, wounded, and missing in the assault of Bhurtpore, on the night of 9th Jan.

1 lieut.-col. 2 majors, 5 captains, 18 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 adjutant, 26 serjeants, 13 corporals, 3 drummers, 179 privates, 4 subadars, 4 jemadars, 13 havildars, 15 naicks, 1 drummer, 149 sepoys, 2 bheasties, 1 lascar, and 18 bildars.—Among the number returned wounded, there are not more than 30 serious cases; the remainder are so slight that the men will be fit for duty in the course of a very few days.

(Signed) J. GERRARD, adj.-gen.

Names of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Killed. His majesty's 75th reg. lieut.-col. Maitland.—76th ditto, lieut. Glubb.—2d bat. 12th ditto, ensign Waterhouse.—Artillery, lieut. Percival (in the battery during the day).—N. B. capt. J. Wallace, major of brigade, missing, and supposed to have been killed.

Wounded. His majesty's 22d reg. lieuts. Swetman and Cresswell.—75th ditto, major Campbell; capts. Hessman and Brutton; lieuts. Byne, Tully, M'Lachlan, and Matthewson.—76th ditto, capt. Webmer; lieut. Crossgrove.—Hon. company's European reg. lieuts. Wood, Hamilton, and Browne.

By advices received this day from the camp of his excellency the

the commander in chief, under date the 13th inst. it appears that a body of 700 of Jeswunt Rao Holkar's horse had quitted the service of that chieftain, and come into camp that morning.—The sirdars of this body of horse had visited his excellency the commander in chief upon their arrival at head-quarters.

Admiralty-office, June 22.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Drury to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Trent, in Cork Harbour, the 13th inst.

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the right honourable the lords commissioners of the admiralty, of the arrival this day of his majesty's ship Loire, and three privateers, two Spanish and one French. I herewith transmit captain Maitland's letter, enclosing one from lieutenant Yeo, first lieutenant of the Loire, giving an account of the capture of the above vessels, as well as of his most judicious and prompt decision in entering the bay of Muros; and by the most active and daring gallantry on the part of captain Maitland and lieutenant Yeo, and the officers and ship's company of the Loire, taking the forts which defended the bay; the particulars of which are therein detailed: also another letter from captain Maitland, describing the very gallant attack made by lieutenant Yeo, in the boats of the Loire, on a Spanish felucca and small privateer, under the enemy's batteries, accompanied with lists of the killed and wounded, and a list of vessels captured and destroyed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. B. Drury.

His majesty's ship Loire, off Cape Finisterre, June 2.

Sir,

I have to inform you, that, after delivering the dispatches lord Gardner charged me with to sir Robert Calder, in stretching to the westward to regain my station, a small vessel was discovered standing into the bay of Camarinas, to the eastward of Cape Finisterre. Being quite calm, after dark I sent the launch and two cutters, under Mr. Yeo first lieutenant, assisted by lieutenant Mallock of the marines, and messrs. Clinch, Herbert, and Mildridge, midshipmen, to endeavour to bring her out. From the intricacy of the passage, the boats did not get up till break of day; when they found two small privateers moored under a battery of ten guns: undaunted, however, by a circumstance so little expected, Mr. Yeo ordered the launch, commanded by Mr. Clinch, to board the smallest, while he, with the two cutters, most gallantly attacked and carried the largest, a felucca armed with three 18-pounders, four 4-pounder brass swivels, and 50 men. The launch had the same success in her attack. The fort immediately opened a fire, so ill-directed, however, as to do little damage. Being still perfectly calm, under the guns of the battery, and no possibility of receiving assistance from the ship, Mr. Yeo was under the painful necessity of abandoning the smallest vessel, a lugger of two 6-pounders and 32 men, to secure the felucca, which, I am happy to add, was effected with only three men, William Turner, James Gardner quarter-master, and John Maynes marine, slightly wounded. The loss on board the lugger cannot be ascertained. When

the crew of the felucca was mustered, 19 out of 50 were missing, some of whom had jumped overboard; but the greatest part were killed by the pike, there being no weapons used but the pike and sabre. When we call to mind the inequality of force, officers included, there being not more than 35 of the Loire's opposed to 80 Spaniards, with their vessels moored to the walls of a heavy battery, it must be allowed to confer the greatest credit on the officers and men employed on the service. Mr. Yeo, in coming out, took possession of three small merchant vessels; but finding their cargoes consisted only of small wine for the enemy's squadron at Ferrol, I have destroyed them. The name of the privateer captured is the Esperanza alias San Pedro of Corunna. She is quite new, only out four days, and was victualled and stored for a cruize of one month. Mr. Yeo assures me that he was assisted by Mr. Mallock with the greatest bravery, and gives the highest praise to Mr. Clinch for the gallantry and promptness with which he carried his orders into execution in the launch. He also speaks in the warmest terms of the officers and other men under his command.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) FRED. MAITLAND.

Rear-admiral Drury, &c. &c. Cork.

His majesty's ship Loire, at anchor, Muros Road, Spain, June 4, 1805.

Sir,

Being informed that there was a French privateer, of 26 guns, fitting out at Muros, and nearly ready for sea, it struck me, from my recollection of the bay (having been in it formerly, when lieutenant of the Kingsfisher), as being practicable either to bring her out or destroy her, with the ship I have the honour to command. I accordingly prepared yesterday evening for engaging at anchor, and appointed Mr. Yeo first lieutenant, with lieutenants Mallock and Douglas of the marines, and Mr. Clinch master's mate, to head the boarders and marines, amounting, officers included, to fifty men (being all that could be spared from anchoring the ship and working the guns), in landing and storming the fort, though I then had no idea its strength was so great as it has proved. At nine this morning, on the sea-breeze setting in, I stood for the bay in the ship, the men previously prepared being in the boats ready to shove off. On hauling close round the point of the road, a small battery of two guns opened a fire on the ship; a few shots were returned: but perceiving it would annoy us considerably from its situation, I desired Mr. Yeo to push on shore and spike the guns, reminding the men of its being the anniversary of their sovereign's birth, and that, for his sake, as well as their own credit, their utmost exertions must be used. Though such an injunction was unnecessary, it had a great effect in animating and raising the spirits of the people. As the ship drew in, and more fully opened the bay, I perceived a very long corvette, of 26 ports, apparently nearly ready for sea, and a large brig, of 20 ports, in a state of fitting; but neither of them firing, led me to conclude they had not their guns on board, and left no other object to occupy my attention but a heavy fort, which at this moment opened to our view within less than a quarter of a mile, and began a

wonder-

wonderfully well-directed fire, almost every shot taking place in the hull. Perceiving that, by standing further on, more guns would be brought to bear upon us, without our being enabled to near the fort so much as I wished, I ordered the helm to be put down; and when, from the way she had, we had gained an advantageous position, anchored with a spring, and commenced firing. Although we have but little doubt that, before long, we should have silenced the fort, yet from the specimen they gave us, and being completely embrazured, it must have cost us many lives and great injury to the ship, had not Mr. Yeo's gallantry and great conduct soon put an end to their fire. I must now revert to him and the party under his command: having landed under the small battery on the point, it was instantly abandoned; but hardly had he time to spike the guns, when at the distance of a quarter of a mile he perceived a regular fort, ditched, and with a gate, which the enemy (fortunately never suspecting our landing) had neglected to secure, open a fire upon the ship; without waiting for orders he pushed forward, and was opposed at the inner gate by the governor, with such troops as were in the town, and the crews of the French privateers. From the testimony of the prisoners, as well as our own men, it appears that Mr. Yeo was the first that entered the fort, with one blow laid the governor dead at his feet, and broke his own sabre in two; the other officers were dispatched by such officers and men of ours as were most advanced, and the narrowness of the gate would permit to push forward: the remainder instantly fled to the further end of the fort, where, from the ship, we could perceive many of them leap from the embrazures upon the rocks (a height of above twenty-five feet): such as laid down their arms received quarter. For a more particular account of the proceedings of Mr. Yeo and his party, I beg leave to refer you to his letter enclosed herewith, and have to request you will be pleased to recommend him to the notice of the lords commissioners of the admiralty; he being a very old officer, and in the two last instances having displayed as much gallantry as ever fell to the lot of any man. He speaks in the strongest language of the officers and men under his command on shore, and I feel it but justice to attribute our success wholly to their exertions; for although the fire from the ship was admirably directed, the enemy were so completely covered by their embrazures, as to render the grape almost ineffectual. The instant the union was displayed at the fort, I sent and took possession of the enemy's vessels in the road, consisting of the Confiance French ship privateer, pierced for 26 twelves and nines, none of which however were on board; the Belier, a French privateer brig, pierced for 20 eighteen-pound carronades; and a Spanish merchant brig in ballast. I then hoisted a flag of truce, and sent to inform the inhabitants of the town, that if they would deliver such stores of the ship as were on shore, there would be no further molestation: the proposal was thankfully agreed to. I did not, however, think it advisable to allow the people to remain long enough to embark the guns, there being a large body of troops in the vicinity. A great many small vessels are in the bay, and hauled up on the beach. None of them having cargoes

cargoes of any value, I conceive it an act of inhumanity to deprive the poorer inhabitants of the means of gaining their livelihood, and shall not molest them. On inspecting the brig, as she had only the lower rigging over head, and was not in a state of forwardness, I found it impracticable to bring her away, and therefore set fire to her. She is now burnt to the water's edge. I cannot conclude my letter without giving the portion of credit that is their due to the officers and men on board the ship. They conducted themselves with the greatest steadiness and coolness; and, although under a heavy fire, pointed their guns with the utmost precision, there being hardly a shot that did not take effect. To lieutenants Lawe and Bertram I feel much indebted, as well as to Mr. Shea, the purser, (who volunteered his services, and to whom I gave the charge of the quarter-deck carronades in Mr. Yeo's absence,) for the precision and coolness displayed by the men under their command in pointing the guns, as well as the exact attention paid to my orders, and ceasing fire the instant the union jack made its appearance on the walls; by which, in all probability, the lives of several of our men were saved. Mr. Cleverly, the master, brought the broadside to bear with much quickness and nicety, by means of the spring. I send you herewith a list of our wounded on board, and on shore, with one of the enemy's killed and wounded; and an account of their force at the commencement of the action.

I have been under the necessity of being more detailed than I could wish; but it is out of my power, in a smaller compass, to do justice to the exertions and conduct of the officers and men employed on the different services. It is but fair at the same time to state that, much to the credit of the ship's company, the bishop and one of the principal inhabitants of the town came off to express their gratitude for the orderly behaviour of the people (there not being one instance of pillage), and to make offer of every refreshment the place affords. I am now waiting for the land breeze to carry us out, having already recalled the officers and men from the fort, the guns being spiked and thrown over the parapet, the carriages rendered unserviceable, and the embrazures, with part of the fort, blown up.

I have the honour to be, &c.

FRED. MAITLAND.

Rear-admiral Drury, &c. &c. Cove.

His majesty's ship, Loire, Muros, June 4, 1805.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that I proceeded on shore with the party you did me the honour to place under my command, for the purpose of storming the fort on the point, agreeably to your orders, which, on our approach, the soldiers quitted. On my arrival I observed a strong fort at the entrance of the town, opening a heavy fire on the ship; and judging it practicable to carry it by storm, from a thorough knowledge I had of the determined bravery of all the officers and men, I ordered them to follow me for that purpose; which was obeyed with all that energy and gallantry which British seamen and marines are so well known to possess, on such an occasion, and in a very short time reached the outer-gate, when the French sentinel fired, and retreated into the fort, which we instantly entered,

entered, and were met by the governor and all the garrison; when, after a dreadful slaughter on the part of the enemy, the remainder surrendered, and I instantly ordered the British colours to be hoisted. I feel it my duty, as well as the greatest pleasure, to mention the great support I received from lieut. Mallock, of the royal marines, and Mr. Charles Clinch, master's mate, as, from being near me all the time of the action, I was enabled to observe their very cool and gallant behaviour, as also of lieutenant Douglas, of the royal marines, who, though engaged at different parts of the fort, I have no less reason to be highly pleased with. I must now beg leave to say how much I am indebted to every seaman and marine of the party, who behaved so unanimously brave nothing could withstand them: and to their credit as Englishmen as well as their profession, the instant the fort was in our possession, they seemed to try who could be the first to relieve and assist the poor wounded prisoners, who were lying in numbers in different parts of the fort; and I had the pleasure to see their humanity amply repaid by the gratitude the unfortunate men's friends expressed when they came to take them away.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES LUCAS YEO.

To captain Maitland, &c. &c.

A list of wounded on shore belonging to his majesty's ship Loire, at Muros, the 4th of June 1805.

Lieutenant J. L. Yeo, slightly; Mr. Clinch, master's mate, ditto; Henry Gray, seaman, ditto; Martin Hendrickson, seaman, ditto; John Payne, seaman, ditto; John Leonard, marine, ditto.

On board.—James Caldwell, seaman, dangerously; Magnus Johnson, seaman, lost his right leg above the knee; Christian Wilson, seaman, calf of his leg shot off; John Whitcomb, seaman, severely; John Plummer, seaman, slightly; Mark Archer, seaman, ditto; Thomas Lloyd, seaman, ditto; John Moulds, seaman, ditto; James Gillet, seaman, ditto.—Total. 2 officers, 12 seamen, and 1 marine.

Spaniards killed and wounded.—The governor of the fort, and a Spanish gentleman who had volunteered; the second captain of the Confiance, and nine others, killed. Thirty, amongst which were most of the officers of the Confiance, wounded.—Total. 12 killed and 30 wounded.

(Signed) FRED. L. MAITLAND.

Enemy's force at the commencement of the action when opposed to his majesty's ship Loire, in Muros Bay, the 4th of June 1805.

A fort of 12 Spanish 18-pounders, mounted on travelling carriages, 22 Spanish soldiers, several Spanish gentlemen and townsmen volunteers, and about 100 of the Confiance's ship's company.

The small battery on the point, two Spanish 18-pounders, one mounted as above, the other on a ship carriage, manned by eight artillery-men and ten other Spaniards.

In the bay—La Confiance of Bourdeaux pierced for 26 guns, twelves and nines (not on board), 116 feet long on the main-deck, 30 feet wide, measures about 450 tons, is in good order, and a very fit ship for his majesty's service; is reckoned to sail excessively fast; was to have gone to sea in a few days, bound to India, with a complement of 300 men: brought away.

Le

Le Belier, of Bourdeaux, pierced for 20 guns; also fitting for sea; was to have carried 18-pounder carronades, and 180 men; supposed to be destined to cruize to the westward of Cape Clear: burnt.

The guns of the fort and battery spiked, and thrown over the parapet. The carriages broken, and rendered unserviceable. The embrazures blown up. Forty barrels of powder brought on board, with two small brass cannons, and 50 stand of arms.

(Signed) FRED. MAITLAND.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Hercule, at sea, the 2d May, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for their lordships' information, the copy of a letter from captain Coghlan, of his majesty's sloop Renard, acquainting me of his having brought to action the General Ernouf privateer, late his majesty's sloop Lily, which, after a close action of 35 minutes, took fire and exploded. It is an additional proof of the steady and decisive conduct of captain Coghlan, who speaks in high terms of his officers and ship's company, all of whom will, I am sure, meet the approbation of their lordships.

I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's sloop Renard, Port Royal Jamaica, April 27, 1805.

Sir,

Having escorted the Chesterfield packet to the latitude directed in your order of the 16th of March last, and being on my way to carry into effect the latter part of it, I have the honour to acquaint you, that at eleven A. M. on Friday the 20th ult. being in lat. 21 deg. 14 min. N. and long. 71 deg. 30 min. west, a ship was seen to leeward standing (under easy sail) to the N. W.; all sail was instantly made in chase, and the stranger soon discovered to be an enemy, who, upon our approach, shortened sail, evidently with an intention to engage us: at twenty minutes past two P. M. having reduced our sail, I closed with the enemy, who opened his fire upon us; but not a gun was fired from this ship until within pistol-shot, at which distance she was placed on the enemy's weather bow; when a heavy fire commenced that reflects infinite praise on the officers who directed it; for at the short period of thirty-five minutes the enemy was discovered to be on fire, and in ten minutes after blew up with a dreadful explosion. Every possible exertion was now made to get the only boat that could swim to the relief of the few brave but unfortunate survivors, who had just before so gallantly defended themselves, and who were now seen all around us, on the scattered remnants of the wreck, in a mangled and truly distressing state; but it is with pleasure I add, that of the few who escaped the flames, not a man was drowned, amounting to fifty-five.

The ship proved to be the General Erneuf, a privateer, late his majesty's sloop Lily, commanded by monsieur Paul Gerard Pointe, seven days from Basseterre, Guadaloupe, carrying eighteen 12-pounder carronades, and two long guns (four more than when in his majesty's

majesty's service), with a complement of one hundred and sixty men (thirty-one of whom were soldiers), going to cruize for the homeward-bound Jamaica fleet.

The enemy's loss was great before the melancholy scene that put an end to the action, having between twenty and thirty men killed and wounded; and I am singularly happy to acquaint you that mine is inconsiderable, nine men only being wounded, some slightly, I hope none dangerously. The steady, cool, and determined conduct of the officers and men serving under my order, was truly meritorious, and gives them just claims on every commendation that is in the power of their commander to bestow. Our sails, running and standing rigging, have suffered much, the enemy's fire being principally directed against them. The second captain and one lieutenant are the only surviving officers. This ship cruized with great success against the trade of his majesty's subjects, having made six valuable captures on her former cruize.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JEREMIAH COGHLAN.

To James Richard Dacres, esq. rear-admiral of the red, &c. &c. &c.

Copy of another letter from rear-admiral Dacres to William Marsden, esq. dated on board L'Hercule, at sea, the 9th May 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose you the copy of a letter I have received from captain Hardyman, of the Unicorn, acquainting me of the boats of that ship having captured the Tape-a-bord cutter-privateer.

J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's ship Unicorn, at sea, May 6, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you of the capture of the French national privateer Le Tape-a-bord, mounting four 6-pounders, well-armed, and carrying 46 men, commanded by citizen Hemiguelth, by the boats of his majesty's ship under my command. On the north side of St. Domingo, Cape Francois bearing S. W. by S. distance eight or nine leagues, on the morning of the 6th instant a strange sail was seen on the larboard bow, distance seven or eight miles: having then light airs, and inclinable to calm, and perceiving the stranger was using every effort with his sweeps to escape, and apparently full of men, and no hopes of my closing with his majesty's ship, I directed Henry Smith Wilson, first lieutenant, with four boats, assisted by James Tait and Henry Bourchier, second and third lieutenants, backed by the volunteer services of Thomas Tud, or Tucker, a passenger belonging to his majesty's ship Northumberland, Walter Powell lieutenant of marines, and Charles Rundle purser of his majesty's ship under my command, to proceed with the boats, and endeavour to come up with the chase.

The cool and determined manner in which this service was performed, after a pull of many hours, and the strong opposition they met with from the well-directed fire of the guns and musketry kept up by the privateer, induce me thus publicly to express my approbation of every officer, seaman, and marine, engaged on this service; and I am happy to add, that no lives were lost on the occasion. This privateer was from

Samana,

Samana, on a cruize, out ten days, without any thing.

I am, &c.
L. T. HARDYMAN.

To rear-admiral Dacres, &c. &c.
Jamaica.

JULY.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

July 1.

The King v. *Richard Price.*

The defendant was brought up to receive the judgment of the court, for having assaulted an impress officer in the discharge of his duty.

The prosecutor, John Wakefield, had impressed a man of the name of Ashley, at Bristol, and was taking him on board, when he was surrounded by a mob of 200 persons, called, in that part of the country, navigators, who rescued Ashley, and, having seized the prosecutor, put him in confinement, where he remained shut up in a damp dark cellar for some time; and while there he heard many of them whetting their knives on the church-yard steps, and swearing they would kill him: he was afterwards rescued by persons called gangsmen; and, returning home with them, was met by the defendant, who, swearing at him, struck him with a whip which he carried, and instigated the mob to murder him. The defendant suffered judgment to go by default.

The court sentenced him to six months imprisonment in the gaol of Newgate.

JULY 2.

The King v. *Passingham and Edwards.*

This was the case of colonel R. Passingham and Mr. J. Edwards, who had been tried before lord Ellenborough and a special jury, at the sittings after last Hilary term at Westminster; when defendants were convicted of a conspiracy, upon an indictment which stated that colonel Passingham had seduced Ann Wynne Forrester, the wife of George Townsend Forrester, esq. and that both the defendants, Passingham and Edwards, intending to defame the prosecutor, and to ruin him, did conspire to compel the prosecutor to permit the said Ann Forrester, his wife, to live separate and apart from her husband, and to allow her a separate maintenance; and for that purpose, charged the prosecutor with attempts to commit, and with having committed, crimes against nature, &c. stating with whom, and actually causing the prosecutor to be apprehended upon such charge, and on which he was taken before a magistrate; who, on hearing the parties, discharged the prosecutor, and no further prosecution was had against him.

The second count in the indictment charged the conspiracy to be intended to enable the defendant Passingham to live with Mrs. Forrester, the prosecutor's wife, in adultery; and that these horrible offences were imputed to him for the purpose of ruining him in his reputation, &c.

Mr. justice Grose, after stating the charges in the indictment, and the conviction, in the usual form, delivered the sentence of the court nearly in the following terms:

"You Robert Passingham and John Edwards, are to receive judgment this day, for wickedly and maliciously conspiring to force the prosecutor, Mr. Forrester, to live apart from his wife, and to allow her

her a large sum for her maintenance during her separation. The success of this scheme was to be produced by a series of scandalous letters, by words and speeches; by the testimony of Law, Windle, and others, all tending to charge the prosecutor with having committed an unnatural crime. A boy, of the name of Collyer, was one of the instruments of this project, by whose means a warrant was acquired, the prosecutor was arrested, and with difficulty he afterwards obtained his release. There are various counts charging the like conspiracy, and on all of them you have been both of you found guilty by the verdict of an English jury; guilty of one of the most abominable and diabolical combinations against the peace, the fortune, and the reputation of an individual. It will be unnecessary for me to repeat the particulars of evidence so offensive: I shall rather follow the example of my lord and the counsel, considering it sufficient to say, that we have all of us reluctantly, but carefully, perused the testimony adduced on the trial, in order to enable us to apportion, in the degree the law will admit, the punishment due to your crimes. The truth is conspicuous from the depositions of two witnesses of Wells, of the boy, and by the most unquestionable of all evidence, one magistrate of Worcester, and of two others sustaining the same character in the county of Middlesex. The jury had no option; they were bound by their oaths to find you guilty; and they have performed that melancholy but important duty. This conspiracy was intended not only to reward the adulterer, by conveying into his arms the wife of the prosecutor, but it was to seize his property, and by the charge of an unnatural crime, under which more than one person has suffered a capital punishment.

"You, Passingham, were the intimate friend of the prosecutor, and with the mask of friendship were admitted beneath his roof, in the full confidence that you would not aim a blow fatal to his happiness; but the wound you inflicted on his domestic peace was slight, compared with what you designed to direct against him. Not content with having violated his bed, your poisoned arrow was pointed at his character and honour. If there be a charge which depresses the mind beyond all endurance, it is an accusation of this nature. To disappoint all resistance to the attempt, you corrupted a youth to commit the foul offence of perjury. This subornation, which so much heightens the offence, is manifestly shown by persons wholly unconnected either with you or the prosecutor; and, but for that testimony, it would be difficult for the human mind to conceive the possibility of such a complicated system of crime. Yet we are assisted in the credence we give to this atrocity, when we reflect on the rapid progress of guilt. You first induced the wife to break her marriage vow, and then proceeded to that disregard of all oaths which has been shown in these transactions. Contemplating this conspiracy in all its parts, both the actors and the deeds, the relation in which the one stood, as trustee and guardian to the wife, and both as pretended friends to the injured husband; the motives of one, a mixture of lust, and avarice; of the other, dark and brooding resentment;—adverting to all the means employed, and to all the

the ends projected, it must be considered as an offence of the deepest stain by which the heart of man can be blackened.

"In mitigation of punishment, affidavits are produced to your former character; and it is sworn that you, Passingham, are a man of the strictest honour. If to seduce the wife of your friend, to involve her in permanent disgrace, to expose that friend to ruin, and to strike at the very seat of existence, be properties peculiar to a man of honour, then I acknowledge you richly deserve that title. Such affidavits would be more intelligible, if those who presumed to swear to them would explain to us their notions of the term honour. It is true, that some men think they may debauch the wife of their neighbour, and that they acquit themselves with honour, if they give what is called satisfaction, by endangering their own lives and that of the injured husband. Attending to the comparative delinquency of the two, I cannot discern many shades of difference between them. Both of you endeavoured to succeed, during a long perseverance, in the nefarious design, and both of you availed yourselves of the same expedients to fulfil the same purpose. What passes in the heart of man, we can only tell by his actions; we cannot judge of the secret emotions; but we have here sufficient to inform us, that the one of you has been actuated by inordinate lust and mean avarice; the other, by black malignity. Your duties called upon you to pay parental attention to your families, and no punishment we can order can involve your children in greater disgrace than the record of this conviction. It is hoped that the sufferings you have to endure will be a warning to your children not to follow your unhappy example, and to your daughters not to place themselves in the wretched situation to which you, Passingham, have reduced the wife of the prosecutor.

"There is one punishment, the most ignominious of all, which we shall not direct, as it might bring down upon you, from the indignation of mankind, what it is not in our power to inflict."

His lordship concluded with ordering, that the two defendants be imprisoned in the gaol of Newgate for the term of three years, and then be discharged. Both of them bowed respectfully to the court, and withdrew.

Admiralty-office, July 6.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Drury to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Trent, in Cork Harbour, June 29.

Sir,

This morning arrived here his majesty's ship Loire, bringing with her the Valiant, a formidable French privateer, which she captured four days ago, as related in captain Maitland's letter, herewith inclosed for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I am &c.

W. O'B. DRURY.

His majesty's ship Loire, at sea, June 25.

Sir,

I have much pleasure in announcing to you the capture of the Valiant of Bourdeaux, a frigate privateer, carrying 30 guns and 240 men, by his majesty's ship under my command, in lat. 49 deg. 30 min. and long. 16 deg. 20 min. after a very hard chase of twelve hours: when nearly within

gun-shot, the Melampus and Brilliant hove in sight on the weather-bow, which obliged her to bear up, and threw her into our hands about two hours sooner than she otherwise would have been. She is reckoned one of the most complete ships ever fitted out at Bourdeaux, and is perfectly calculated to be taken into his majesty's service, sails incomparably fast, carries twenty-four 18-pounders on her main-deck, and six sixes (which she threw overboard in the chase) on her quarter-deck. The Valiant had been twenty days from Bourdeaux, was victualled and stored for a four months cruize; the only capture she has made is the Lord Charles Spencer, Halifax Packet.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. MAITLAND.

Copy of a letter from captain Dashwood, of his majesty's ship the Bacchante, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated off the Havanna, the 19th May, 1805.

Sir,

I transmit you a copy of a letter which I have written to rear-admiral Dacres, commander in chief, giving an account of my having captured on the 14th instant the Spanish letter of marque schooner La Felix, Francisco Lopes master.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. DASHWOOD.

Bacchante, off the Havanna, May 14, 1805.

Sir,

I beg to acquaint you, that the Spanish schooner La Felix, a letter of marque, pierced for 10 guns, but only six mounted, with a complement of 42 men, commanded by Francisco Lopes, laden with coffee and bees-wax, from the Havanna to Vera Cruz, was this day captured by his majesty's ship under my command, after a chase of four hours.

She sailed the preceding evening, and was permitted to do so from her very great superiority of sailing, and is the first vessel that has quitted that anchorage since the embargo was laid on.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. DASHWOOD.

Rear-admiral Dacres, Jamaica.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

July 6.

Barnett v. *Sir John Cox.*

The plaintiff is an attorney, residing in Soho-square, and this action was brought for the sum of 1191*l.* for money paid for the use of the defendant, and for costs of suit.

The solicitor-general, for his client, said, the defendant had a lady in his family, who was the wife of captain Joseph Turner, and who enjoyed a separate maintenance. They resided in a suitable style in Chapel-street, near Grosvenor-square, until, at the instance of some rude creditors (Messrs. Armstrong and Moffatt) sir John was arrested. While he continued in custody he sent for the plaintiff in his professional capacity; told him to procure bail was impossible, and desired him to procure the sale of the furniture, that he (the defendant) might obtain his release from his present difficulties. Under this authority, the usual steps were taken, and the goods were sold: subsequently capt. Turner claimed of the produce 568*l.*; and a Mr. O'Reiley, 119*l.* The demands being just, and being enforced by law, the plaintiff was under the necessity of paying these sums, al-

though he had given before the principal part of the produce to sir John to remove the immediate cause of his embarrassment. The claimants were so urgent, that they proceeded both civilly in an action of trover, and criminally by an indictment for a conspiracy, against sir John Cox, Barnett the attorney, and Barnett the auctioneer. The two amounts so paid, and the costs of suit incident to these proceedings, constituted the total of 1191*l.* for which this action was brought.

Mr. Loose was then called, who deposed to the transactions stated in the opening.

Mr. Garrow, cross-examining the witness.

Q. You shall not play *fast* and *loose* with us.—How long was this prodigious bill accumulating? A. Between the 1st of June 1803 and the 12th of May following.

Q. How did the plaintiff get possession of these goods?—A. The ceremony was performed of *livery of seisin*.

Q. What of *chattel property?*—Was the *plenum dominium* obtained by the shoe, as with the Jews; by the cloak, as with the Goths; by the clod, as with the Saxons; or by the virge, as with us?—A. Sir John obeyed my admonition upon the law of the subject, and gave into my hands a bottle stand.

Mr. Garrow.—Without presuming to dispute, my lord, the profound learning displayed by this witness on the ceremonial of investiture of personal property, I contend, that only 4*l.* of this large amount is proved in the case, and against this item I shall put in an undertaking by the plaintiff, to account with us for 500*l.* to which, contrary to his expectation, we have provided the legal stamp.

Lord Ellenborough.—When such a demand is made in these circumstances, we must conclude that people imagine the justice of the country is asleep.

Under the direction of the chief justice, the jury found a verdict for 4*l.* subject (by consent of the parties) to a reference to Mr. Dampier.

6. The neighbourhood of Kingston-upon-Thames experienced this day a dreadful tempest for several miles round. About six o'clock, the lightning struck down a stack of chimneys belonging to Dr. Chambers's house, and entered the parlour of Mr. Cheney, builder, where it melted the plate on the sideboard; it then passed through a beaufet, and the chimney, to the bed-chamber of Mr. Cheney, where it set fire to the paper, the bed furniture, and bedding; it took its next course down the stair-case, and evaporated, without further mischief. The fire in the bedroom was extinguished by Mr. Cheney's workmen.

On the same morning the farmhouse of Mr. Taylor, near Bourn Brook, was nearly destroyed by the lightning. The chamber and lower windows and frames were driven out, and the chamber floor knocked down. Five women and some children were in the house at the time; the women all thrown from their feet; but we are happy to find that none of them received any injury, except from fright.—An ash-tree on the grounds of Mr. S. Wheeley, in the same neighbourhood, was nearly shivered to pieces, and some of the bark carried upwards of 40 yards from the spot.

THAMES POLICE OFFICE.

July 8.

An examination of an extraordinary nature took place at this office

ffice on Saturday last. It appeard that the prisoner, who is in holy rders, had inserted advertisements n some of the daily papers, offering to procure for persons comfortble situations under government, rovided he received an adequate eward for his services. Though his mode of swindling is not altoether new, the liberal provisions f the advertiser procured him a ultitude of applications; and he reyed for some time on the creulity of his customers. At last wo of the sufferers by the impossure, a Mr. Willy and a Mr. Rolfe, ursued him to Harwich, whence e was about to embark for the ontinent, and brought him back, ith all his luggage, to the Dundee rms, Wapping. Mr. Willy stated o the magistrate, that the prisoner ad promised to procure him a lace in the ordnance department; hat he produced an instrument with ctitious signatures, which he preended was the warrant for his appointment; and that he actually arried him to the court of exchequer, and made him take the oaths f supremacy and allegiance bere the barons, preparatory to his ntering on office. Mr. Willy paid he prisoner 212*l.* for this appointent. The complaint of Mr. olfe was of the same nature: he ad been defrauded of 98*l.* under milar circumstances. The prioner is about fifty years of age, nd has officiated in London as a gular preacher.

CLERKENWELL SESSIONS.

July 10.

Yesterday Charles Knight, a ry respectable-looking man, was dicted for exposing himself imodestly to divers persons in the lds and neighbourhood of Maryle-bone. The principal evidence in behalf of the prosecution was a miss G——, who stated, that she was teacher at Mrs. Barnes's boarding-school, in the New road, Maryle-bone. On Thursday the 21st of last March she was walking with several young ladies in the field by Willan's farm, when the prisoner passed and repassed them in the pathway, and exposed himself in the most indecent manner. When they left the field he again presented himself in the road with the same immodest behaviour, and made his appearance to them at different times in Portland-place, Cavendish-street, and Harley-street; upon which occasions he evinced the greatest brutality. The facts of the prisoner's immoral and infamous behaviour were clearly established, and the jury found him guilty.

12. A stranger of a dark complexion came to Mrs. Peacock's, innkeeper, Barnard-castle, to stay during the night, and after taking some refreshment went to bed. He soon returned from his bedroom, and called for some liquor; when another person, also a stranger, came into the house and joined him. While enjoying themselves they began to behave rather outrageously; which induced the landlady to turn them both out of doors. On the family, however, retiring to bed, it was discovered that the house was robbed of a considerable quantity of wearing apparel, particularly from a trunk belonging to Mrs. Hird, of Darlington, who had been there on a visit. The fellow who came last into the house was, no doubt, an accomplice, and previously received the stolen articles from a window fronting the street. They were pursued, but not discovered.

Admiralty-office, July 13.

Copies of three letters from admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Wm. Marsden, esq.

Hercule, Port Royal, April 21.

Sir,

Herewith you will receive the copy of a letter transmitted to me by Mr. Smith, midshipman of the Hercule, commanding the schooner Gracieuse, tender to my flag, giving an account of the destruction of a French national schooner that had just sailed from San Domingo.

I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's schooner Gracieuse, 11th April.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you, at one P. M. on the 9th instant I fell in with and captured a large Spanish schooner from St. Domingo to Porto Rico with passengers. At six A. M. saw a strange sail to the eastward. She proved to be a sloop under French colours. I chased, firing several shots at her, within gun-shot of the forts of St. Domingo. Finding it impossible to take her, I gave chase to a brig to the westward; she proved to be an American.—At half past four, saw a schooner standing out of St. Domingo, steering direct for us. I was informed by the Spaniards on board that she was a French national schooner. I immediately hauled out with my prize, that I might have sea-room in case she attempted to retreat: this being accomplished, at eight shortened sail and hove-to, with the prize under the lee quarter. At half past eight, the schooner, to windward, edged down within musket-shot, and opened a very heavy fire of musketry and great guns, which was immediately returned by the Gracieuse under my command. At nine, he bore down with an intention of boarding, but met with so warm a reception as obliged him to haul his wind: he continued the engagement. At twenty minutes past nine made a second attempt to board. Finding it impossible, made all sail, firing his stern chasers and musketry. At eleven he tacked, and stood in for the land. I immediately opened a very heavy fire of grape and canister, with small arms, which continued till half past three A. M. at which time he ran on shore on Point Vizoa.—Finding the reef all round him, I hove-to within half a mile from the reef, until half past four: I then saw him going along shore with his sweeps; made all sail in chase. At half past seven, observed him haul-in for the land; at a quarter past eight run her on shore on Point de Selina, and landed her crew off the bowsprit. I ran-in, and came-to in four fathoms water, with springs on the cable; out boat and sent a hawser on board her, with an intention if possible to get her off: but when I got on board, from the number of shot-holes between wind and water, she had completely filled. She was as fine a vessel of her class as I ever saw, and would have done for his majesty's service. Her force consisted in a beautiful long brass 12-pounder, mounted on a circle in midships, which I have got on board; two long brass 4-pounders, and four brass swivels, 3-pounders, with 96 men armed with small arms. Finding it impossible for the boats to do any thing, from the heavy surf

surf on the beach, I continued here until morning, and sent the boats, at half past three A. M. under the command of Messrs. Higgins and M'Gill, in order to take out the long gun, and destroy the vessel; which was effectually completed by them. It is impossible to find words sufficient to express the general good and gallant conduct of the officers and crew. I feel pleasure in informing you we have not a man killed; the only persons wounded were Mr. Robert Marley, midshipman; Thomas Knox and Joseph Ligo, seamen. The number of the enemy's killed and wounded is unknown, but must have been considerable, as I could plainly see them carrying the wounded into the bushes.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) T. B. SMITH.

J. R. Dacres, esq. rear-admiral of the red, &c.

Hercule, at Sea, May 17, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for their lordships' information, the copy of a letter I have received from captain Woolsey, of his majesty's sloop Papillon, acquainting me of his having, by stratagem, caused one of the felucca-rigged privateers to be captured, that annoy the coast of the island of Jamaica.

I am, &c.
J. R. DACRES.

Papillon, Savanna la Mar, April 15, 1805.

Sir,

Having anchored at Savanna la Mar, I gained intelligence from the master of a droger, that a Spanish felucca-rigged privateer was off the west end, to the very great annoyance of the coast; and being very apprehensive she might make her escape should I go after her in the Papillon, I judged it best to try and take her by stratagem. I accordingly got one of the merchant ships' shallops, and dispatched lieutenant Prieur, with 25 men, disguising her as a droger: at eight the same evening, he fell in with the privateer close under the land; lieut. Prieur, in a very cool and brave manner, allowed her to row alongside and make herself fast before the enemy discovered his mistake: he then ordered the men from below, fired a volley of musketry into her, and boarded; and I am happy to inform you, in four minutes she was completely in our possession. She proves to be the Conception, Spanish privateer, of one brass three-pounder and 25 men, well armed and equipped, about twenty-five tons burthen, out five days from Manchoneal harbour, in the island of Cuba, and had made no capture.

The loss of the enemy was considerable, having had seven men killed and drowned, and eight badly wounded; we, I am happy to say, had only two slightly wounded: four of her men swam on shore, and have since been taken up by the militia: the prisoners I landed here, who were taken charge of by the militia: the wounded are in the hospital, with proper medical attendance. The conduct of lieutenant Prieur and Mr. J. Christie, purser (who volunteered his services), the petty officers and men on this occasion, I cannot too highly recommend to your notice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) WM. WOOLSEY.

Hercule, at Sea, May 17, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the copy of a letter from the hon. captain Murray, of his majesty's ship Franchise, to rear-admiral Dacres.

His majesty's ship La Franchise, off Curaçoa, April 25, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that on my arrival off the town of this island, on the 24th instant, we observed a schooner to leeward of us: on standing for her she hauled in under the fort of Port Maria, and came to an anchorage: we followed; and, after about an hour's firing at the fort and her, we had the satisfaction to get her out. She proved to be a tender to the Dutch frigate Kelen Hasshler, now lying at Curaçoa, and commanded by a lieutenant, with thirty-five men, twenty of which, with the lieutenant and surgeon, were on board when taken possession of, the former wounded; the rest made their escape on shore. We have, unfortunately, one man very badly wounded and two slightly; some of our rigging cut, but not materially damaged.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN MURRAY,

To J. R. Dacres, esq. commander in chief, &c.

Copy of two letters from captain Nourse, of his majesty's ship Barbadoes, and captain Cribb, of the Kingsfisher, to rear-admiral Cochrane.

His majesty's ship Barbadoes, at Sea, April 8, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you, that his majesty's ship Barbadoes, under my command, this day captured, in sight of the island of Barbadoes, La Desirée French privateer schooner, of 14 guns and 71 men; out four days from Guadaloupe, and had not made any capture: she had the temerity, after being decoyed within musket shot, to return the fire of several broadsides with musketry, by which she suffered in seven men killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH NOURSE.

To rear-admiral Cochrane, commander in chief, &c.

His majesty's sloop Kingsfisher, off Cape St. Juan, April 11, 1805.

Sir,

Two boats from the ship under my command, under the direction of lieutenants Standish and Smith, brought out from the anchorage of the above cape the Damas Spanish privateer, pierced for four guns, mounting only one 8-pounder, forty muskets, with a crew of fifty-seven men.—Though the crew made some resistance both from the vessels and on shore, I have the pleasure to add it was without loss. She was equipped ten days ago at Cumana, for a cruize off Demerara: this was her first and unsuccessful effort.

I am, &c.

W. R. CRIBB, commander.

The hon. admiral Cochrane, commander in chief, &c.

14. About eight o'clock, a fire broke out in a factory belonging to Messrs. Buchan and Shaw, situated in Higher Ardwick, near Manchester; and such was the irresistible rapidity of the devouring element, that in less than an hour the whole building (six stories high) was reduced to a heap of ruins. All the machinery, apparatus, and goods

goods of every kind, to a very considerable amount, were likewise destroyed. From the circumstance of neither fire nor candle having been used in the factory for several days prior to this unfortunate event, the strongest suspicions are entertained of its being the deed of some malicious incendiary. A man, in running down a hill towards the scene of conflagration, had his leg broke, and was immediately carried to the infirmary.

15. The cathedral church of Lincoln was discovered to have been robbed of the whole of the communion plate, consisting of a very large dish, three plates, two large flagons, two cups and covers, and two large candlesticks. The whole is solid silver, gilt with gold; the value of which was supposed to be 500*l.* The last time it was seen was on Tuesday se'nnight, when the man who has them under his care sent the keys with a boy to show it to a stranger. The robbers must have picked five locks, and there is no appearance of any violence on any of the locks; which makes the robbery very mysterious.

COURT OF CHANCERY.

July 16.

This day the great cause between the earl of Errol and his brother-in-law the rev. Mr. Holwell Carr, was determined in the court of chancery.

By the will of the testator, sir Wm. Carr, no one possessing the title of earl of Errol was to retain the possession of the estate of Etall in Northumberland. When the hon. Wm. Carr, the present earl, succeeded to the title in 1798, the estate in question devolved to his sister, lady Charlotte Holwell, who, with her husband, took the name and arms of Carr; but to prevent litigation and disputes, lady Charlotte divided the income of the estate with lord Errol. On her death, in 1801, her right devolved to her infant son; when the present contest commenced. By the decision of the court of king's bench, confirmed yesterday by the court of chancery, Mr. Carr's child is deemed to be in immediate possession, and on his attaining the age of twenty-one will be entitled to a great accumulated fortune, and, by cutting off the entail, will be empowered to keep possession of the estate, on succeeding to the earldom of Errol.

16. A young brood of woodcocks have been found on the estate of Ballater, in the county of Aberdeen, completely hatched, and ready to take the wing.

Monday forenoon, as the new 32-pounders were conveying from the gun-wharf to the citadel, Plymouth, by the royal artillery horses and their drivers, to be mounted on the west curtain and on the angles and flanks of Ligonier's and the king's bastions, towards the land front, going up the hill of Hoe-lane, one of the thill horses slipped; by which means the leaders fell, and the drivers under them, the gun dragging the horses to the bottom, where it was stopped by the exertions of the rest of the men, or the consequences might have been fatal to all the drivers and horses. Luckily the horses and drivers were only bruised, the former having cut their knees and shoulders; the latter were bruised in their sides and legs, and were sent to the hospital.

KING'S BENCH, GUILDHALL.

July 16.

Lindley v. *Wood, esq.*

This was an action by the owners of the Regulus private ship of

war, against the defendant, the captain of his majesty's ship Acasta, for having impressed four men of the crew of the Regulus, contrary to the letter of protection granted by the lords of the admiralty, and in consequence of which they took four shares less of prize in a capture of a French merchantman, captured jointly by them and another ship of war, than they otherwise would have done.

The solicitor-general, for the plaintiffs, stated, that for this vessel they had procured letters of marque to cruize against the French. The action was brought not so much to obtain a liberal compensation in damages, as that the law on the subject of the impress might be correctly understood, for there must be an end of all hostility by private ships of war, if they were to be deprived of their men at the pleasure of every commander in the king's service. The commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral had granted protection to 70 men on board the Regulus, for the term of three months, commencing on the 27th of May 1803, and it would be seen that this privilege was violated within the period stated. This privateer, falling in with the Acasta frigate, the defendant sent his lieutenant, Mr. Griffiths, on board, in the Bay of Biscay. On the appearance of this officer, the whole crew were ordered on deck, and six of them were selected to go in the Acasta's boat. Mr. White, who commanded the Regulus, accompanied them, and in vain showed the protection with which he was provided: two, however, it was the good pleasure of the defendant to resign. After this occurrence, the Regulus joined company with the Ajax, and, cruising together, they fell in with a French vessel, called Le Bon Cœur, which they captured, and which produced, after all expenses were deducted, nearly 10,000*l.* By the order of his majesty, the division of a prize made by private ships of war was apportioned to each according to the number of men of which the crew consisted. The share to which these four men would have been entitled, was 158*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*; to which the bounty of three guineas and a half each being added, the total constituted the claim, on this part of the special damage, of 172*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* The jury would likewise consider the injury the plaintiffs sustained by the loss of the service of these four men in other respects, although it could not be easily reduced to calculation.

Benjamin Lindley deposed to the names of the owners. James Anderson, from the admiralty, proved the letter of marque, and Mr. Reynolds, from the same office, proved the identity of the seal, and of the protection. The latter was read in court by the clerk, and expressed, that the men were not to be liable to the impress when on board, or in the ship's boat performing their duty to the vessel. Among the names of the mariners protected, there appeared to be those of Hugh Jones, Charles Macarty, John Whaley, and Edward Hawke. William Wheatly delivered in the proclamation under which the distribution of prizes was directed.

William Burton, a sailor on board the Regulus, deposed to the detention of the four men, and to the general statement of facts in the opening of the learned counsel.

Mr. Erskine.—Q. I warrant you they kept Edward Hawke?—A. Yes, he was as good a man as any among us.

After a long cross-examination by Mr. Garrow, it appeared that the

the Regulus had not her complement of 70 men when she sailed; on which the learned counsel took an objection, as the act of the 33 Geo. III. made such protections invalid, unless the number of men were correct.

Mr. Erskine observed, in reply, that the act just referred to ceased with the last war, and that the new act for the same purpose, in the present war, did not commence till the 12th of August 1803; whereas this transaction happened in the preceding June; so that either the one or the other could have no operation in this cause.

Mr. Garrow said, that although the solicitor-general was instructed to declare his clients had no avaricious views unfriendly to the gallant officer who was the defendant in this cause, he had pressed the claim of the plaintiffs to the utmost farthing. Another pretension was, that the plaintiffs were opulent merchants and ship-owners, and were desirous that the law with respect to naval property should be correctly understood, and widely promulgated. Nothing was more accurately understood than the law on this subject; his lordship had lately given the authority of his *dictum* in the case of a Greenland ship, and whatever had his sanction could not fail to be extensively circulated. He should prove that the men were not impressed, that they volunteered on board the king's ship, and received the bounty-money; and to substantiate these facts he should produce lieutenant Griffiths, whom his learned friend had prudently declined to call.

Lieut. John Griffiths did not support these instructions to the learned counsel. He said the men were brought on board, they did not enter immediately, and he could not tell how soon they complied with the proposals.

Lord Ellenborough said, their entering afterwards could have no influence in the present cause, and there was no doubt the men were impressed. The privateer having been thus stripped of a portion of her crew, and the parties having been deprived of the quantum of reward to which they would have been entitled, no doubt could remain on the minds of the jury as to the remuneration they ought to receive. What the defendant has done may be excusable, and the admiralty, perhaps, might indemnify him; but in the present instance, this could not be taken into consideration.—Verdict for the plaintiffs—172*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*

19. A melancholy affair took place at Braintree, in Essex. A party belonging to the 42d regiment were at that place, among whom were several volunteers from the militia. Of those quartered at the Swan public-house, it being observed by the landlord, at eleven o'clock at night, that one was absent, he desired his comrade to acquaint him, that unless he came directly to his quarters, the doors would be fastened, and he should not be admitted. Before twelve he knocked at the door; when Mr. Cousins, the landlord, told him from his chamber window, that he could not allow it to be opened at that improper time. Soon after a very large stone was thrown, which forced the door, and the soldier entered. Hearing him in the kitchen, Mr. Cousins went down, and called upon a neighbour, a hatter, to assist in securing the soldier; who having surrendered, the landlord ran for a constable, in order

to

to deliver him into his charge. In the mean time a scuffle ensued between him and the hatter; who was so much intimidated by the fear that he would be assisted by his comrades above stairs, that he took refuge in a retired part of the house. When the landlord returned, the offender had gone to his bed-room; and on the landlord and constable following, with an intent to take him into custody, they were attacked by the soldiers, now five in number, with bludgeons, who forced them precipitately to retreat. In a short time a number of the neighbours, alarmed at the noise, hastened to render assistance in quelling the riot. They, however, no sooner appeared, than they were outrageously assaulted, and compelled to retire. Two of the soldiers were now stationed at the door, while the others searched the house for the landlord, the avowed object of their vengeance. Fortunately, however, he had taken the precaution of concealing himself in a neighbour's house. At this juncture a poor man, named Levitt, passing that way to obtain assistance for his wife, she being in labour, immediately on his being observed by the soldiers, who supposed him the object of their search, particularly as, in the moment of alarm, he endeavoured to avoid them, they ran after him, and, pursuing him to his own door, there beat him so inhumanly on the head, that his recovery is much doubted. But the consequences of this brutal outrage did not end here. The wife of Levitt, hearing her husband calling out murder! and entreating assistance, was so greatly alarmed, that she fell into violent fits, and did not survive the shock her feelings had sustained more than an hour.

Admiralty-office, July 27.

Copies of letters transmitted by rear-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to W. Marsden, esq.

Surveillante, May 3.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you, that his majesty's ship under my command has this day, in lat. 20. 37. N. long. 82. 36. W. captured the Spanish schooner privateer El Refusgo, mounting three guns, and having on board fifty-three men. She has been out fifteen days, and taken nothing.

I am, &c.

JOHN BLIGH.

To James Richard Dacres, esq.

His majesty's sloop Peterell, off St. Jago de Cuba, May 13, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, his majesty's sloop under my command captured this day, at four A. M. after a chase of two hours, a remarkably fine Spanish privateer schooner, carrying a long 18-pounder and four sixes, and had on board 106 men. She sailed from St. Jago twenty-four hours previous to her falling into our hands, and had taken nothing.

I am, &c.

J. LAMBORN.

To James Richard Dacres, esq.

His majesty's sloop Racoon, off Lucea, May 13.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, on the 11th instant, being at the anchorage at Montego Bay, observed an enemy's schooner boarding a droger; I immediately slipped and gave chase, but from her superiority in rowing and

and sailing in light winds, she effected her escape with her prize into Cape Cruz. On my return into this station, I had the good fortune to fall in with and capture the Spanish felucca privateer San Felix El Socoro, had 40 men on board, and one 6-pounder thrown over board in the chase, out from St. Jago eleven days, and had taken but one droger.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDWARD CROFTON.

To capt. Ross, of the Pique.

His majesty's ship Seine, off Heniaga, April 30.

Sir,

This afternoon I captured La Perseverante French schooner privateer, after a chase of three hours. She is a remarkably fast-sailing fine vessel, three years old, new coppered, and fastened with composition bolts of large dimensions, has four 4-pounders and one long twelve. Her complement 90 men, and had 84 when taken. She has been out twelve days from Guadaloupe, and captured an English sloop, the Apollo of Bermudas.

I am, &c.

DAVID ATKINS.

To James Richard Dacres, esq.

N. B.—The packet was in company with me at the capture of the privateer, and rendered essential service.

Seine, off Aguadilla, Porto Rico, May 27.

Sir,

This morning lieutenant Bland, of marines, commanding the Seine's barge, captured the Spanish schooner Conception, of two guns long 6-pounders and ten men. She had many passengers on board, who assisted in making some resistance; but they could not withstand the gallant attack of the barge. The passengers escaped in a small boat. The Conception is from Santa Maxta Martha, laden with logwood; a new schooner, and sails very fast: the prisoners (nine in number) appear sickly, and I shall land them immediately to prevent the introduction of disease into the Seine; which I trust will meet your approbation.

I have the honour, &c.

DAVID ATKINS.

His majesty's ship Heureux, Port Royal, Jamaica, June 3.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 31st inst. off Cape Nicola Mole, I fell in with and captured the French felucca privateer La Desirée, of one carriage gun and 40 men.

I have the honour to be &c.

GEORGE YOUNGHUSBAND.

To James Richard Dacres, esq.

&c. &c.

His majesty's ship Blanche, off Point Nevea, St. Domingo, June 10, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you of my having this morning captured L'Amitié French national schooner, Monsieur Francis Dupuis, lieutenant de vaisseau, commander, pierced for 14 guns and 85 men, with dispatches from general Ferrand to St. Jago de Cuba, after a chase of 11 hours.

L'Amitié is a remarkably fine vessel, coppered and fastened, and in every respect fit for his majesty's service. During the chase she threw overboard one long brass 18- and six 6-pounders.

I am, &c.

ZACHARY MUDGE.

To rear-admiral Dacres, commander in chief.

His

His majesty's ship Hercule, Port Royal, June 16.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a list of vessels captured, re-captured, and destroyed by his majesty's ships and vessels under my command, between the 1st of March and the 1st of June.

I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

A list of vessels captured, destroyed, and re-captured by his majesty's ships and vessels on the Jamaica station, under the command of James Richard Dacres, esq. rear-admiral of the red, &c. &c. between the 1st of March and the 1st of June 1805.

Spanish schooner Santa Rosa, of three guns and 57 men; captured by the Hunter, captain Inglefield.

French schooner Elizabeth, laden with sundries; captured by the John Bull cutter, lieutenant Kortwright.

American brig Panther, laden with coffee, &c.; captured by the Fairy, captain Cleyke.

French schooner Hazard, of six guns and 80 men; captured by the Blanche, captain Mudge.

A French sloop (name unknown), laden with fustic; captured by the Racoon, captain Gordon.

A French national schooner (name unknown), of one brass long 12-pounder, two brass long 4-pounders, four brass 3-pound swivels, and 96 men; destroyed by the Gracieuse schooner tender, Mr. Smith, midshipman of the Hercule.

French schooner Flying Fish, laden with dry goods, &c.; captured by the Snake, captain Bowen.

Dutch schooner Antelope, of five guns and 54 men; captured by the Stork, captain Le Geyte.

British schooner Desirée; re-captured by the Papillon, captain Woolsey.

Spanish felucca Conception, of one gun and 25 men; captured by the Papillon, captain Woolsey.

Spanish schooner Don Carlos; captured by the Gracieuse schooner tender, Mr. Smith, midshipman of the Hercule.

Spanish brig Santa Elena, laden with cocoa in bulk; captured by the Fortune, captain Vansittart.

Spanish ship Benjamin, laden with 32 negroes; captured by the Princess Charlotte, captain Gardner.

A Dutch schooner, (name unknown,) tender to a Dutch frigate, of 35 men, laden with lumber and rice; captured by the Franchise, captain Murray.

American ship Anna, laden with lumber; re-captured by the Diana, captain Maling.

Spanish schooner Santa Anna, of one long 18-pounder, four 6-pounders, and 106 men, laden with provisions; captured by the Peterell, captain Lamborn.

Dutch schooner William George Frederick, laden with hollands in cases; captured by the Blanche, captain Mudge.

French schooner La Tape-a-bord, of four 6-pounders and 46 men; captured by the Unicorn, captain Hardyman.

Spanish schooner Santa Severina, laden with pitch and tar; captured by the Penguin, captain Morris.

Spanish sloop Diligente, laden with horses and nicaragua wood; captured by the Blanche, captain Mudge.

British ship Mary, laden with island

island produce; re-captured by the Flying Fish, captain Price.

Spanish ship Esmaraldo, laden with quicksilver and iron; capt. tured by the Penguin, captain Morris.

British ship Salus, laden with island produce; re-captured by the Princess Charlotte, captain Gardner.

Spanish schooner San Ignasio, laden with sundries; captured by the Seine, captain Atkins. Droit of admiralty.

Spanish schooner Refusgo, of three guns and 53 men; destroyed by the Surveillanté, captain Bligh.

American schooner Courier, laden with naval stores; captured by the Diana, captain Maling.

American schooner Ann and Harriot, laden with sundries; re-captured by the Diana, captain Maling.

French ship General Erneuf, late his majesty's sloop Lily, of eighteen 12-pounder carronades, two long 4-pounders, 129 seamen, and 31 soldiers; sunk, and exploded as going down, by the Renard, captain Coghlan.

Spanish schooner San Felix y Socoro, of one gun and 40 men; captured by the Racoon, captain Crofton.

French shooner Perseverante, of one 12-pounder, four 4-pounders, and 84 men; captured by the Seine, captain Atkins.

Spanish schooner Elizabeth, of ten guns and 47 men; captured by the Bacchante, captain Dashwood.

Spanish schooner Conception, of two long 6-pounders and 19 men; captured by the barge of the Seine, lieutenant Bland of marines.

French schooner Desirée, of one gun and 50 men; destroyed by the Heureux, captain Younghusband.

J. R. Dacres.

Copy of a letter from captain Poyntz, commander of his majesty's ship Melampus, to William Marsden, esq. dated in Plymouth Sound, the 22d inst.

Sir,

I beg you will be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty of my arrival at this port with the Hydra, prize to the Melampus; for the particulars of which I beg to refer you to a copy of my letter to admiral Cornwallis, herewith enclosed.

I am, &c.

Stephen Poyntz.

Melampus, Plymouth Sound, July 22, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that, in executing admiral lord Gardner's orders, his majesty's ship under my command, the 13th instant, in lat. 50 deg. N. long 20 deg. W. captured the Hydra Spanish private ship of war, of 28 guns, mounting 22 long nines on the main deck, leaving two spare ports, and six sixes on the quarter deck, with a complement of 192 men, three of whom were killed, and several wounded, in the skirmish. Her cruize of four months terminated on the seventeenth day without any loss to the trade of this country; and her superior qualifications induce me to recommend her for his majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

S. Poyntz.

To admiral Cornwallis, &c.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Drury to William Marsden, esq. dated

dated at Cork, the 21st instant.

Sir,

You will please to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's ships Topaze and Venus arrived here this day with L'Hirondelle, a French brig privateer of 16 guns and 90 men, prize to the latter. Inclosed I transmit a letter from capt. Matson, which will inform their lordships of the particulars of the capture. I beg leave to mention that captain Matson describes this brig as sailing extraordinarily well; that the Venus took her by having her to leeward and out-carrying her, and that by the wind she sails much faster than the Venus.

I am, &c.

W. O'B. Drury.

Venus, Cork harbour, July 21, 1805.

Sir,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that his majesty's ship under my command, on the morning, at daylight, of the 10th instant, being in the lat. 48 deg. 24 min. N. and about the long. 14 deg. W. gave chase to a sail bearing west; and after a run of 66 miles W.N.W. with a fine breeze from the north-east, in six hours came up with and captured L'Hirondelle French privateer brig, belonging to Dunkirk, mounting 16 guns, four sixes, and the rest three-pounders—two of the former were thrown overboard in the chase—and having on board 90 men; left Gegeon in Spain the 27th of last month, and has not since made any capture.

This brig, on her former cruize, fell in with and took the Queen Charlotte packet, captain Mudge, after an action of two hours, on the 16th of May last, in the lat. 47 deg. 20 min. N. and long. 12 deg. 20 min. W. and captured several other vessels.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. Matson.

W. O'Bryen Drury, esq. rear-admiral of the blue, &c.

29. A melancholy affair came to light last week, in the neighbourhood of Pattendale, Cumberland:

A shepherd of Mr. Mounsey's, in looking after his sheep upon the summit of the stupendous mountain Kelvellyn, was alarmed by the barking of a dog; and upon going to the spot from whence it proceeded, found the arms, thighs, and some other bones of a man, robbed of their flesh, and bleached as white as snow; the arm-bones were covered by a pair of tattered black coat sleeves: upon examining further he found a gold watch, and a pocket-book, in which were papers that led to the discovery of his name, which is Gough. He was a gentleman of fortune in Manchester, and used every year to ramble upon these mountains, fishing among the tarns: he has never been seen since last April, so that he must have lain at the foot of the precipice, down which he had fallen, since that time. There is no appearance of his little dog having any other subsistence than grass; for it undoubtedly would not feed upon its master, but the flesh has been consumed by maggots. What is extraordinary, the poor little animal had pupped during the time; one pup was dead by its side, the others have probably been carried off by birds of prey.

Admiralty-office, July 31, 1805.

Copy of a letter from the hon. admiral Cornwallis, commander in chief

chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Channel, &c. to William Marsden, esq., dated Ville de Paris, off Ushant, 28th July, 1805, eight P. M.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter from vice-admiral sir Robert Calder, giving an account of his success against the combined squadrons of France and Spain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. CORNWALLIS.

Prince of Wales, July 23, 1805.

Sir,

Yesterday, at noon, lat. 43 deg. 30 min. N. long. 11 deg. 17 min. W. I was favoured with a view of the combined squadrons of France and Spain, consisting of twenty sail of the line, also three large ships armed *en flute*, of about fifty guns each, with five frigates and three brigs; the force under my directions at this time consisting of fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter and a lugger. I immediately stood towards the enemy with the squadron, making the needful signals for battle in the closest order; and on closing with them, I made the signal for attacking their centre. When I had reached their rear I tacked the squadron in succession: this brought us close up under their lee; and when our headmost ships reached their centre, the enemy were tacking in succession: this obliged me to make again the same manœuvre, by which I brought on an action which lasted upwards of four hours, when I found it necessary to bring-to the squadron to cover the two captured ships, whose names are in the margin*. I have to observe, the enemy had every advantage of wind and weather during the whole day. The weather had been foggy at times a great part of the morning; and very soon after we had brought them to action, the fog was so very thick at intervals, that we could with great difficulty see the ship a-head or astern of us: this rendered it impossible to take the advantages of the enemy by signals I could have wished to have done: had the weather been more favourable, I am led to believe the victory would have been more complete. I have very great pleasure in saying, every ship was conducted in the most masterly style; and I beg leave here publicly to return every captain, officer, and man whom I had the honour to command on that day, my most grateful thanks, for their conspicuously gallant and very judicious conduct.

The hon. captain Gardner, of the Hero, led the van squadron in a most masterly and officer-like manner, to whom I feel myself particularly indebted; as also to captain Cuming, for his assistance during the action.

Inclosed is a list of the killed and wounded on board the different ships. If I may judge from the great slaughter on board the captured ships, the enemy must have suffered greatly. They are now in sight to windward; and when I have secured the captured ships, and put the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any opportunity that may offer to give you some further account of these combined squadrons.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. CALDER.

Hon. admiral Cornwallis.

* St. Rafael, 84 guns. Firm, 74 guns.

List

List of the ships of the squadron under the orders of vice-admiral sir Robert Calder, bart. on the 22d of July, 1805.

Hero—Hon. A. H. Gardner, 1 killed, 4 wounded.
Ajax—William Brown, 2 killed, 16 wounded.
Triumph—Henry Inman, 5 killed, 6 wounded.
Barfleur—George Martin, 3 killed, 7 wounded.
Agamemnon—John Harvey, 3 wounded.
Windsor Castle—Charles Boyles, 10 killed, 35 wounded.
Defiance—P. C. Durham, 1 killed, 7 wounded.
Prince of Wales—Vice-admiral sir Robert Calder, and capt. W. Cuming, 3 killed, 20 wounded.
Repulse—Hon. A. K. Legge, 4 wounded.
Raisonnable—Josias Rowley, 1 killed, 1 wounded.
Dragon.—Edward Griffiths, none.
Glory—Rear-admiral sir Charles Stirling, and capt. Samuel Warren, 1 killed, 1 wounded.
Warrior—S. Hood Linzee, none.
Thunderer—W. Lechmere, 7 killed, 11 wounded.
Malta—Edward Buller, 5 killed, 40 wounded.

Frigates: Egyptienne—Hon. C. E. Fleming, no return.
Syrius—W. Prowse, 2 killed, 3 wounded.
Frisk cutter—Lieut. J. Nicholson, none.
Nile lugger—Lieut. G. Fennel, none.
Total—41 killed, 158 wounded.

(Signed) R. CALDER.

AUGUST.

1. At Marlborough street, John Harryman, alias Smith—Walker—Oliver—Clarke, &c. was examined on various charges of fraud.

The prisoner is one of the most extraordinary characters in his profession ever brought to justice. He has duped all ranks of people to an unlimited extent, and in a way that could only be detected by the nicest discernment. His principal acts, however, have been to defraud trades-people and others in a more subordinate situation in life; for he generally represented himself as coachman to a nobleman, and by the aid of fictitious names imposed on corn-dealers, tailors, salesmen, and many other trades-people, under pretence of interesting himself in their behalf, so far as to employ them to furnish himself and others of his master's servants, with necessaries, as also the stables, &c. He was fully committed for trial, and the parties bound over to prosecute at the Old Bailey.

YORK ASSIZES.

August 2.

The King v. *Joseph Mosey Allen and others.*

This was an information, filed by the attorney-general, at the instance of the house of commons, against Joseph Mosey Allen, of Knaresborough, gentleman, Richard Dewse, linen-manufacturer, Thomas Abbott, weaver, William Whitehead, tailor, William Allison, auctioneer, and William Henlock, wine-merchant, for a riot at Knaresborough, on Monday, July 30, 1804, and for preventing the election of a member of parliament for that borough, &c.

The pleadings were opened by Mr. Sinclair, and the case laid before the jury by serjeant Cockell.

Henry Dealtry, esq. from the crown-office, produced a copy of a writ issued to the sheriff of Yorkshire.

shire, for the election of a burgess to serve in parliament for the borough of Knaresborough, in the room of William Cavendish, esq. and also a copy of the sheriff's precept for the said election, to be held on Monday, July 30, 1804. On the precept was an indorsement, stating, that proclamation had been made for the election to be at eleven o'clock, and it was directed to the bailiff of Knaresborough.

George Flint resides at Market-Weighton, and is entitled to a vote for Knaresborough. He went there on Sunday, the 29th of July, 1804, and took up his abode at the Hart's Horns inn. That evening, about seven, he met with Mr. Allen, one of the defendants, who asked for his vote for his candidate, and put into his hand a printed paper. He replied, "he should vote to-morrow." The next morning he went towards the Tolbooth, along with several neighbours. There was a great crowd: many people at the cross: this was about ten. On attempting to ascend the steps, they were driven back, and Mr. Biass was thrown down; he fell under the witness's feet into the kennel. Mr. Thomas was also down on his right hand. He was lifted up. He got to the door of the Tolbooth, which was shut. He saw Allen on the steps. Not being able to give his vote, he returned to the inn.

On his cross-examination, he stated that he was a tenant to the duke of Devonshire; that he has a freehold in Knaresborough; that it is a house in Kirkgate; he had it by deed. That he was informed of the election by Mr. Clayton, of Londesborough (an agent of the duke).

John Steele, printer, in July 1804 lived at Knaresborough; on the 26th of that month he received of Mr. Simpson a MS. from which he printed a hand-bill. He struck off 300, for which he was paid by Mr. Allen, who ordered 200 more, which were delivered. The hand-bill requested the votes for "Mr. Ponsonby Pinchgut," and stated there would be no dinner for the mock-electors; no madeira, ball, or supper for the ladies, no liquor for the swinish multitude, &c. &c. and that the election was fixed for the 30th inst.

William Harland lives at Hobne on the Wolds, and is a tenant of the duke of Devonshire. He came with seven or eight other voters to the Hart's Horns inn, at Knaresborough, on the 29th of July. Three or four people looked in at the window, and said, although they were getting a good supper to-night, they would not have one to-morrow. He went the next morning into the market-place, where he saw a mob parading with an ass, and a figure upon it, on the back and front of which were fixed papers, with the words "Mr. Ponsonby Pinchgut." At ten o'clock he went to the Hall to vote. He saw several people fighting. Many seemed to fight with men who had papers in their hats, on which were written the words "Special constable." He attempted to go up the steps, but he was pulled back; his coat was torn; he saw Biass down; when he attempted to rise, he heard the people shout, "Damn him, kill him."

Wm. Blanchard went in the morning to the Town-hall, where he saw much fighting. He saw the mob (there were some hundreds) attack the constables. They threw sticks and stones. He saw Mr. Allen at the top of the steps. He was near an ass, on which was the

effigy of Mr. Ponsonby Pinchgut. He did not pay for his supper. He was not at the beginning of the affray.

Sir John Ingilby, bart. received a letter from Mr. Carr, requesting his attendance. He accordingly went, taking eight or nine of his servants and tenants, whom he swore in as special constables. John Simpson, constable of Clint, was the only man who had any connection with Knaresborough. They arrived at Mr. Barnard's, the Blue Bell inn, about nine o'clock in the morning. He saw a large multitude assembled in the market-place, when he got there. The mob said, "he ought to be ashamed of being there." He had twenty years ago supported the claims of the inhabitants in regard to their right to vote, but had never before been at the election there. When he first went to the Tolbooth, neither of the bailiffs was there. Many people attempted to get up the steps. He asked if they were voters. Some were on the stairs, and some were left at the bottom. The landing at the top was wide, perhaps eight feet square. Allen was on the landing-place, close to an ass with a stuffed figure upon it: he had hold of the bridle. There was a label on its breast and back, "Ponsonby Pinchgut." The family name of lord Duncannon, the candidate, is Ponsonby. The witness went to the inn to fetch the bailiffs. He returned with Collins. They got up four or five steps. Allen and the ass were still there. He asked Allen "his business there with the ass." Mr. Allen asked "if he had seen *his* address to the inhabitants of Knaresborough." He replied "No." Allen then took from his pocket a hand-bill. Sir John admonished him, and said, as a professional man he should abstain, and that he would be answerable for all the consequences. Allen then made the ass move forward; the people rushed down, and pushed off the constables, whom the mob beat. The clothes of two of them were almost torn off. Sir John was pushed down stairs several times, and received such blows as made his back and sides black. The mob got up at the back of the landing-place. Sir John got up a second time, seized the figure, and threw it over a wall. Mr. Collins's hat was knocked off his head, and he was struck by a man. Sir John asked Mr. Dewse who the man was. Mr. Dewse replied, "I do not know, and I will not; you ought to be ashamed for being here." Dewse was then walking by the side of the steps. When we were pushed down, he came into the centre of the mob, and encouraged them. He was a lieutenant of volunteers. A man was pushing up the steps; sir John asked him if he was a voter. He replied civilly, "No." The witness then desired him to make room for those that were. Dewse rushed up, and asked him what right he had to stop that man; he was a voter, and should come up; adding, "You are the cause of all the confusion." I said he was opposing the execution of the King's writ. Abbott and Henly were supporting the mob. Seeing my servant and the constables beat, I said to Dewse, "You seem to command this mob; if you call them off, so that the bailiffs may execute their duty, I will send away the constables." Mr. Dewse answered, "It is now too late: there shall be no election to-day." This might be about half an hour after twelve. The key-hole of the door of the court-

court-house was stopped up. There was no possibility of putting a key into it. Henlock beckoned frequently to the mob. Abbott was on the same step as Henlock, and said he had a right to vote, as he had three free burgages. Sir John observed, that if he had a vote, he had better assist him, and endeavour to get the bailiffs into the Tolbooth that he might exercise his franchise; but that he behaved as ill as the people in the street.—He saw William Whitehead, who was a corporal in the volunteers; he was roaring, and was in the first rank amongst the first men in the crowd. He was catching at the constables, and endeavouring to pull them off the steps. I attempted to lay hold of him; he said "I am doing no harm, sir," and drew back. The mob fell on the constables and beat them; it was impossible to get into the Hall. The people on the steps said, they would let Collins and himself pass, but for that d—d scoundrel Carr, they would murder him. After being there for near three hours, he returned to the inn, where he told Mr. Carr it was impossible to go on with the election. Mr. Watson (another justice for the west riding) was then there, and accompanied him to the Tolbooth along with Mr. Knowlton. The clamour continued; they could not get in; they gave it up, and went away. They were exposed to great danger. Dearlove, one of the constables, was almost naked. A letter was shown to sir John, which he knew to be Allen's writing. [This letter was to the duke of Devonshire, giving an account of the election being stopped, and advising him to order *5l. 5s.* to be spent at each public-house in Knaresborough; a ball to the ladies; inclosing the printed paper, &c.]

Francis Michael Trapp, esq. James Collins, esq. and Samuel Powell, were also examined on the part of the prosecution.

Barnabas Wilks, a special constable, swore that his stick was taken from him, and that he was knocked down by Allison. Allison said, "D—n thee, get down and seek thy hat." He was taken up senseless, and spit blood for some time after.

Edward Mood, blacksmith, deposed, that nails were struck across the key-hole of the court-house, and that Abbott pushed the constable down.

John Sanderson, of Thornton, near Ripley, saw Mr. Carr return home from Knaresborough, and heard the mob say they would throw him over the bridge. He also saw Abbott push down the constables.

Wm. Clayton, Wm. Biass, Wm. Thomas, John Martin, and Wm. Button (electors from Londesborough, and tenants to the duke of Devonshire) gave a similar account to that of Flint, &c. respecting the obstructions they met with in their attempt to get into the court-house, &c.

Nineteen witnesses were called, from whose testimony it appeared, that sir John Ingilby and his special constables marched in a body through the market-place to the hall-steps; that a lane was made for them; and, on their arrival at the steps, sir J. turned round, and cried out "Now, lads, clear your way"—That Abishaw struck Abbott first; that he was knocked down three times; that Allen frequently exhorted the people to be peaceable; that Wilks's stick was taken from him by one

Masterman, and not by Allison; that Allison and the Dearloves had repeatedly declared they would murder them all; they could lick the Knaresborough men; that they would warm the sides of some of them; that the constables had bludgeons, and struck first; and that Abbott did not molest them until two of them let fly at him; that sir John Ingilby collared Robert Grimstone, who was a voter; and that they might have got into the hall, and proceeded with the election.

The jury retired, and, after a consultation of ten minutes, returned a verdict of Guilty, against Allen, Dewse, and Abbott; and acquitted Allison, Whitehead, and Henlock.

KENT ASSIZES.

August 7.

Hoadley v. *Merchant.*

This was an action for a trespass, in entering the plaintiff's dwelling-house, and debauching his daughter. The defendant had pleaded that he entered the house by license of the plaintiff.

Mr. Garrow, for the plaintiff, stated the outline of the case, which was, that the plaintiff was a farmer, and the defendant was also the same. The plaintiff's daughter and the defendant were acquainted in early youth, and he showed evident inclinations to become her suitor. She received his addresses, and the consequence was, she became pregnant by him. He then deserted her; but the acquaintance was again renewed, and she became a second time pregnant; after which he married another woman, and deprived her of all hopes of receiving that atonement which he had promised to her.

Jane Hoadley stated that she was 22 years of age; she always lived with her father. The defendant became acquainted with her very early, and was her suitor; at last she became pregnant, and was delivered of a child, which is since dead. He used to visit her at nights, after her father was in bed; but he always said he would marry her. Some time afterwards she met him at Bow Beech fair. He then had with him the woman he has since married, and she was so hurt that she retired in tears into another room. He followed her, and renewed his addresses, and begged her to dance with him; she did dance with him, and their acquaintance was renewed. He again visited her privately, and she was again pregnant.

The chief justice here interposed, and said, that he did not think what passed after the second pregnancy could be evidence: if it could, a man might every year maintain an action for the pregnancy of his daughter.

Under the cross-examination of Mr. Serjeant Shepherd, it appeared that the girl had conducted herself with great levity; that she admitted him privately; and that she danced at several fairs where she met him.

Mr. Serjeant Shepherd made a most eloquent defence, and said this action fully proved the mischief which arose from encouraging these fictitious actions against the rules of the old common law.—Though this action was nominally brought by the father, yet in fact it was the action of the daughter who brought it in revenge for being deserted. The jury would therefore look to this circumstance and not credit all that she might say in her anger.

Lor

Lord chief justice Mansfield observed, that this action was rather singular; it was the first instance he had ever heard of an action after a second child; but certainly the jury would not give damages for the second offence; and his opinion was, that the lateness of the action showed that it was not founded in an honourable feeling, but the spirit of revenge.—Verdict for the plaintiff—Damages 40*s*.

12. At half-past one o'clock this morning, a most alarming fire broke out in the Royal Circus in St. George's Fields. Since the burning of the Opera House, in 1789, we have not witnessed so sudden and furious a conflagration. —In two minutes after it was perceivable, it had attained the height of its fury. The whole neighbourhood of St. George's Fields was visible from the Strand, through the vistas of the streets leading to the Thames, and all the river between the bridges, as at mid-day. In one hour the theatre, the coffee-house, the tap, the stables, and other offices adjoining, were entirely enveloped with the flames. The want of water prevented the engines from yielding effectual service.

The appearance of the neighbourhood was frightful; the women and children flying in all directions with scarcely any covering. The cause of the fire we have not been able to ascertain with any degree of precision; but the following particulars respecting its appearance and progress, we believe, will be found correct.

The fire, we understand, broke out about half-past one o'clock in the painting-room, and was first discovered by Mr. Pobje, the property-man.

Mr. Pobje instantly gave the alarm, and in the first instance fortunately thought of securing the lives of the persons in the house. He flew to the housekeeper's room, and from thence to Mr. Jones's apartment; the latter was thereby enabled to save his infant grandchildren, who, but for the active presence of mind evinced by Mr. Pobje, would in all probability have perished.

On the return of Mr. Pobje towards his own room, which lay parallel with the scene-room, an immense quantity of scenery, which lay in the passage to the property-room, was completely enveloped in flames, so as to frustrate all attempts to save even his own clothing.

From this burning pile of scenes, which lay in the centre of the stage, the flames communicated in collateral directions to all parts of the house. The extraordinary rapidity with which the fire extended itself, precluded the possibility of even attempting to save any part of the property; and every one was now eagerly and anxiously employed for the safety of the families in the adjoining houses attached to the theatre. The fire had already communicated to the private house, the box-office, Branscomb's Circus coffee-house, the stables, &c. The apartments of Mr. and Mrs. Simmons (the latter the box-keeper), from their proximity to the flames, rendered their situation particularly alarming. Most providentially, a rope-ladder, which had been accidentally left in their apartments, enabled them to effect their escape from the fury of the devouring element; but so critical was their situation, that they had not time to dress themselves. Their father,

who was at first reported to have perished, saved himself by the same means.

The attention of the spectators was next directed to Mr. Branscomb's. When the alarm first reached Mr. B. it rendered him so completely insensible to what was passing around him, that he had not presence of mind left to save even his more portable effects. His wife, whose accouchement was hourly expected, extremely alarmed from the imminent danger to which she was exposed, was carried out in a blanket.

The upper parts of the two coffee-houses, situated on each wing of the Circus, were entirely destroyed. Of that held by Mr. Branscomb, only the furniture and part of the stock of liquors were saved. —The insurance of this house had expired only a few days before. Johnson's, the Equestrian coffee-house, sustained considerable injury; but, from the active exertions of the firemen, the furniture and stock were chiefly preserved from destruction. We have heard no estimate of the loss in the theatre, but the insurance only amounted to 6000*l.*

It is impossible to describe the terror and dismay which the conflagration produced in the neighbourhood. The spot in some degree resembled an immense volcano, which reflected a distinct light upon the surrounding neighbourhood a mile distant from the theatre. The glare of light was so alarming, that the inhabitants of some houses situated a considerable distance from the fire, rushed at once naked into the streets, supposing that their own dwellings were devoted to immediate destruction.

Many of the unfortunate performers, we understand, have suffered severely in their private property; but it is some consolation to reflect, that no lives were lost, and that no personal injury was sustained by any one employed in extinguishing the flames.

The St. Margaret's and St. John's, the Lambeth, and 1st Surrey volunteers, and several of the city light horse attended, and preserved the property from pillage, and assisted the efforts of the firemen.

13. A most daring robbery was committed on Thursday se'nnight, in the dwelling-house of Mr. Morgan, surgeon, of Egloskerry, near Launceston. A man, dressed in a dark fustian jacket and trowsers, and red waistcoat, called at the house, and inquired if the doctor was at home. On being answered in the negative, he asked whether he could not be sent for? The mother of Mr. Morgan replied, that there was nobody in the house but herself. This was the information he wanted. He seized the astonished lady in his arms, bound her hands behind her, and, tying a handkerchief over her face, conveyed her into a back kitchen, and threw her on the floor, with threats of instant death if she attempted an alarm. He then proceeded into the upper apartments, broke open several locks, and rifled the house of money and other valuables to the amount of 140*l.* with which he got clear off; and every exertion to apprehend him has hitherto proved ineffectual.

PUBLIC OFFICE, BOW-STREET.

August 15.

At an early hour on Tuesday morning

morning the office was crowded with all the theatrical corps in London, as well as a number of persons of distinction, who were witnesses of the riot, occasioned by great numbers of journeymen tailors being in the theatre, for the purpose of opposing a piece to be acted for the benefit of Mr. Dowton, entitled The Tailors, or a Tragedy for Warm Weather. Bow-street was blocked up with a crowd of persons, the friends of those in custody, and others who came out of curiosity. The prisoners were brought up to the office, six at a time, from the Brown Bear public-house.

The first witness examined was James Winston, a proprietor of the theatre, who stated, that on Wednesday he received two anonymous threatening letters, saying, if the piece called The Tailors, or a Tragedy for Warm Weather, advertised to be acted for Dowton's benefit, was performed on Thursday evening, 17,000 tailors would attend to oppose it; and there would be 10,000 more tailors to assist, if necessary. On Thursday morning he received a similar letter—but in more violent language, and it was signed "DEATH." He showed the letters to Mr. Dowton; and it was agreed, that if any violent opposition should be offered, the piece should not be acted. In a short time after the doors were opened in the evening, the pit and galleries were filled—and it was remarkable, that in the two galleries there were only two women.—As soon as the curtain drew up, a noise began, and every thing was opposed by the audience, but principally by the galleries. Mr. Palmer jun. and Mr. Elliston, by his desire, endeavoured in vain to gain a hearing. They exerted themselves to assure the audience, that if any part of the performances announced for that evening were objectionable, particularly the latter piece, entitled The Tailors, or a Tragedy for Warm Weather, it should not be performed, and the farce of The Village Lawyer should be substituted. No answer could be obtained to the proposition. The performers attempted twice to go on with the comedy of The Birthday, but in vain. The opposition continued very violent, and there appeared to be a determination in the audience to prevent any performance from going on that evening; and being fearful that the disturbance would become of serious consequence, having been informed by the door-keepers of the theatre that the doors were surrounded by a great concourse of people, he determined on sending for a magistrate, and sent one of his messengers for Mr. Graham.

James West, the messenger, said he was standing behind the scenes when Mr. Dowton went on to play in The Birthday, and saw a pair of scissars fall near him, but could not tell from what part of the house they came. Mr. Dowton picked them up, went to the front of the stage, and offered twenty guineas reward for the apprehension of the offender.

Aaron Graham, esq. the magistrate, said, In consequence of the application from Mr. Winston, he went to the theatre; and on his arrival there, he found the audience in a great uproar, and, from the observations he was able to make, there appeared a determination in them not to let the performance go on; and understanding they had proceeded to acts of violence, by throwing of scissars, &c. he requested the manager to recommend to him six or eight stout

able men beloning to the theatre, whom he would swear to be special constables; which was accordingly done. He then directed them to be distributed in different parts of the theatre to assist the Bow-street officers which he had stationed in various parts, as many as could be collected from their duty at so short a notice. He directed the whole of the officers to keep the peace, and to take into custody all such persons as they found riotously disposed, and who appeared determined to interrupt the performance. He went on the outside of the theatre among the crowd, and found the doors completely blocked up, and there appeared every disposition among the populace to forcibly break in. In consequence of which he sent a letter to the commanding officer of the life guards on duty at the Horse Guards, requesting him to be in readiness, with a full guard of men, in case he should want them to assist him in keeping the peace. The officer, with a numerous party, arrived in a short time after in the Haymarket. He then considered himself sufficiently prepared against any violence, and advised the manager to persevere in proceeding with The Tailors, and other performances as advertised; which they accordingly did, and the prisoners were apprehended for joining in a riotous opposition, and conveyed to St. Martin's watch-house.

William Dowton, the comedian, said, since he had advertised the entertainment called The Tailors, or a Tragedy for warm Weather, for his benefit, he had received a great number of threatening and impudent letters, some anonymous, and some with the party's names: one of them was signed by a man named Riley, who brought the letter himself, and he saw him. He made use of so many threats, and was so impudent, that he lamented since he had not secured him. Another letter was dated from one of the journeymen tailors' houses of call, called the Fountain Tavern, in Clare-street, Clare-market, and signed by the clerk, as an act of the society.—When he was upon the stage, in the character of Captain Bertram in The Birthday, a tailor's thimble and a pair of scissars were thrown at him. The latter so alarmed some ladies in the stage box, that he left the stage at their request.

The police officers gave a particular description of the riotous behaviour of some of the prisoners. —Among them was Thompson, who, Adkins said, upon some of the prisoners being taken into custody, said, "D—n them, don't go, knock them down;" on which several of the officers were assaulted.

Eward Tredway said the prisoner Clinton was in the one-shilling gallery, and behaved in a riotous manner; and he verily believed he laid hold of his right leg, and dragged him upon his back, down several seats, with an intention to throw him into the pit, but was prevented by Dorrington coming up and rescuing him.—Dorrington likewise charged this man with making use of a number of infamous threats, and several attempts to throw the officers from the galleries into the pit.

Sixteen were admitted to bail in the following recognizance, for riotously and tumultuously assembling, with divers, in the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, to the disturbance of the public peace, violently opposing the performance of the night, and throwing a pair of scissars at William Dowton, a comedian,

dian, then on the stage, and endangering his life therewith: the prisoners in 50*l.* each, and two sureties in 40*l.* each. Four were remanded for want of bail, and the rest were discharged. The prisoners were all tailors, except one, who is Richard Phillips, a carver and gilder.

EAST INDIA INTELLIGENCE.

August 16.

Fort William, Feb. 6, 1805.

Dispatches, of which the following copies are published for general information, have been received by his excellency the most noble the governor-general, from his excellency the commander in chief.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, governor-general, &c.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the breach appearing in a sufficient state of forwardness, I determined to attempt the place again this afternoon. The storming party moved out of their trenches, where they had been lodged for the purpose, a little before three o'clock. I am sorry to add, that the ditch was found so broad and deep, that every attempt to pass it proved unsuccessful, and the party was obliged to return to the trenches without effecting their object. The troops behaved with their usual steadiness; but I fear, from the heavy fire they were unavoidably exposed to for a considerable time, that our loss has been severe. I shall have the honour to forward returns of the killed and wounded as soon as possible. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant, (Signed) G. LAKE.

Head-quarters, camp before Bhurtpore, Jan. 21, 1805.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the assault of Bhurtpore, on the 21st of Jan. 1805.

Total 2 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 13 lieutenants, 22 serjeants, 19 corporals, 2 drummers, and 201 privates. Natives—6 subadars, 5 jemadars, 15 havildars, 30 naicks, 6 drummers, 210 sepoys, 3 bheastes, 1 tindal, 13 lascars, and 6 bildars.

Names of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Killed. 76th regiment, lieutenant D. Macrae, lieut. C. M. Bland. —2d battalion 15th reg. lieut. T. M'Gregor.

Wounded. 75th regiment, capt. W. Hessman, lieut. T. Grant, lieut. J. C. Dumas.—76th reg. lieut. C. Templeton, lieut. J. Macrae, lieut. W. Bright.—22d regiment, capt. Lindsay.—2d battalion 9th native infantry, lieut. Trowers.—2d ditto 15th ditto, capt. lieut. H. Addison. —2d ditto 22d ditto, lieut. Watson, lieut. Day, lieut. Pollock.—Pioneers, lieut. Gallaway (doing duty).

(Signed) J. GERARD, adj.-gen.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the flank companies of the European regiment, in the storm of the town of Bhurtpore, Jan 21, 1805.

Camp before Bhurtpore, Jan. 25, 1805.

Killed—1 corporal, 1 private.—Wounded 2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 4 corporals, 31 privates.—Missing, 1 private.

Officers wounded.—Lieuts. Morris and Watson, the former severely. J. GERARD, adj.-gen.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, governor-general, &c.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship,

lordship, that I yesterday morning detached the first regiment of native cavalry, and the first battalion fifteenth regiment, under the command of capt. Welsh, of the former corps, to meet a convoy of provisions on its way from Muttra to my camp. The detachment having yesterday evening joined the convoy, halted for the night about six coss from my camp, and moved again at an early hour this morning. The detachment was attacked on its march by a very considerable body of infantry with guns, and the whole of the united force of cavalry belonging to Holkar, Ameer Khan, and Bappoojee Scindiah, about four coss from camp; which obliged them to occupy a village, for the purpose of collecting the convoy, and preserving it from the numerous cavalry of the enemy. Immediately on hearing the firing, I ordered lieut.-col. Need, with his majesty's 27th light dragoons, and the 2d regiment of native cavalry, to proceed to the relief of the party, whilst I followed with the main body of the cavalry of the army. I have the pleasure to inform your lordship, that the detachment under capt. Welsh made a most gallant defence, and immediately on the approach of lieutenant-colonel Need they moved out of the village, charged, and totally routed the enemy to whom they were opposed. Great numbers of the enemy were killed, and nearly forty stands of colours, and all the artillery they had in the field, consisting of four guns, with their tumbrils, fell into our hands. This body of infantry was commanded by Ameer Khan, who, according to the information I have received from some of his servants who were made prisoners, were so closely pressed, that, to prevent himself from being known, he stripped himself of his clothes and arms, and is supposed to have escaped in that situation. Some accounts render it probable that he has fallen; but on this subject I have no certain information. Ameer Khan's palanquin, with a complete suit of armour, said to be his, has been brought into camp, as has also Bappoojee Scindiah's palanquin. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the troops engaged, for their good conduct and activity on this occasion; and I feel infinitely indebted to captain Welsh, who commanded the escort, for the gallantry with which he resisted the repeated attacks of a numerous enemy. Lieutenant-colonel Need is likewise entitled to my best thanks, for the activity and spirit with which he charged and completed the rout of the enemy, whose loss has been very great. I feel it particularly incumbent on me to mention the services rendered by major Salkeld, the deputy quarter-master general, who carried my orders to lieutenant-colonel Need, and proceeded to point out the road to that officer: his services on this, as on every occasion, have been most conspicuous for zeal and gallantry. I want words to express to your lordship how infinitely I feel indebted to this meritorious officer for the assistance he has rendered me in every instance where I have had an opportunity of availing myself of his services. I am happy to add, that our loss on this occasion has not been considerable. Lieutenant Gordon, of the 15th native infantry, and cornet Erskine, of the 1st native cavalry, have been wounded, but I hope not dangerously.

ously. The number of privates wounded does not exceed twenty, and I believe only two men have been killed. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

(Signed) G. LAKE.

Head-quarters, camp before Bhurtpore, Jan. 23, 1805, 7 P. M.

Published by command of his excellency the most noble the governor general in council.

J. LUMSDEN, chief sec. to gov.

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Thursday, March 14.

The following copies and extracts from dispatches, received from his excellency the right hon. lord Lake, commander in chief, &c. &c. and from the detachment of the army under the command of major-general Smith, relative to the operations against Meer Khan, are published for general information.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, governor-general, &c.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that having received information of Meer Khan's having marched to the Jumna, with the intention of crossing into the Doab at the fords below Muttra, I this morning dispatched major-general Smith, with the three regiments of British cavalry, the horse artillery, and three regiments of native cavalry, in order to pursue Meer Khan's force. Major-general Smith will cross at Muttra, where there is a bridge of boats, which will prevent his experiencing any delay in crossing, and give him an opportunity of being very near the enemy before he can have crossed the whole of his force; and I have sanguine hopes that the major-general will have an early opportunity of striking a decisive blow. I think it probable that Meer Khan will proceed, in the first instance, towards colonel Grueber's detachment, which is at present employed in the reduction of a fort belonging to the rebel Doondiah Khan. Colonel Grueber has received instructions to attend to the orders of major-general Smith, who will likewise have at his disposal three battalions of infantry, one of which, under capt. Christie, has received orders to proceed from Agra towards Muttra, and the other two are on their way from Cawnpore. Your lordship will perceive that our force in the Doab is very considerable, and so disposed as to prevent the enemy from effecting any serious mischief, except by plundering the villages and destroying the country as he passes; but I trust his career will be of very short duration. By my latest advices from major-general Jones, which are dated the 5th instant, I expect that officer to join my army on the 10th or 11th instant. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant.

(Signed) G. LAKE.

Head-quarters, camp before Bhurtpore, Feb. 8, 1805.

Extract of a private letter from Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, assistant in the governor-general's office, and acting interpreter to major-general Smith, to captain Armstrong, military secretary to the governor-general, dated Camp Ghousa, Feb. 9, 1805, 5 P. M.

Major-general Smith crossed with six regiments of cavalry into the Doab

Doab this day. We are now encamped nearly four miles from Muttra. Meer Khan has taken the road to Hatrass. The reports in his camp state his intention to be, to cross the Ganges at the ford not very far distant from Kasgunja; other reports make out that he is going in a more northerly direction; indeed one hurkaru reports, that he saw Meer Khan's camp this day at Loni, one coss and a half beyond Jowahir, on the Allygurh road, and six coss from this. Some hurkarus say again, that he is going to Cawnpore. In whatever direction he goes, general Smith will not be long after him. No account had been received in Meer Khan's camp of our approach.

Extract of a letter from Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, dated Camp Burwurka, near to Kumoona, Feb. 12, 1805, 6½ P. M.

General Smith arrived at Allyghur yesterday afternoon, after a march of twelve coss, and marched again at one o'clock this morning, with the six regiments of cavalry, and five hundred of Mr. Skinner's horse, with the intention of attacking Meer Khan, who was last night encamped in the neighbourhood of this place. The general left his camp standing, and directed colonel Grueber, with a detachment of infantry, and a party of Skinner's horse, to bring up our baggage, &c. Meer Khan did not choose to await our arrival. He could not have had intelligence of our approach; but he did not, I suppose, like to trust himself so near us, after the lesson which Holkar received. He marched from this at 3 A. M. My hurkarus accompanied him, and quitted him about ten o'clock, A. M. at a place about twelve coss from this, and about six in a westerly direction from Anopsheer. About one hundred and fifty of Nezur Alees's match-lockmen and peons were cut up to-day by our irregular horse. General Smith has ordered colonel Burn to defend the fords in the Ganges, in the upper part of the Doab. It is probable that this order may reach colonel Burn in time.

To captain J. Armstrong, military secretary, &c.

I am directed by major-general Smith to acquaint you, for the information of the most noble the governor-general, that he arrived here this day in pursuit of the predatory force of Meer Khan, and encamped to the north-west of the situation which the troops of that chief occupied yesterday. From the rapid movements which the troops of the enemy, unincumbered with baggage, are enabled to make, the general does not expect to be able immediately to overtake them; and from the excessive precautions which are said to be constantly taken by the enemy, the general does not expect that he should succeed in an attempt to surprise them. It is, however, his intention to pursue the freebooter with the utmost practicable expedition. Hitherto the country has sustained little mischief from his depredations; for from the close pursuit to which he has been subject, and the constant alarm which prevails in his army, he has had no opportunity of committing ravages to any great extent. The defenceless villages which have been upon his route have been plundered, but the property of the great majority of the inhabitants has been preserved in small forts, with which the country abounds, and which he

he has never dared to attack. With the exception of the rebels Nizur Ally and Dhoohudia Khan, Meer Khan has found no adherents. He is reported to seek every where for a ford, and to have attempted to cross at this place. Meer Khan is said to-day to have proceeded to Pureesulghur, to which place major-general Smith will direct his course to-morrow. Pureesulghur is stated to be situated three coss from the banks of the Ganges, and 12 coss from this place; it belongs to Nyn Sookh.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) C. T. METCALFE,
A. G. G. O.

Camp on the Ganges, near to Putwar, Feb. 14, 1805, 7 P. M. two coss N. W. from Pootah, three coss S. E. from Gurh Mokhish.

To captain J. Armstrong, military secretary, &c.

Sir,

I am directed by major-general Smith to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, that he this day crossed the Ganges in pursuit of Umeer Khan, who succeeded yesterday in finding a ford, at which he crossed, and at which also this army crossed this day. General Smith will continue the pursuit to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your most obedient
humble servant,
C. T. METCALFE, A. G. G. O.

Camp, east of the Ganges, opposite to Keemoodee Ghaut, three coss N. of Kaderabad, 15th Feb. 1805, 7 P. M.

The ford at which the army crossed, is twelve coss distant from our encampment of yesterday.

Extract of a letter from major-general Smith to capt. Armstrong, dated Camp on the eastern side of the Ganges, three coss north of Karubad, Feb. 16, 1805.

Mr. Metcalfe has acquainted you with my movements since I crossed the Jumna. I have now to state to you, for the information of his excellency the governor-general, that having been obliged, in crossing the Ganges, to unload the whole of the artillery ammunition, and distribute it among the cavalry, to pass, I halted this day for the purpose of airing the tumbrils, and to recruit the horses and cattle. I shall move again at one to-morrow morning in pursuit of Meer Khan, who is marching to Rampoor, and is said to have made an attack on Moradabad this morning before day-break, but was repulsed. The celerity of his movements (having neither tents, baggage, nor guns), and the early and correct information he has of all mine, has hitherto precluded the possibility of overtaking him, and he is too much on his guard to admit of a surprise. I shall, however, be unremitted in my pursuit, and have taken every step possible to enable me to continue it.

To captain J. Armstrong.

Camp Anerva, February 17, 1805, 6 P. M.

Sir,

I have received the orders of major-general Smith, always to communicate to you officially, for the information of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, the progress and operations of this detachment. It forded the Ganges, after a march of twelve coss, on the evening of the 16th; marched

marched at one o'clock this morning, and arrived at this place at 9½ A. M. after a march of twenty-five miles. It will march again at one A. M. to-morrow for Moradabad. Meer Khan is generally supposed to intend to direct his route towards Rampoor. The ford at which Meer Khan's troops and this army crossed, was never before known; such at least is the account of the inhabitants of the country. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. T. METCALFE, A. G. G. O.

A report has arrived, that Meer Khan has not proceeded towards Rampoor; this is an uncertain report.

To captain J. Armstrong, &c.

Sir,

I am directed by major-general Smith to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, that this detachment marched from its ground at Amrooa at one this morning, and encamped, after a march of 25 miles, to the eastward of the Ramgunga, at a short distance in advance from the camp which Meer Khan's force occupied yesterday. Meer Khan quitted Moradabad at three o'clock this morning. It is reported that he intended to have halted here this day, and that he fled on hearing of the approach of general Smith. He has done no injury to the generality of the inhabitants of the town of Moradabad; he has burnt the houses of the officers of the station, and the lines of the provincial battalion. The house of Mr. Leycester, the collector, has been fortified, and was defended by the civil officers of the station, and a detachment of the provincial battalion under the command of lieutenant Wilkinson, against every attempt of the troops of Meer Khan to obtain possession of it. The detachment will march at one A. M. in pursuit of the enemy; who is supposed to have taken the road to Barcilly, and will perhaps be at Rampoor this night. Rampoor is said to be about two miles removed from the high road to Barcilly. General Smith will continue to pursue the enemy closely, and will not allow him leisure to do any considerable mischief. Hitherto he has done but little. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. T. METCALFE, A. G. G. O.

Camp of Moradabad, east of town and of the river Ramgunga, Feb. 18, 1805, 5 P. M.

To captain J. Armstrong, &c.

I have the honour to inform you, that Meer Khan is said to have proceeded in the direction of Cossipoor. From this northerly course, it is most probable that it is his intention to recross the Ganges; perhaps at Chandee Ghaut. General Smith will not relax his pursuit. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. T. METCALFE, A. G. G. O.

Camp, east of Moradabad and Ramgunga, 8½ P. M.

I had the honour to address a letter to you about sunset. Hurkarus, which have this instant arrived, inform me that Meer Khan is encamped at Akberabad on the Cossilah Nullah, 15 coss hence. His intention is given out to be either

ther towards Cossipoor or Roderpoor; what he intends by the latter route, it is difficult to imagine. He has rather avoided the Rohilla country. Many, if not all, of his Rohillas have gone to their homes.

C. T. M.

February 18, 1805.

To captain J. Armstrong, &c.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, that Meer Khan marched yesterday from Cossipoor, in a southerly direction towards Roderpoor. In consequence of this movement, general Smith directed his march this morning towards that place, in order to prevent the progress of Meer Khan to the southward. General Smith has hitherto received no information of his having proceeded to the southward of Roderpoor, and directs me to inform you, that his march to-morrow will be regulated by the intelligence which he may receive of Meer Khan's further movement. The detachment will march in pursuit of Meer Khan early to-morrow evening. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. T. METCALFE, A. G. G. O.

Camp at Rampoor, Feb. 20, 1805, 9 P. M.

To captain J. Armstrong, &c.

Sir,

I had yesterday the honour to acquaint you, by the direction of major-general Smith, that he had arrived with the detachment of cavalry under his command, at Rampoor. I am now directed by general Smith to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, that he marched from Rampoor this morning, with the intention of preventing the reported design of Meer Khan to proceed to Barilly. By the intelligence which gen. Smith has received, Meer Khan has not proceeded far to the southward of Roderpoor; but has with his scrambling troops got into a country which is almost impenetrable to this army. The detachment met with considerable obstacles from the nature of the ground in the march of this day; under these circumstances, it is probable that major-gen. Smith may not think it advisable to continue the pursuit of Meer Khan into the difficult country, under the hills. In that case, gen. Smith will occupy a position by which he will be enabled to cover Barilly, Moradabad, and Pillipeet, to maintain a strict watch upon the conduct of such as may be dissatisfied in Rohilcund, and to continue the pursuit of Meer Khan as soon as he quits the swampy intersected country in which he at present is. It is the intention of general Smith to take the earliest opportunity of resuming the pursuit of the freebooters, and of destroying them, or driving them beyond the boundaries of the British dominions. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. T. METCALFE, A. G. G. O.

Camp near Pipreea, on the banks of the Phirakhoonuddee, Feb. 21, 1805, 8 P. M.

We march to-morrow to Sherghur.

To captain J. Armstrong.

Sir,

I am directed by major-general Smith to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, that

that it is his intention to march to-morrow in the direction of Moradabad. From every information which has been received, there is reason to believe that it is the intention of Meer Khan to re-cross the Ganges.——Whatever views he might originally have formed of exciting a general insurrection among the Rohillas, appear to have been completely disappointed. The presence of this detachment in Rohilcund has checked the spirit of revolt where it may have existed, and has encouraged all those who are well affected to the British government. Meer Khan, from every thing which has fallen within general Smith's knowledge, is despised by all the Rohillas of rank and character, as a man of low birth, as a freebooter, and as a fugitive. The mild system of the British government, and the esteem, attachment, and reverence with which the character of Mr. Seton is regarded by all the natives of these provinces, have contributed, in an eminent degree, to the preservation of tranquillity. General Smith will direct his march to-morrow in that direction which affords the greatest probability of coming up with the enemy. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. T. METCALFE, A. G. G. O.

Camp, near Sherghur, Feb. 23, 1805, 9½ P. M.

To captain J. Armstrong, &c.

Sir,

I am directed, by major-general Smith, to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, that the division of the army under his command came up this day with the army of Meer Khan at Ufzulghur. The baggage of this detachment was ordered to remain at Skerkot, under the protection of the rear guard, and of the third regiment of native cavalry; and general Smith, with the three regiments of his majesty's light dragoons, and the 1st and 6th native cavalry, and the horse artillery, and Mr. Skinner's irregular horse, moved on to the spot where the enemy were reported to be encamped, and arrived there after a march of twelve coss, at two P. M. The enemy had a large force of cavalry, and a small body of infantry. After a short action, the cavalry went off in every direction; the infantry seeing themselves without the means of escape, advanced with a desperate resolution, were charged by a squadron of his majesty's 8th and a squadron of his majesty's 27th light dragoons, dispersed, and completely destroyed.—The enemy appear not to have had notice of our approach until ten o'clock A. M. at which time they commenced to send off their baggage, and appear to have remained with their principal force, in order to cover it's retreat, and to engage our attention. Several stands of the enemy's colours, which have not yet been numbered, both of their cavalry and infantry, have been taken. The enemy were pursued beyond the town of Ufzulghur, and fled towards the hills. I am sorry to add, that we have sustained some loss, and that several officers have been wounded. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

C. T. METCALFE, A. G. G.

Camp between Sherkat and Ufzulghur, March 2, 1805, 7 P. M.

Published by command of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, in council.

J. LUMSDEN, chief sec. to the gov.

CA

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Saturday, March 9, 1805.

Fort William, March 9, 1805.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received by his excellency the most noble the governor-general from his excellency the commander in chief.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, governor-general, &c. &c. &c.

My lord,

My dispatch of the 20th will have informed your lordship of our failure on that day, in an attempt to carry Bhurtpore by assault.

I have now the honour to detail for your lordship's information, the plans that were formed to ensure, if possible, the success of the attempt.

The storming party, under the orders of lieut. colonel Don, was formed of the greater part of the European force belonging to the Bengal army, and three battalions of sepoys.

One column, composed of two hundred of his majesty's 86th regiment from the Bombay division, and the 1st battalion 8th regiment Bengal native infantry, under capt. Grant of the former corps, was ordered to attack the enemy's trenches and guns outside the town, whilst a third column, composed of three hundred men of his majesty's 65th regiment, and two battalions of Bombay sepoys, marched to attack the Beem Narain-gate, which, from every report I had received, was easy of access for guns, &c.

The signal for the storming party to move out was the commencement of captain Grant's attack on the enemy's trenches, which took place a little before four o'clock in the afternoon.

Captain Grant's column was completely successful, and got immediate possession of the enemy's guns, eleven in number, all of which have been brought into camp. The gallant conduct of captain Grant and his party merits every praise.

I am sorry to say, that neither of the other columns succeeded. Lieutenant-colonel Don's was unfortunately delayed by some unexpected circumstances; and on its arrival at the ditch, it was found to contain such a depth of water as to render it impossible to gain the breach. The troops immediately attempted to ascend by the bastion; but the obstacles they met with were of so serious a nature, that their utmost efforts were unsuccessful, though the colours of the 12th native infantry were planted within a short distance of the top.

The column from the Bombay division, under lieutenant-colonel Taylor, notwithstanding every exertion, could not effect their object. They were very considerably delayed on their march by a large body of the enemy's horse; and, by a mistake on the part of their guide, were very early exposed to a most heavy and destructive fire from the town, which, by destroying their ladders, rendered the attempt on the gate impracticable, and obliged lieutenant-colonel Taylor to draw his men under cover, until he received orders to return to camp.

I feel it my duty to assure your lordship, that though unfortunately not crowned with success, the exertions of colonel Don were meritorious and gallant in the extreme, and

I feel myself under infinite obligations to this officer.—I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

(Signed) G. LAKE.

Head-quarters, camp before Bhurtpore, Feb. 21, 1805.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, governor-general.

My lord,

My dispatch of yesterday's date will have conveyed to your lordship intelligence of our want of success in a fourth attempt made to carry this place by assault.

As it appeared that our failure on the 20th was to be accounted for, in a great measure, by the occurrence of unexpected accidents and delays, as part of the corps who formed the storming party had surmounted the principal difficulty, and had nearly gained the summit of the bastion, where I was informed a few hours more battering would render the ascent perfectly easy, I determined to make another attempt yesterday.

The party for this service consisted of the whole European force, and two battalions of native infantry of the Bengal army, and the greater part of his majesty's 65th and 86th regiments, and the grenadier battalion and flank companies of the 1st battalion 3d regiment from the Bombay division. The whole moved on to the attack about three o'clock in the afternoon, under the command of the hon. brigadier Monson.

The troops, most confident of success, commenced the attack, and persevered in it for a considerable length of time, with the most determined bravery; but their utmost exertions were not sufficient to enable them to gain the top of the breach. The bastion which was the point of attack was extremely steep, the resistance opposed to them was vigorous; and as our men could only mount by small parties at a time, the advantages were very great on the side of the enemy. Discharges of grape, logs of wood, and pots filled with combustible materials, immediately knocked down those who were ascending; and the whole party, after being engaged in an obstinate contest for two hours, and suffering very severe loss, were obliged to relinquish the attempt, and retire to our trenches.

I have to lament the loss of very many gallant officers and men, as will appear to your lordship by the accompanying return of killed and wounded on this occasion.

It is with sincere grief I inform your lordship, that among the killed is my aid-de-camp, major Menzies, of his majesty's 80th regiment, who proceeded with the storming party, and fell, whilst among the foremost he was making the most heroic exertions to ascend the breach. I feel sincere sorrow for his loss, no less on account of the great regard I entertained for his private worth, than from the high estimation in which I held his merits as an officer.

The hon. colonel Monson, to whom the conduct of the attack was intrusted, made every possible exertion, and has received my best thanks for his uncommon gallantry and perseverance on that occasion.

Though the troops were unable to effect their object, I am happy to assure your lordship that they have on no occasion displayed greater steadiness. Those of the Bengal army supported their former

mer character, and the Bombay division displayed a degree of resolution and discipline which entitles them to my highest praise and approbation. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant, G. LAKE.

Head-quarters, camp before Bhurtpore, Feb. 22.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the assault of Bhurtpore, on the 20th of Feb. 1805.

Total Europeans and natives killed.—1 lieutenant, 5 serjeants, 39 privates, 3 subadars, 3 jemadars, 3 havildars, 9 naicks, 2 drummers, 77 sepoys, 1 bheastee, 2 lascars, and 2 bildars.

Total Europeans and natives wounded.—1 major, 7 captains, 12 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 17 serjeants, 8 corporals, 3 drummers, 127 privates, 10 subadars, 6 jemadars, 43 havildars, 34 naicks, 1 drummer, 443 sepoys, 4 bheastees, 1 tindal, 10 lascars, and 4 bildars.

Total Europeans and natives missing.—4 privates and 11 sepoys.

(Signed) J. GERRARD, adj. gen.

Names of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Killed.—His majesty's 75th regiment, lieut. Archibald Stewart.

Wounded.—Artillery, captain J. Nelly, lieut. G. Swiney, and Mr. Con. Whale.—His majesty's 65th reg. capt. Bates, lieuts. Bates and Hutchins.—Ditto 76th ditto, capt. W. Boys, lieuts. Hamilton and Mansel.—European reg. lieutenant Moore, since dead.—8th native reg. lieut. Ker, since dead.—1st battalion 12th ditto, major J. Radcliffe, lieuts. C. Ryne and J. Taylor.—2d ditto, 12th ditto, capt. Fletcher, lieuts. J. Barker. J. Drysdale, and hon. J. Aylmer.—1st battalion 15th ditto, lieuts. H. Sibley and W. D. Turner.—2d ditto, capt. Griffiths, lieut. Blackney.—Pioneer corps, lieut. A. Lockett.—Bombay division, 1st grenadier battalion, capt. Steele.—1st battalion 3d reg. capt. Kemp.—1st ditto, 9th ditto, capt. Haddington, and lieut. Morrison.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, in the assault of Bhurtpore, on the 21st Feb. 1805.

Europeans and natives killed.—Total: 1 capt. 3 lieuts. 1 ensign, 7 serjeants, 2 corporals, 1 drummer, 36 privates, 2 subadars, 4 havildars, 4 naicks, 2 drummers, 48 sepoys, and 1 lascar.

Europeans and natives wounded.—Total: 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 9 capts. 12 lieuts. 1 ensign, 1 quarter-master, 36 serjeants, 33 corporals, 8 drummers, 308 privates, 12 subadars, 9 jemadars, 32 havildars, 38 naicks, 1 drummer, 352 sepoys, 1 bheastee, 1 lascar, and 6 bildars.

Europeans and natives missing.—Total: 1 serjeant, 2 corporals, 15 privates.

(Signed) J. GERRARD, adj. gen.

Names of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Killed.—Artillery, lieutenant G. Gowing.—His majesty's 76th reg. capt. H. Corfield and lieut. C. Templeton.—2d bat. 15th ditto, lieut. Hartley.—1st grenadier battalion, Bombay division, ensign J. Lang.

Wounded.—Lieut. Durant, major of brigade; artillery, captain Pennington.—His majesty's 22d reg. lieut. Wilson.—Ditto, 65th ditto, captains Symes, Warren, and Watkins; lieutenants Hutchings, O'Brien, Hinde, Clutterbuck, and

Harvey.—Ditto 75th ditto, capt. S. Engel, lieut. and adj. P. Mathewson.—Ditto 76th ditto, capt. E. Manton, lieut. T. M. Sinclair, quartermaster W. B. Hopkins.—Ditto 86th ditto, capt. Morton, and lieut. Baird.—European reg. capt. Ramsay, lieut. Hamilton, and ensign Chance.—1st bat. 2d reg. lieutenant-colonel J. Hammond, major Hawkes, and lieutenant Arbuthnot.

Bombay division.—2d battal. 2d reg. lieut. Thomas.—1st ditto, 3d ditto, lieut. Tovey.—1st ditto 9th ditto, lieut. colonel Taylor, and lieut. Garraway.

Published by command,
J. LUMSDEN, chief sec. to the gov.

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Thursday, March 21, 1805.

Fort William, March 21, 1805.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were received last night by his excellency the most noble the governor-general, from his excellency the right hon. the commander in chief.

To his excellency the most noble marquis Wellesley, governor-general, &c.

My lord,

I have the satisfaction to transmit, for your lordship's information, copy of a dispatch from major-general Smith, announcing his complete success in an attack on Meer Khan's force near the town of Ufzulghur on the 2d instant. The indefatigable perseverance of major-general Smith, in his pursuit of the enemy since he first crossed the Jumna, entitles that officer to my best thanks and approbation, and his mode of conducting the attack on the 2d instant, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and after a very long march, must ever reflect on him the highest credit. The cavalry appear on this service to have maintained, in an eminent degree, that high character for intrepidity and discipline which they have so successfully displayed on every former occasion, and the conduct of both officers and men has been represented to me, by major-general Smith, as highly meritorious. Your lordship will perceive, with much satisfaction, that our loss on this occasion has not been heavy, and that the wounded officers are likely to do well. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

(Signed) LAKE.

Head-quarters, camp before Bhurtpore, March 9, 1805.

To his excellency gen. Lake, commander in chief, &c.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that on our march yesterday morning in pursuit of Meer Khan, I received intelligence, that he with his whole force was encamped at Ufzulghur. I left the baggage of the detachment at Sherkot, with the rear guard and the 3d regiment native cavalry, with its galloper guns, under the command of major Doveton, for its protection, and with the remainder of the force under my command moved on to Ufzulghur. After a march of fourteen coss, we came in sight of the enemy at two P. M. They were drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to receive us. The detachment having forded a river in the face of the enemy, were formed into two lines. The advanced guard under the command of captain Philpot, was intended for the protection of the right, and the irregular

regular horse, under Mr. Skinner, for the protection of the left flanks. As our army advanced, the enemy advanced also. Two bodies of cavalry, one led by Meer Khan, and the other by Shuhamut Khan, attempted to penetrate our flanks, but were repulsed with loss. A body of Alee-Gholes moved on in a very daring manner upon our line; they were charged by squadrons of his majesty's 8th and 27th light dragoons, and were completely destroyed After the destruction of the infantry, the cavalry of the enemy fled in every direction. They were pursued beyond the town of Ufzulghur. The enemy's baggage had been sent off in the morning, when first they received intelligence of our approach: their flight was therefore unincumbered; and the fatigue which our horses had sustained, the late hour of the day, and the nature of the country, prevented a further pursuit. Above thirty of the enemy's colours fell into our hands; among the number are two golden standards, carried by the Yekus, a body of chosen men attached to the person of Meer Khan. Three of Meer Khan's principal sirdars, Mohumed Sauzed Khan, Jumsher Khan, and Moortuza Khan, were killed; his brother, Shuhamut Khan, and Ruhmut Khan, one of his principal sirdars, are stated to have been wounded; Gholam Ulee Khan, a principal sirdar, was wounded, and is now in our camp; Meer Khan himself escaped, but the best and bravest of his troops suffered. I feel infinitely indebted to the whole of the officers and men under my command, for their gallant, steady, and praiseworthy conduct. I have the honour to inclose a return of our loss. The wounds received by the officers are, I am sorry to say, severe, but I trust not dangerous. I shall continue to pursue the enemy in whatever direction they may proceed. I have the honour to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN SMITH, maj.-gen.

Camp, six miles from Ufzulghur, March 3, 1805.

Return of casualties in the action near Ufzulghur, March 2, 1805.

Total.—Killed, 6 rank and file: wounded, 1 major, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 5 serjeants, 1 trumpeter, 26 rank and file.

Officers wounded.—Major Carden and captain Burke, 29th light dragoons; captain Gore, and lieutenant and adjutant Bunce, 27th light dragoons.

(Signed) T. MARTIN, maj. of brig.
(Signed) J. GERARD, adj. gen.

Return of casualties in captain Skinner's corps of independent cavalry, on the 2d of March at Ufzulghur.

Killed 4 privates.—Wounded, 1 russaldar, 7 privates.

Total, 1 russaldar, 11 privates.

(Signed) T. MARTIN, maj. of brig.
(Signed) J. GERARD, adj. gen.

To lieutenant-colonel Gerard, adjutant general.

Camp Gurrawal, Feb. 27, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the commander in chief, that I marched from Rampoora on the 22d instant, and on the same evening arrived before Bommon Gong, a mud fort, with very high ramparts, and a ditch, the gates built up, and remarkably well defended; the garrison consisted of three hundred men. One hun-

dred and sixty sepoys, with two 6 pounders and two howitzers, composed our little detachment; but I found the guns would make no impression, nor the howitzers compel them to surrender. On the 24th arrived two 12-pounders, and by the evening the breach appeared practicable, and I now marched the storming party to the ditch: I preferred delaying the assault till the morning: however, in the course of the night, the garrison got off by lowering themselves down by a rope; it then appeared the breach was practicable, though rather difficult. On the 25th inst. the detachment marched to Curra-wal, a large walled town, with a number of bastions, four small guns, eleven hundred men, and numerous inhabitants. A battery of two 12-pounders and a 6-pounder was soon erected, within three hundred yards of the walls, by filling up one empty tumbril and ammunition boxes with earth, and finishing the rest with bags of grain; the two howitzers and a 6-pounder were then planted in a different direction. I was under the necessity of waiting till one o'clock the next day for ammunition and one hundred and fifty sepoys, when we began an excellent fire, and by six o'clock the breach was perfect; not a moment was lost in proceeding to the storm, and as we entered into the breach, the garrison retired by the India Ghur gate. I feel much pleasure in acknowledging how much I was obliged to lieutenant Grant of the 3d regiment of the Bombay army, who led the storming party at Curra-wal, and to lieutenant Alder, who came forward as a volunteer. Lieutenant Purvis gave me every assistance as a staff officer; and for lieutenant Nicholson's service on this occasion I am also greatly obliged.—The Europeans behaved with their usual bravery, and the sepoys with equal courage. I should be proud if his excellency general Lake would notice corporals Cross and Hislop; they are soldiers who have distinguished themselves more than once, and there are not two braver or better men in the 2d company 2d battalion of artillery.

The following is a list of the wounded at both places:

1 serjeant badly, 2 gunners, 2 golandauze, one badly, 3 clashies, one badly, 4 sepoys.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. HUTCHINSON,
Captain commanding.

A true copy.

(Signed) G. A. F. LAKE,
Military secretary.

Published by command of his excellency the most noble the gover general in council.

J. LUMSDEN, chief sec. to the gov.

SUPPLEMENT TO INDIA GAZETTE.

March 25.

Government Gazette Extraordinary.

Madras, March 8, 1805.

St. Florenzo, Kedgeree, Feb. 17, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you of my arrival this day off the Sand Heads, after having proceeded to the southward, in consequence of a letter received the 8th instant, from the chief secretary of government, acquainting me of a suspicious vessel having appeared off Vizagapatam, supposed to be the national frigate Psyche, and requesting, in the name of his excellency the governor-general in council, that I would either proceed towards

that

that place, or otherwise, as I might consider most expedient to the advantage of the public service; I therefore thought that I should not be exceeding the limits of your orders by pursuing such a course as I conceived most probable of intercepting the said vessel, should she be bound to the northward and eastward.

On the 13th instant, at six A. M. in lat. 19. 35. N. lon. 85. 25. E. I had the satisfaction to discover three sail at anchor under the land, who shortly after weighed and made all sail to the southward; I plainly observed that one was a frigate, and the other two apparently merchant ships. I continued the chase until half past seven P. M. the following day, when coming up with the sternmost vessel, she proved the Thetis, country ship, prize to the French frigate La Psyche, of thirty-six guns and two hundred and forty men, under the command of captain Bergeret, then a-head at a short distance. Finding the enemy had abandoned the Thetis, I left a midshipman in charge, and continued the chase after the frigate, then making off under all sail; at ten minutes past eight commenced close action, at the distance of about half a cable's length, and continued so until half past eleven, at which time finding all our running rigging very much cut up, hauled off to repair the same. At midnight, bore up to renew the conflict; but just as we were about to recommence our fire, an officer from the enemy came on board, to inform me that captain Bergeret, from humanity's sake for the remaining survivors, had struck, though he might have borne the contest longer. During the action, we were occasionally annoyed by the fire of L'Equivoque privateer, of ten guns and forty men, commanded by a lieutenant; she proved to be the late Pigeon, country ship fitted out by captain Bergeret as a privateer; which vessel, from sailing very well, I am concerned to acquaint you, effected her escape in the course of the night.

I beg leave to observe, that the able support which I received during the action, from lieutenants Doyle, Dawson, Collier, and Davies, Mr. Finlayson the master, and lieut. Ashmore, of the marines, as well as the rest of the ship's company, who displayed the most gallant and spirited conduct on the occasion, merits my warmest encomiums. I also feel it a duty incumbent on me to recommend Mr. Doyle, my first lieutenant, to your attention, for his meritorious and exemplary behaviour throughout the contest. I am grieved to relate that lieutenant Dawson is dangerously wounded in the breast with a boarding pike, while in the act of boarding.

Inclosed I transmit a list of the killed and wounded of his majesty's ship under my command, also of the late French national frigate La Psyche. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. LAMBERT.

To Peter Rainier, esq. vice-admiral of the red, and commander in chief, &c.

List of the killed and wounded in his majesty's ship St. Florenzo:

Mr. Christopher H. B. Lecoy, midshipman, 8 seamen, 1 drummer, and 2 marines killed.—Total 12.

Lieutenant Dawson, Mr. Finlayson, master, lieut. Ashmore, of

the marines, Mr. Martingle, midshipman, 30 seamen, and 2 marines, wounded.—Total 36.

List of the killed and wounded in the late French frigate Pysche:

The second captain, 2 lieutenants, 54 seamen and soldiers.—Total 57.

Officers and seamen wounded, 70.

N. B. Total number victualled on board the St. Florenzo on the day of action, 252, of which 3 were pilots.

19. About two o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in the colour manufactory, at the Ouseburn, belonging to messrs. Parkers of Newcastle. From the neglect of the neighbours, who early attended the fire, intelligence was not communicated to the engine-office till considerably past three o'clock. The moment, however, that notice was given, the engines proceeded with the utmost expedition to the spot, where the most strenuous exertions were used to quell the raging element. Being at low ebb, no water was in the burn, but the firemen without a moment's loss of time proceeded to the mill-dams, at a little distance above from the conflagration, by which supply the engines were enabled to play with some effect upon the building. Two thirds of the manufactory being inevitably destroyed before any assistance arrived, the other third, after long and unwaried exertions, was effectually saved. The firemen and engines did not leave the spot till three o'clock in the afternoon. We have to regret that one of the most active firemen nearly lost his life by a stack of chimneys falling upon him; but being immediately carried to the infirmary, there are hopes of his recovery. The immense quantities of rosin, turpentine, &c. which were in the premises, and which were all destroyed, presented to the eye, as it was running from the fire, the resemblance of a current of volcanic lava; and from its present appearance among the smoking ruins, there is reason to suppose that it will not be totally extinguished for a week. We learn with much concern that no part of the manufactory was insured. It is but too probable that the building was set on fire by some incendiary, as a person is said to have been observed lurking about the premises, about an hour before the fire broke out, carrying a lantern and candle.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Aug. 24.

[This Gazette contains copies of lord Lake's letters respecting the siege of Bhurtpore; and that from general Smith, communicating his success over Ameer Khan, which we have given. To the official account the following article is added:]

On the 24th of February, the commander in chief took up a new position on the north-east side of Bhurtpore; and his excellency is prepared to recommence operations against the place as soon as he shall have received supplies of stores and ammunition, which are advancing towards the army from the stations within the company's provinces at which they have been collected. The commander in chief expresses a confident hope of obtaining possession of Bhurtpore before the conclusion of the season for active military operations in that quarter of India.

Admiralty

Admiralty-office, Aug. 24.

Copy of a letter from captain Mudge, of his majesty's late ship Blanche, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the French national ship Topaze, 22d July, 1805.

Sir,

I am sorry to inform you of the loss of his majesty's ship Blanche, which was captured by a French squadron, as per margin*; but thank God she was not destined to bear French colours, or to assist the fleet of the enemy.

On Friday morning, July 19th, in lat. 20 deg. 20 min. north, long. 66 deg. 44 min. west (weather hazy), at eight, four sail were seen off the weather cat-head, three ships and a brig on the opposite tack, under easy sail. I kept to the wind until we were near enough to distinguish colours. I then made the necessary signals whether they were enemies. At ten, when abreast, about three miles distant, they all bore up, and hoisted English ensigns; but from the make of the Union, and colour of the bunting, with other circumstances, I concluded they were French, and therefore determined to sell the ship as dear as possible (for sailing was out of the question, the Blanche having little or no copper on these last nine months, and sailed very heavy). Having brought-to, with the mainsail in the brails, at eleven the commodore ranged up within two cables' length, shifted his colours, and gave us his broadside. When within pistol shot she received ours;—the action became warm and steady, the ships never without hail of each other, gunning large, under easy sail, Le Departement des Landes on the starboard quarter, and the two corvettes close a-stern. At forty-five minutes past eleven the ship became ungovernable, and was reduced to a perfect wreck. The sails totally destroyed, ten shot in the foremast (expecting it to fall every minute), the mainmast and rigging cut to pieces, seven guns dismounted, and the crew reduced to one hundred and ninety, and the rest falling fast, with no probability of escape, I called a council of officers for their opinion, who deemed it only sacrificing the lives of the remainder of as brave a crew as ever fought to hold out longer, as there was not the smallest prospect of success. I therefore, at twelve, ordered the colours to be struck, and was immediately hurried on board the commodore. At six, the officers who had charge of the Blanche returned, and reported the ship to be sinking fast, on which she was fired; and in about an hour after she sunk, for the magazine had been some time under water.—Thus, sir, fell the Blanche, and I trust the defence made by her officers and gallant crew will meet their lordships' approbation. I have the honour, &c.

ZACH. MUDGE.

* La Topaze, of 44 guns, 28 eighteen-pounders on the main deck, 10 thirty-six-pound carronades, and 6 twelve-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecastle, captain Bourdin commander, 350 men, 10 officers and 60 privates, legion de Midi.—(480.)

Le Departement des Landes, of 20 guns, nine-pounders, and a six-pounder on the forecastle, captain des Mantel, 200 men, six officers, and 30 privates, legion de Midi.—(236.)

La Torche, of 18 guns, long twelve-pounders, captain Bruret, 190 men, 3 officers and 20 privates, legion de Midi.—(218.)

Le Faune, of 16 guns, nine-pounders, captain Delun, 120 men, and 3 officers, legion de Midi.—(123.)

P. S.—

P. S.—Including every individual when the ship went into action, there were but two hundred and fifteen, thirty men being in prizes, and eight left on board one of the frigates at Jamaica. I cannot exactly ascertain those killed and wounded, as the crews were promiscuously distributed to the different ships of the squadron, but those that came immediately under my notice were,

Killed—John Nichols, quartermaster; William Marsh, able; Thomas Mullins, ditto; Marsh Forode, ditto; Edward James, ditto; Nimrod Lunce, marine; William Jones, ditto (drummer); William Strutton, boy.

Wounded—Mr. William Hewett, boatswain, with ten seamen, and two marines.

Copy of a letter from captain Barton, of his majesty's ship Goliath, to William Marsden, esq. dated at sea the 15th instant.

Sir,

I have enclosed, for their lordships' information, a copy of a letter I have this day sent to the honourable admiral Cornwallis.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. Barton.

Goliath, at sea, Aug. 15, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that agreeably to your order of the 11th inst. standing for Ferrol, this day, eight A. M. lat. 45 deg. 32 min. N. and long. 7 deg. 25. min. W. we fell in with Le Faune brig corvette, mounting sixteen guns, which after a short chase we captured: she was chased by the Camilla, who was in company, since eleven P. M.; she was from Martinico bound to any part of the coast she could make; she had on board 32 men belonging to the Blanche.

I have sent the corvette in charge of the Camilla, captain Taylor, who is bound to Portsmouth, and shall immediately proceed to put your order in execution.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. Barton.

Hon. admiral Cornwallis,

&c. &c.

N. B. Le Faune is perfectly new, this being her first voyage; she sails remarkably fast, and I think is a great acquisition to the service for this class of vessels.

R. B.

Copy of a letter from captain Taylor, of his majesty's ship Camilla, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated at Spithead, 22d August, 1805.

Sir,

I acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that we arrived here this morning, and that a fine new French corvette brig, Le Faune, of 16 guns, and 98 men, after being chased nine hours by his majesty's ship Camilla, was captured the 15th inst. at 8 A. M. in lat. 45 deg. 18 min. N. long. 7 deg. 36 min. by her and his majesty's ship Goliath, who joined in the latter part of the pursuit.

I have the honour to be, &c.

B. W. Taylor.

SEPTEMBER.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 3, 1805.

The king has been pleased to appoint sir Samuel Hood, knight of the Bath, to be colonel of the Woolwich division of his majesty's royal marine forces.

Copy

Copy of a letter from the honourable William Cornwallis, admiral of the white, &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, off Ushant, 30th of August, 1805.

Sir,

I have much satisfaction in sending the enclosed letter to me, from captain Barton, of the Goliath, to be laid before the lords commissioners of the admiralty, giving an account of his further success in the capture of the French national corvette therein mentioned.

I have the honour to be &c.

W. Cornwallis.

His majesty's ship Goliath, Aug. 18.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, his majesty's ship under my command standing in for Cape Prior, in the morning of the 16th inst. three sail appeared in chase of us; we tacked, and stood towards them, and proved the ships named in the margin of my letter dated the 15th. I have the satisfaction to add, at eight P. M. we captured La Torche French national corvette of eighteen guns, 196 men, commanded by monsieur Dehen, having on board 52 of the late Blanche's crew. Had they not separated, the night coming on very fast, I am confident La Topaze would have been in my possession also.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. Barton.

The hon. admiral Cornwallis, &c. &c.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 7, 1805.

Copy of a letter from captain Baker, of his majesty's ship Phœnix, to admiral Cornwallis.

Phœnix, at Sea, Aug. 14, 1805.

Sir,

I cannot but exult in the honour of imparting to you the extreme good fortune of his majesty's ship under my command on the 10th instant, lat. 43 deg. 16 min. N. long. 12 deg. 14 min. W. in the capture of La Didon, a remarkably fine, and the fastest sailing frigate in the French navy, of 44 guns, and three hundred and thirty men, which had sailed but a few days from Corunna, and was upon a secret cruize. The action commenced at a quarter past nine in the morning (La Didon having waited my approach to leeward), and lasted three hours, never without pistol shot, during which all our ropes were cut to pieces, our main-topsail yard shot away, and most of our masts and yards severely wounded. The necessity of our engaging to leeward, in order to prevent the possibility of the enemy's escape, exposed us to several raking broadsides, before we could prudently return the fire; and the superiority of La Didon's sailing, added to the adroit manœuvres of captain Millins, convinced me of the skill and gallantry I should have to contend with; which has been fully evinced by the stubborn defence of his ship until she became a perfect wreck, and his subsequent honourable deportment. Owing to the lightness of the wind, and La Didon's attempt to board, brought our starboard quarter in contact with her larboard bow; in which position we remained full three quarters of an hour, subject to a galling fire of musketry, that robbed me of such support of officers and men, as there could be no compensation for but in complete victory.

With sorrow I transmit you a list of

of the killed and wounded; and have the honour to be, &c.

T. Baker.

To adm. Cornwallis, commander in chief, &c.

A list of the killed and wounded on board the Phœnix and La Didon, on the 10th of Aug. 1805.

Phœnix.—12 killed, 28 wounded. —Total 40.

La Didon.—27 killed, 44 wounded.—Total 71.

Difference 15 killed, 16 wounded.—Total 31.

Names of the killed and wounded on board the Phœnix.

Killed,—John Bounton, lieutenant; George Donelan, master's mate; John Fowers, quarter-master; James Smith, Benjamin Thomas, James Taylor, Wm. Goddard, James Bell, Samuel Stubbs, Edward Gadsby, George Chandler, and Thomas Hill, seamen.

Wounded.—Henry Steel, lieutenant of marines, dangerously; Aaron Tozer, midshipman, dangerously; Edward B. Curling, midshipman, badly: James Bird, coxswain, slightly; George Gaward, captain's servant, slightly; John M'Donald, captain's steward, dangerously; Thomas Hall, seaman, slightly; George Renny, sail-maker, dangerously; Bernard M'Carthy, seaman, dangerously; Patrick Edwards, ditto, dangerously; John C. Bringer, ditto, badly; Thomas M'Maken, ditto, badly; John Binstead, ditto, slightly; Edward James, private of marines, dangerously; Joseph Robinson, seaman, slightly; Wm. Henderson, ditto, slightly; John Agnew, ditto, slightly; Lewis Burnett, serjeant of marines, badly; Charles Morgan, ditto dangerously; Thos. ——, private of marines, slightly; Charles Harly, ditto, dangerously; Stephen ——, ditto, dangerously; Thomas Martin, ditto, dangerously; Wm. Harbour, ditto, dangerously; Thomas Davis, ditto, badly; Samuel Walker, ditto, badly; Wm. Mills, ditto, slightly.

William Warden, surgeon.

OLD BAILEY.

Wednesday, Sept. 18.

This day the sessions of oyer and terminer and of gaol delivery for the city of London and county of Middlesex commenced, before the hon. Mr. justice Heath, Mr. justice Le Blanc, and Mr. baron Sutton, at the sessions house in the Old Bailey.

Wm. Cubitt was indicted for feloniously stealing a gold snuff-box, set with brilliants, in the dwelling-house of the earl of Mansfield, the property of the earl.

Mr. Alley, as leading counsel for the prosecution, stated the circumstances of the case as they are below detailed by the evidence.

Lady Mansfield stated, that the prisoner lived in their service, and was chiefly employed by her as groom of the chambers. She discharged him by lord Mansfield's directions, who was then at Ramsgate. Some time about the 26th or 30th of July she had the snuff-box in question in her care. It was a blue enamel on gold, with a miniature of the emperor Joseph the IId, on the top, set round with brilliants. The last time she recollected seeing it was some time in May, before they went to Caen Wood: she kept it in a cabinet in the organ-room at their house in Portland-place. She knew nothing of the loss of it until they received the magistrate's letter at Ramsgate,

gate, and then upon a search she found that the box had been lost.

Joseph Dobree, a jeweller, stated, that on the 15th of August the prisoner came to his house and wanted to purchase a gold chain which was in the window. Having agreed for the price of it, he asked if he would take old gold in return. Being answered in the affirmative, he produced the fragments of a snuff-box, which the witness saw had been of curious workmanship. He called his journeyman aside, and conversed with him for a moment on the subject, and then he asked the prisoner where he got the gold. He replied, that he had it from a servant. The witness in answer said, he was sure it was no servant's property, and that he should not go away until he had given an account of it. The prisoner then snatched up the pieces of gold lying on the counter, and ran out of the shop. The witness followed him, overtook and apprehended him. He was immediately carried to Marlborough-street office.

Foy and Lovatt, two police officers belonging to Marlborough-street office, said that the prisoner, in his examination, told the magistrate he lived at No. 21, Bolsover-street. They in consequence went to search his lodging. They found in a drawer twelve brilliants, the crystal of a miniature picture, and under the fire, half burnt, they discovered the remains of a miniature painting.

Catharine Luffman, housekeeper to lord Mansfield, said the prisoner was discharged from their service on the 29th of July: on the second of August he came to the house in Portland-place, and said he had left some clothes behind him which he wanted. She told him to go up stairs and get them. He did go up, but before he went he pulled his shoes off. She told him he had no occasion to do that; but he replied, he did not know whether the house was not cleaned. When he came down she was sitting in the small library, under the organ-room, where the cabinet stood; and if he had had his shoes on she should have heard him over her head. When he came down he brought with him two bundles, which he said contained his own clothes.—After her lady had received a letter from Mr. Conant, at Ramsgate, she, by her order, searched the cabinet, and found that the box was gone. The lock was not broken or forced; and after some consideration she found that the key of the organ, which was always left on the lock, opened the cabinet, which stood in the same room.

Lord Mansfield examined the broken pieces of gold found on the prisoner, and declared he was convinced, from the workmanship, they were part of the box he had lost. The brilliants were the same as those round the miniature, but he could not swear that they were the same; but he was positive to the remains of the miniature. The face was destroyed; but the breast, with the Austrian orders, remained visible. He added, that the box was a gift from the late emperor Joseph the IId to his uncle on leaving Vienna. He did not know the exact value, but he presumed somewhere about 200 guineas.

The jury found the prisoner—Guilty—Death.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 21.

Copy of a letter from the hon. William Cornwallis, admiral of the

the white, to William Marsden, esq. dated Ville de Paris, off Ushant, the 17th September 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's ship Amazon has this moment rejoined me; and I enclose, for their lordships' information, a letter from captain Parker, giving an account of his having fallen in with and captured the Principe de la Paz, Spanish corvette privateer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. CORNWALLIS.

His majesty's ship Amazon, off Ushant, 17th Sept. 1805.

Sir,

I beg to acquaint you, we fell in with the homeward bound Jamaica fleet at sunset, on the 31st August, during a hard north-west gale, eighty leagues to the westward of Scilly; and having with some difficulty learnt from one of the convoy, that several of the fleet had separated, I judged it proper to continue on the station directed in your order, in hopes of collecting and affording protection to the stragglers. We have not met any; but I am happy to inform you, on the 12th inst. in lat. 49 deg. 50 min. N. and long. 18 deg. 30 min. W. his majesty's ship under my command captured the Principe de la Paz, a Spanish corvette privateer carrying twenty-four 9-pounders and four brass swivels, with one hundred and sixty men on board, principally French.

The ship was fitted out at Vigo five weeks before, and had taken the Prince of Wales packet from Lisbon, and the Lady Nelson letter of marque from Virginia bound to Glasgow. We found part of the crew of the latter ship on board the privateer, and a considerable sum in specie.

I have much satisfaction in her capture, as she was completely stored for remaining two months longer at sea; and her captain, Francis Beck, an experienced cruizer, who commanded the French privateer Le Brave during the late war, greatly to the annoyance of our trade.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. PARKER.

The hon. William Cornwallis, &c. &c. &c.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Halifax, to William Marsden, esq. dated at Halifax, the 21st of August 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, three letters from captain Beresford, of his majesty's ship Cambrian, stating the capture of two of the enemy's privateers; also the cutting out of St. Mary's river, a ship, brig, and a Spanish schooner privateer; by which their lordships will observe with what coolness and bravery that service was conducted under the direction of lieutenant Geo. Pigot, and so ably supported by lieutenant Masterman, of the royal marines: in short, the steady conduct of both petty officers, and seamen, and marines, was such, as merits my warmest thanks and commendation; and I beg leave most strongly to recommend them to their lordships' notice.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. MITCHELL.

His majesty's ship Cambrian, in lat. 29 *deg. long.* 62 *deg. June* 13, 1805.

Sir,

This day lieutenant Pigot had the direction of the Cambrian's boats. With the launch he most gallantly boarded the Spanish privateer schooner Maria, of fourteen guns and sixty men. Lieutenant Crofton, in the barge, instantly followed him: the vessel was carried notwithstanding every resistance was made. The other boats did not get on board till she surrendered; but no less merit is due to the officers and men, who all volunteered this service. Lieutenant Pigot tells me every one did his duty most cheerfully. Two excellent men were killed, and two wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. P. Beresford.

To sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. &c. &c.

His majesty's ship Cambrian, at sea, July 21, 1805.

Sir,

After a chase of twenty-two hours, we have just captured the French privateer schooner Matilda. She mounts 20 guns, 9-pounders, is 200 tons, and 95 men; had captured the English letter of marque the Clyde, bound to Liverpool. She surrendered in very shoal water; and, but for the exertions of lieut. Pigot, with one of the boats, every soul in her would have been lost.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. P. Beresford.

To sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. &c. &c.

His majesty's ship Cambrian, July 21, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to present you with a recital of lieutenant Pigot's proceedings, from his majesty's ship under my command, in a schooner privateer we had taken on the 3d: he made the best of his way to the river St. Mary, where he had information of two ships and a schooner; he got off the harbour on the 6th, and on the 7th he proceeded with the schooner twelve miles up a very narrow river, through a continual fire of the militia and riflemen, until he got within shot of a ship, brig, and shooner, lashed in a line across the river; he engaged them for an hour; the schooner grounded; he had recourse to his boats; and, after an obstinate resistance, carried the ship with her guns; he obliged the men to quit the brig and schooner, took possession of all; then turned his fire on the militia, about a hundred in number, and a field piece, which were completely routed. Lieutenant Pigot got two wounds in the head by musket-balls, and one in the leg. Lieutenant Masterman, of the marines, who most ably seconded all Mr. Pigot's views, escaped unhurt, to the wonder of all, for his clothes were shot through and through; Mr. Lawson, master's mate, wounded severely, as well as Mr. Mitchell, midshipman. Messrs. Griffenhoofe, Bolman, and Williamson behaved well, as indeed did all on this occasion. Two were killed and fourteen wounded. This very gallant conduct was observed by some hundreds of Americans from the opposite side of the river, who expressed their astonishment.

Mr. Pigot never quitted the deck for nearly three weeks, except to get his wounds dressed, which inspired the rest; the wind was adverse for that time, and the enemy never attempted to attack him. I hope

hope he may meet every reward such conduct deserves; he really is an active officer, always ready.

The ship proves to be the Golden Grove, and the brig the Ceres, of London, taken by the schooner, a Spanish privateer of six guns and seventy men, two months since.

The enemy had armed the ship with eight 6-pounders, six swivels, and fifty men; the brig was defended by swivels and small arms.

I am, &c.

J. P. BERESFORD.

To sir A. Mitchell, K. B. &c. &c.

A list of the killed and wounded:

Killed—David Macintosh, seaman; William Lewington, marine.

Wounded—Lieutenant Pigot; Mr. Lawson, master's mate; Mr. Mitchell, midshipman (your youngest son); Robert Collins, William White, William Bethell, William M'Dowell, Robert Watson, and William Davis, seamen; serjeant Watson; Thomas Spencer, Robert Richardson, and Charles Lovet, privates of marines.

Killed on the Spanish side—Twenty-five seamen, with five Americans.

Wounded on ditto—Twenty-two seamen.

24. An instance of barbarity surpassing any thing ever heard of in this country, was yesterday exhibited before the magistrates at Marlborough-street office, at the instance of a laudable prosecution, by the officers of St. George's parish, against Robert Reynolds, a private in the 1st regiment of foot guards. The defendant was charged with cruelly assaulting and starving Elizabeth and George, his two children, the one ten and the other seven years old. The following are the particulars:—On Sunday morning last, as a woman was passing by the door of No. 11, North-row, Green-street, Grosvenor-square, she was alarmed by grievous moans and groans, apparently from persons in great distress. She remained on the spot some time, and at length found that the noise proceeded from the cellar of the house above stated. She looked through the window and beheld two children fastened with cords to a dresser, whose lamentations increased at seeing her. She made it her business to find out the occupier of the wretched dwelling; and having heard it belonged to a soldier in Portman barracks, she repaired thither in haste, to give information of what she had seen: she was refused admittance by the sentinel, who, however, could by no means pacify her; and Mr. Keeling, who resides at No. 20, Chandler-street, Grosvenor-square, perceiving her anguish of mind, and being informed of the circumstance, repaired immediately to the house in North Row. On finding the door locked, he broke the window of the kitchen; and on entering, a sight presented itself, which to give a minute description of would be too much for the feelings of our readers. Two children, as above stated, were fastened to a dresser, with their arms extended, and fastened by a rope as closely tied as possible for the strength of man, and their feet as closely fastened to the floor with another rope. In this situation a loaf of bread was placed before them. On releasing them from this pitiable situation, a sight presented itself sufficient to torture the feeling of the most callous. The girl was unable to stand, her back had been scourged in a

manner which we can compare with a man who had undergone 500 lashes. This is an assuasive comparison; for, besides being cut raw, the scourge had been extended from her loins to her neck. The boy had also been shockingly whipped. On questioning the innocents, it appeared that they had been kept five hours in this situation, the wounds had been inflicted by the brutal father in the morning with a whip, the thong of which was unravelled ere he desisted. They had also been kept some time before this without food, when he placed the loaf before them. Their appearances sufficiently verified the assertion, for they were reduced to mere skeletons. The monster of a father being asked what he had to say, replied, that he had acted wrong; but the girl, who was placed at a free school in Orchard-street, had so often played truant, that his passion overcame him. With respect to the boy, he was kept from home by the girl all day.—After the defendant had finished his defence, it was proved by another witness that he had a long time been in the habit of severely beating his motherless children. The magistrate committed the prisoner for trial, and bound over the witness to attend, without delay, before the grand jury, to prefer a bill. The poor little girl was immediately carried away in a wretched state, and the major part of the spectators were immersed in tears of sympathy. The office was uncommonly crowded.

OCTOBER.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 5, 1805.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships at Jamaica, to William Marsden, esq. dated Hercule, Port Royal, July 26, 1805.

Sir,

I herewith transmit, for their lordships' information, the copy of a letter I have received from lieutenant Fromow, commanding his majesty's schooner Superieure, acquainting me of his having captured a very fast sailing Spanish felucca privateer that has much annoyed the trade of the island of Jamaica.

I am, &c.

J. R. Dacres.

His majesty's schooner Superieure, Wednesday July 24, 1805. The Morant keys N. three deg. F. distant 45 miles.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that his majesty's schooner under my command fell in with, and after a chase of nine hours, going free, captured the Spanish felucca El Santa Maria Magdalena alias San Sorito, commanded by Antonio Amet, armed with one gun and small arms, and manned with 30 men, has been cruising 20 days, and has only taken one droger.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. C. Fromow.

To J. R. Dacres, esq. commander in chief.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 15, 1805.

Copy of a letter from lieutenant Robert Tomlinson, commander of his majesty's gun-brig the Dexterous, to William Marsden, esq. dated in Gibraltar bay, the 12th of September 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you for their lordships' information,

that, cruizing pursuant to orders from sir William Bolton, bart. on the 11th instant, about one A. M. the rock of Gibraltar bearing about N. N. W. two leagues, I fell in with and captured the gun-boat No. 4, lieutenant Nicholas Magorga commander, carrying one long 24-pounder, one carronade, and 34 men; we likewise took seven merchant vessels of the convoy, which are all arrived safe in this roadstead; they were from Malaga bound to Algeziras. It is with great pleasure that I have to report to their lordships the zeal and activity with which every officer and man did his duty on this occasion; and when their lordships are informed that these vessels were taken in the face of eight of the enemy's armed vessels who had charge of the convoy, and who carried near 300 men, I most humbly hope my conduct will meet their lordships' approbation.

I remain with the greatest respect,
R. TOMLINSON, lieut. and com.

WESTMINSTER SESSIONS.

October 25.

Robert Reynolds was indicted for assaulting, beating, and cruelly wounding and maiming George and Elizabeth Reynolds, his two infant children.

Mr. Const, in stating the case on the part of the prosecution, observed, that although the jury had already tried some flagrant offences in the course of the present sessions, yet, he was satisfied their feelings were never outraged by a case so unparalleled in its nature as the present one. He passed over the want of every sentiment of humanity, of christianity, and of every other virtue and feeling which our religion should teach us, that was so conspicuous in the conduct of the prisoner, and contented himself with merely stating some of the facts of this extraordinary case; the rest would come much better from the witnesses themselves. This indictment was to have been tried last sessions; but, from the shocking situation of the unhappy children, they could not be produced till the present. However, fortunately, they outlived the cruel treatment they received, and the jury would hear their testimony, and judge accordingly. He lamented, in strong terms, that such an outrage could happen in a Christian society, like this metropolis, where humanity was the leading characteristic of the people.

Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, the first witness, stated that she resided in North-row, St. George's, near to No. 11, where the prisoner lodged. On Sunday, the 22d of September, in the morning, she was passing the house, and heard the voices of the children crying and moaning most piteously below stairs; the hall door being open, she went down to the place whence the noise proceeded, and found the kitchen door locked; she then went to the window in the area, which she also found fastened; she asked through the rails, what was the matter? One of them answered, their father had beat them, and tied them up; she found he was a soldier, and went to seek him in Portman-street barrack; while in an altercation with the sentinel at the gate, about admitting her, the two witnesses, Mr. Keeling and Mr. Bligh, came up, and she made them acquainted with the circumstances of her search: they three returned together to North-row; they broke a pane of glass, took out an awl which fastened the window at the inside,

inside, and Mr. Bligh went in, and there discovered a most melancholy and horrid spectacle: the girl, only ten years of age, was tied by the wrist to the upper part of the dresser, naked, with her arms extended to the fullest stretch, and some rags fastened over her hands, to prevent her loosing the cords; her feet were tied together very tight, and her back was so lacerated and bruised, from her shoulders to her hips, that there was not the space of half-a-crown of whole flesh upon it. The boy, about eight years old, was tied to the bottom of the dresser, his hands fastened before him with cords, and his feet tied to the foot of the dresser, so fast, that he could not stir; he did not appear near so much injured from beating as the girl. On a table before them, at a very little distance, lay a large loaf of bread, with a slice cut on it, and about 9lb. of beef: thus, though they had nothing to eat from dinner the day before, Tantalus like, the object of their wishes was always before their eyes, without the power of touching it. When the girl was released, she fainted away, from excessive pain and want; she was with great difficulty conveyed between two men to the workhouse, where she was examined by Dr. Jackson and Mr. Patrick (the apothecary of the house), who both gave evidence on the trial. They found her emaciated to an extreme degree, so lacerated and bruised, they could not pronounce her out of danger for some time; the former gentleman thought that a separation of the shoulder joint would take place, and a fever would be the inevitable consequence, which, from her then weak state, might be fatal.—The latter gentleman declared, if the tying had remained three hours longer on her wrists, a mortification must inevitably have ensued.

The whip with which they had been lashed, was produced; it was a thong lash, and the prisoner had unravelled it before it was found by the party.

The little girl, Elizabeth Reynolds, was then put upon the table; she was an exceedingly pretty child, of a most mild and interesting countenance, very fair, full dark eyes, and most beautiful brown hair. Having given full satisfaction to the court of her knowledge of the tendency of an oath, her answers were such as made her a competent witness. She said—"My name is Elizabeth Reynolds—my father is a soldier—there he is," pointing at him: "I lived in North-row, No. 11, my mother is dead. I went to school in Chapel-street, Westminster. I know my way down from North-row. I have a brother: he goes to school in Orchard-street; sometimes my father sent me to school by myself, and sometimes I took care of my brother. My father was very angry with me—he took and leathered (beat) me, because I ran away from my school; for I did run away from my school; he took and tied me up on a Sunday morning, leathered me a Friday night, and Saturday night: I was stripped naked when he leathered me on Friday night, and Saturday; my father told me to strip myself, and he leathered me, it was with a whip; but I do not know where he got the whip; he tied me with my arms extended so—(spreading out her arms to their extremity, as if they were to be nailed upon a cross)—My legs were tied too—I was at the bottom of the dresser. My father then went away to the barracks. I

staid till the lady heard me cry out, and then she came down to the window. I had no victuals till I went to the workhouse. I had victuals on Saturday at dinner-time, and then I had none till I went to the workhouse; the bread was on the table, but I could not reach it; he would not give me victuals, because I was a bad girl for running away from school. My brother had no victuals; he tied my brother up, because I kept him away from school; he beat him too. I staid at the workhouse some time, and there I got victuals, and got well again.

The boy, George Reynolds, was then brought in, and examined also—" I am nine years. On the morning when the gentleman got in at the kitchen window to take me out, I was in the room, in the back part of it; I was fastened; my father tied me, and beat me, because I would not go to school; he was angry with me for not going to school; he leathered me with a whip, and took and tied us up. He did not say any thing, but went away directly. I had no victuals that morning; I did not ask for any. There were victuals in the room on the table: I could not get at it; I was only a little way from it; I was tied very fast, and it hurt me. The lady came a little after seven o'clock in the morning. I was beat, but I was not so much beat as my sister. She did not say any thing to him. He beat her because she did not go to school. He said he would come back, and said he would give us some breakfast. I was very much beat; and my sister she cried out very much; she was stripped; my father stripped her—she stripped herself—my father made her strip; she did not bleed at all, but she was bruised; she was left stripped, with her back naked."

Mr. Partridge—" I had been out visiting my patients, and returned. On entering the house, I found the children there. I desired to see the girl: I saw her; the ligatures were round her wrists, and when they were taken off, the child's arm dropped as if dead; and my opinion is, that if that ligature had remained a few hours longer, a mortification would have taken place by the stagnation of the blood. The girl was most shamefully bruised; I should have thought no human being could have used another so, much less a father."

Doctor Jackson---" On the Monday I was requested, in my parochial capacity, to attend the workhouse, to see these two children, as they were to be sent to Marlborough-street, to give evidence of their situation, and they were then about to be removed. It was my opinion there was nothing to prevent their being carried to Marlborough-street: they had a slight fever: the girl in particular was an extreme sufferer indeed: she could not stand even on the Monday morning; and when I came to examine her naked, which was necessary, I found upon her sores and bruises, particularly on the shoulders. In short, she was so bruised and emaciated, that I could not pronounce her out of danger ultimately, though then capable of being removed. I saw her on Wednesday, and I thought that a separation of the joints might have taken place; a hectic fever might have followed, and she might have died; she might, I thought, have recovered by good food and nourishment, as she has done; but she appeared emaciated to an extreme degree."

Here

Here the prosecution closed. Mr. Const observed, that he could not offer any evidence as to the starving of the children, because there happened not to be any count in the indictment applicable to that point; the case must therefore be confined to the beating and cruelty.

The defendant said, the witnesses had sworn wrongfully against him; it was stated that the bread was placed before them, so that they could not reach it, but it was in the rear of them.

The chairman told him he was laying stress on a point which was of no importance, for he was not prosecuted, by this indictment, for starving the children; the matter for him to show was, that he did not use them cruelly.

The defendant then said, that the paper he held in his hand contained every thing he wanted to say in his defence. The paper was then read: it was in the form of a petition to the court. The substance of it was to state, that the child was in the habit of playing truant, and to tell lies. He endeavoured by mild means to bring about an amendment in her, but to no purpose. She kept away from school, so that the master gave her up at last. The boy too kept bad company, and did not attend his school as he should do, and therefore he was under the necessity of correcting them, and what he did was not to hurt, but with a view to terrify them; He denied using them cruelly. He stated, that he had been a soldier for twenty years, and lived eighteen in one parish, and no complaint was ever exhibited against him, &c.

He called the beadle who lodged in the same house with him to prove that he did not hear the children cry louder than others in the house. But that witness proved nothing but his own want of feeling as to what he witnessed, and also several of the points which had before been proved on the part of the prosecution.

Mr. Mainwaring addressed the jury as follows:

"Gentlemen of the jury,

"It is upon this evidence you are to determine whether you are satisfied that this defendant did in a cruel manner beat his children, that is, that his treatment of them exceeded that sort of right he has over his children to correct them, whether he went beyond that which the law allows, and humanity tolerates.—If you are of that opinion, you will find him guilty. If you have any doubt of it, you will acquit him. As to the starving, there is nothing of that in this indictment, and therefore the prosecutors have not gone into any evidence on that point."—Guilty.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

October 29.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 29.

Copy of a letter from the hon. W. Cornwallis, admiral of the white, &c. to W. Marsden, esq. dated Ville de Paris, at sea, October 21.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter I have now received from capt. Lavie, of his majesty's ship Iris, giving an account of his having fallen in with and captured the San Pedro Spanish corvette privateer, and recaptured the Magdalen, belonging to Greenock.

I am, &c.

W. CORNWALLIS.

Iris, at sea, Oct. 21.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that at day-break on the 15th inst. being off Les Roches Bonnes, two sail were discovered steering towards Bourdeaux. It was soon ascertained that one was a schooner vessel, the other a merchant ship, her prize. Though it blew strong on the shore, I was fortunate enough to cut off the ship. She proved to be the Magdalen, of Greenock, who had separated from the Leeward Island convoy, and had been nearly a month in possession of the enemy.

On the same night a ship opened her fire upon me, and did not surrender until she had received several broadsides. She proved to be the San Pedro Spanish corvette privateer, mounting 16 guns, eight of which are 18-pounders, the rest Spanish 6-pounders, with 150 men on board when she sailed, part of whom were distributed in five vessels she had captured. I am sorry to add that we had one man killed, and the enemy two killed and four wounded. The senior lieutenant, Mr. Ivie, and the rest of the officers and ship's company, conducted themselves on this occasion much to my satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. Lavie.

Wm. Cornwallis, esq. admiral of the white, commander in chief &c. &c.

NOVEMBER.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 6.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were received at the admiralty this day, at one o'clock A. M. from vice-admiral Collingwood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels off Cadiz.

Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, Oct. 22, 1805.

Sir,

The ever to be lamented death of vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 19th inst. it was communicated to the commander in chief from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleet had put to sea: as they sailed with light winds westerly, his lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Streights' entrance, with the British squadron, consisting of 27 ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his lordship was informed by captain Blackwood, (whose vigilance in watching, and giving notice of the enemy's movements, has been highly meritorious,) that they had not yet passed the Streights.

On Monday, the 21st inst. at day-light, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light; the commander in chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line consisted of 33 ships (of which 18 were French, and 15 Spanish), commanded in chief by admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, were with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great

closeness and correctness: but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam: before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second a-head and a-stern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure in the centre, and the prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag-officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The commander in chief in the Victory led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee. The action began at 12 o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line, the commander in chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns: the conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers: but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three P. M. many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; admiral Gravina, with ten ships joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line (of which two are first rates, the Santissima Trinidad, and the Santa Anna), with three flag-officers, viz. admiral Villeneuve, the commander in chief; don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, vice-admiral; and the Spanish rear-adm. don Baltazar Cisneros.

After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express: the spirit which animated all was the same; when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

The Achille (a French 74), after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by the tenders. A circumstance occurred during the action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their lordships; the Temeraire was boarded by accident, or design, by a French ship on one side, and a Spaniard on the

other; the contest was vigorous, but in the end the combined ensigns were torn from the poop, and the British hoisted in their places.

Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the commander in chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought: his lordship received a musket ball in his left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me immediately with his last farewel; and soon after expired. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent officers, captains Duff of the Mars, and Cooke of the Bellerophon; I have yet heard of none others.

I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships. The Royal Sovereign having lost her mast, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the action continued, which ship lying within hail, made my signals, a service captain Blackwood performed with very great attention. After the action, I shifted my flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until those gales are over.

Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their lordships on a victory which, I hope, will add a ray to the glory of his majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country. I am, &c.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

William Marsden, esq.

The order in which the ships of the British squadron attacked the combined fleets, on the 21st of October, 1805.

VAN.	REAR.
Victory	Royal Sovereign
Temeraire	Mars
Neptune	Belleisle
Conqueror	Tonnant
Leviathan	Bellerophon
Ajax	Colossus
Orion	Achille
Agamemnon	Polyphemus
Minotaur	Revenge
Spartiate	Swiftsure
Britannia	Defence
Africa	Thunderer
Euryalus	Defiance

Sirius

VAN. REAR.
Sirius Prince
Phœbe Dreadnought.
Naiad
Pickle schooner
Entreprenante cutter.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

GENERAL ORDER.

Euryalus, Oct. 22, 1805.

The ever to be lamented death of lord viscount Nelson, duke of Bronte, the commander in chief, who fell in the action of the 21st, in the arms of victory, covered with glory, whose memory will be ever dear to the British navy and the British nation, whose zeal for the honour of his king, and for the interest of his country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British seaman, leaves to me a duty to return my thanks to the right honourable rear-admiral, the captains, officers, seamen, and detachments of royal marines, serving on board his majesty's squadron, now under my command, for their conduct on that day; but where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the officers, the seamen, and marines, in the battle with the enemy, where every individual appeared a hero, on whom the glory of his country depended. The attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to the page of naval annals a brilliant instance of what Britons can do, when their king and their country need their service.

To the right hon. rear-admiral the earl of Northesk, to the captains, officers, and seamen, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the royal marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks for their highly meritorious conduct, both in the action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured ships out from the perilous situation in which they were, after their surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather. And I desire that the respective captains will be pleased to communicate to the officers, seamen, and royal marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

To the right hon. rear-admiral the earl of Northesk, and the respective captains and commanders.

GENERAL ORDER.

The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of his mercy been pleased to crown the exertions of his majesty's fleet with success, in giving them a complete victory over their enemies, on the 21st of this month; and that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the throne of grace for the great benefit to our country and to mankind: I have thought proper that a day should be appointed of general humiliation before God, and thanksgiving for his merciful goodness, imploring forgiveness of sins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his constant aid to us, in the defence of our country's liberties and laws, and without which, the utmost efforts of man are nought, and direct therefore that this day be appointed for this holy purpose.

Given on board the Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, 22d October, 1805.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

To the respective captains and commanders.

N. B. The fleet having been dispersed by a gale of wind, no day has

has yet been able to be generally observed for the above purpose.

Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 24, 1805.

Sir,

In my letter of the 22d I detailed to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, the proceedings of his majesty's squadron on the day of the action, and that preceding it, since which, I have had a continued series of misfortunes, but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.

On the 22d in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew, with squally weather, which however did not prevent the activity of the officers and seamen of such ships as were manageable from getting hold of many of the prizes (thirteen or fourteen), and towing them off to the westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign in tow by the Neptune; but on the 23d the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again; and some of them taking advantage in the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind, and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk. On the afternoon of that day the remnant of the combined fleet, ten sail of ships, who had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggled charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence: all this retarded the progress of the hulks, and the bad weather continuing, determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy; but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent; I intrusted it to skilful officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinidad, and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntón, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet this moment from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying four others. The Redoutable sunk astern of the Swiftsure while in tow. The Santa Anna, I have no doubt, is sunk, as her side was almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that, unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port. I hope their lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the enemy's fleet) have thought a measure of absolute necessity.

I have taken admiral Villeneuve into this ship: vice admiral don Aliva is dead. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there were only four in the action with the fleet, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naiad; the Melpomene joined the 22d, and the Eurydice and Scout the 23d), I shall collect the other flag-officers, and send them to England with their flags, (if they do not go to the bottom) to be laid at his majesty's feet.

There were four thousand troops embarked, under the command of general Contamin, who was taken

with admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaure.

I am, sir, &c.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 11, 1805.

The letter, and its enclosures, of which the following are copies, were received at this office last night, from captain (now rear-admiral) sir R. John Strachan, bart. commander of his majesty's ship the Cæsar, addressed to William Marsden, esq.

Cæsar, Nov. 7, 1805.

Sir,

The accompanying copy of a letter, addressed to the hon. admiral Cornwallis, I request you will be pleased to lay before the lords commissioners of the admiralty, with my apology for the hasty manner in which it is written.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. J. STRACHAN.

Cæsar, west of Rochefort 164 *miles, Nov.* 4, 1805, *wind S. E.*

Sir,

Being off Ferrol, working to the westward, with the wind westerly, on the evening of the 2d, we observed a frigate in the N. W. making signals; made all sail to join her before night, and followed by the ships named in the margin*, we came up with her at eleven at night; and at the moment she joined us, we saw six large ships near us. Captain Baker informed me he had been chased by the Rochefort squadron, then close to leeward of us. We were delighted. I desired him to tell the captain of the ships of the line astern to follow me, as I meant to engage them directly; and immediately bore away in the Cæsar for the purpose, making all the signals I could, to indicate our movements to our ships: the moon enabled us to see the enemy bear away in a line abreast, closely formed; but we lost sight of them when it set, and I was obliged to reduce our sails, the Hero, Courageux, and Æolus, being the only ships we could see. We continued steering to the E. N. E. all night, and in the morning observed the Santa Margaritta near us: at nine we discovered the enemy of four sail of the line in the N. E. under all sail. We had also every thing set, and came up with them fast; in the evening, observed three sail astern; and the Phœnix spoke me at night. I found that active officer, captain Baker, had delivered my orders, and I sent him on to assist the Santa Margaritta in leading us up to the enemy. At day-light we were near them, and the Santa Margaritta had begun in a very gallant manner to fire upon their rear, and was soon joined by the Phœnix.

A little before noon, the French finding an action unavoidable, began to take in their small sails, and form in a line, bearing on their starboard tack; we did the same, and I communicated my intentions by hailing to the captains, "that I should attack the centre and rear;" and at noon began the battle: in a short time the van ship of the enemy tacked, which almost directly made the action close and general: the Namur joined soon after we tacked, which we did as soon as we could get the ship round, and

* Cæsar, Hero, Courageux, Namur.
Bellona, Æolus, Santa Margaretta, far to leeward in the south-east.

I directed

I directed her by signal to engage the van; at half-past three the action ceased, the enemy having fought to admiration, and not surrendering till their ships were unmanageable. I have returned thanks to the captains of the ships of the line and the frigates, and they speak in high terms of approbation of their respective officers and ships' companies. If any thing could add to the good opinion I had already formed of the officers and crews of the Cæsar, it is their gallant conduct in this day's battle. The enemy have suffered much, but our ships not more than is to be expected on these occasions. You may judge of my surprise, sir, when I found the ships we had taken were not the Rochefort squadron, but from Cadiz.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. J. STRACHAN.

Honourable William Cornwallis, admiral of the white, and commander in chief, &c. &c. &c.

FIRST LINE.

Starboard tack.

British line.

Cæsar, of 80 guns.
Hero, of 74 guns.
Courageux, of 74 guns.

French line.

Duguay Trouin, of 74 guns, capt. Toufflet.
Formidable, of 80 guns, rear-admiral Dumanoir.
Mont Blanc, of 74 guns, cap. Villegray.
Scipion, of 74 guns, capt. Barouger.

SECOND LINE.

(When the Namur joined.)

Larboard tack.

British line.

Hero, of 74 guns, hon. capt. Gardner.
Namur, of 74 guns, capt. Halsted.
Cæsar, of 80 guns, sir Richard J. Strachan.
Courageux, of 74 guns, capt. Lee.

French line.

Duguay Trouin,
Formidable.
Mont Blanc.
Scipion.

N. B. The Duguay Trouin and Scipion totally dismasted; the Formidable and Mont Blanc have their foremasts standing.

Our frigates—Santa Margaritta, Æolus, Phœnix, and Revolutionnaire.

The Revolutionnaire joined at the time the Namur did, but, with the rest of our frigates, in consequence of the French tacking, were to leeward of the enemy.

I do not know what is become of the Bellona, or the other two sail we saw on the night of the 2d instant.

The reports of damage, killed, and wounded, have not been all received. The enemy have suffered much.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 12.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral sir Richard John Strachan, bart. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship the Cæsar, off Falmouth, the 8th inst.

Sir,

Not having the returns when the Æolus left us, and now having occasion to send in the Santa Margaritta to procure pilots to take the French ships into harbour, I transmit you the returns of killed and wounded, in the action of the 4th; and also a copy of the thanks alluded to in my letter, which I request you will communicate to their lordships.

lordships. I dare say their lordships will be surprised, that we have lost so few men. I can only account for it from the enemy firing high, and we closing suddenly.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. J. STRACHAN.

I have as yet no very correct account of the loss of the enemy, or of their number of men.

The Mont Blanc had 700; 63 killed, and 96 wounded, mostly dangerous.

The Scipion, 111 killed and wounded.

The French admiral, monsieur Dumanoir le Pelley, wounded: the captain of the Duguay Trouin killed, and second captain wounded.

A list of the killed and wounded in his majesty's ships undermentioned, in action with a French squadron, on the 4th of Nov. 1805.

Cæsar, 4 killed and 25 wounded.

Hero, 10 killed and 51 wounded.

Courageux, 1 killed and 13 wounded.

Namur, 4 killed and 8 wounded.

Santa Margaritta, 1 killed and 1 wounded.

Revolutionnaire, 2 killed and 6 wounded.

Phœnix, 2 killed and 4 wounded.

Æolus, 3 wounded.

Total, 24 killed and 111 wounded.—135.

Officers killed.—Hero, Mr. Morrison, second lieutenant of marines. Santa Margaritta, Mr. Thomas Edwards, boatswain.

Officers wounded.—Hero, lieut. Skekel; Mr. Titterton and Mr. Stephenson, second lieutenants of marines.

Courageux, Mr. R. Clephane, first lieutenant; Mr. Daws, master's mate: Mr. Bird, midshipman; and Mr. Austin, gunner.

Namur, William Clements, captain of marines; Thomas Osborne, second lieutenant; and Frederick Beasley, midshipman.

(Signed) R. J. STRACHAN.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

Cæsar, at sea, Nov. 6.

Having returned thanks to Almighty God for the victory obtained over the French squadron, the senior captain begs to make his grateful acknowledgments for the support he has received from the ships of the line and the frigates; and requests the captains will do him the honour to accept his thanks, and to communicate to their respective officers and ships' companies how much he admires their zealous and gallant conduct.

R. J. STRACHAN.

To the respective captains and commanders.

Copy of a letter from captain the hon. C. E. Fleming to the hon. Wm. Cornwallis, admiral of the red, &c.

His majesty's ship Egyptienne, Plymouth Sound, 8th Oct. 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that his majesty's ship under my command captured, on the night of the 2d instant, the French Imperial brig, L'Acteon, of 16 guns and 126 men, two hours after she left the anchorage off Rochelle. Having in the morning reconnoitred the port of Rochefort, in pursuance of your orders, and perceiving L'Acteon apparently ready for sea, in a situation where I thought it practicable to bring her out, I resolved to accept

cept of the very handsome offer of lieutenant Hanfield to make the attempt, and stood off to the N. W. till sunset.

At eight P. M. returned in the Pertuis d'Antioche, intending to anchor in the Rade de Basque to support the boats which were prepared for this enterprise, when the brig was perceived, under all sail, outside, and fell into our possession after a short chase. L'Acteon was commanded by monsieur Depoge, capitaine de fregate, and had on board a colonel and some recruits, with arms and clothing for a regiment in the West Indies.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. E. FLEMING.

The hon. admiral Cornwallis, &c.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Nov. 16.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 16.

Copy of a letter from the right hon. lord Collingwood, vice-admiral of the red, &c. to W. Marsden, esq. dated on board the Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 28.

Sir,

Since my letter to you of the 24th, stating the proceedings of his majesty's squadron, our situation has been the most critical, and our employment the most arduous that ever a fleet was engaged in.—On the 24th and 25th it blew a most violent gale of wind, which completely dispersed the ships, and drove the captured hulls in all directions.

I have since been employed in collecting and destroying them, where they are at anchor upon the coast between Cadiz and six leagues westward of San Lucar, without the prospect of saving one to bring into port.

I mentioned in my former letter the joining of the Donnegal and Melpomene, after the action; I cannot sufficiently praise the activity of their commanders in giving assistance to the squadron in destroying the enemy's ships.

The Defiance, after having stuck to the Aigle as long as it was possible, in hope of saving her from wreck, which separated her for some time from the squadron, was obliged to abandon her to her fate, and she went on shore.

Capt. Durham's exertions have been very great.

I hope I shall get them all destroyed by to-morrow, if the weather keeps moderate.

In the gale the Royal Sovereign and Mars lost their foremasts, and are now rigging anew, where the body of the squadron is at anchor to the N. W. of San Lucar.

I find that on the return of Gravina to Cadiz, he was immediately ordered to sea again, and came out, which made it necessary for me to form a line, to cover the disabled hulls. That night it blew hard, and his ship, the Prince of Asturias, was dismasted, and returned into port; the Rayo was also dismasted, and fell into our hands; don Enrigue M'Donel had his broad pendant in the Rayo, and from him I find the Santa Anna was driven near Cadiz, and towed in by a frigate.

I am, sir, &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

P. S.—I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, as far as I have been able to collect it.

Abstract of the names and qualities of the officers and petty officers of killed and wounded on board the British ships, in the action with the combined fleets of

of France and Spain, Oct. 21, 1805.

Killed.—Royal Sovereign—Brice Gilliland, lieutenant; William Chalmers, master; Robert Green, second lieutenant of royal marines; John Ackenhead and Thomas Braund, midshipmen.

Dreadnought—none.

Mars—George Duff, captain; Alexander Duff, master's mate; Edward Corbyn and Henry Morgan, midshipmen.

Minotaur—none.

Revenge—Mr. Grier and Mr. Brooks, midshipmen.

Leviathan, Ajax, and Defence—none.

Defiance—Thomas Simons, lieutenant; William Forster, boatswain; James Williamson, midshipman.

Wounded.—Royal Sovereign—John Clavell and James Rashford, lieutenants; James Levesconte, second lieutenant of royal marines; William Watson, master's mate; Gilbert Kennicot, Grenville Thompson, John Farrant, and John Campbell, midshipmen; Isaac Wilkinson, boatswain.

Dreadnought—James L. Lloyd, lieutenant, Andrew M'Cullock and James Sabbin, midshipmen.

Mars—Edward William Garret and James Black, lieutenants; Thomas Cock, master; Thomas Norman (2d), captain royal marines; John Yonge, George Guiren, William John Cook, John Jenkins, and Alfred Luckratt, midshipmen.

Minotaur—James Robinson, boatswain; John Samuel Smith, midshipmen.

Revenge—Robert Moorsom, captain (slightly); John Berry, lieutenant; Luke Brokenshaw, master; Peter Lily, captain royal marines.

Leviathan—T. W. Watson, midshipman (slightly).

Ajax, and Defence—none.

Defiance—P. C. Durham, captain (slightly); James Spratt and Robert Brown, master's mates; John Hodge, and Edmund Andrew Chapman, midshipmen.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

A return of killed and wounded on board the respective ships composing the British squadron under the command of the right honourable lord viscount Nelson, K. B. vice-admiral of the white, &c. in the action with the combined fleets of France and Spain, 21st October, 1805.

Victory—not received.

Royal Sovereign—3 officers, 2 petty officers, and 42 seamen and marines killed; 3 officers, 5 petty officers, and 56 seamen and marines, wounded.—Total 141.

Britannia, Temeraire, Prince, and Neptune—not received.

Dreadnought—7 seamen and marines, killed; 1 officer, 2 petty officers, and 23 seamen and marines, wounded.—Total 33.

Mars—1 officer, 3 petty officers, and 25 seamen and marines, killed; 4 officers, 5 petty officers, and 60 seamen and marines, wounded.—Total 98.

Bellerophon—2 officers, 1 petty officer, and 24 seamen and marines, killed; 2 officers, 4 petty officers, and 117 seamen and marines wounded.—Total 150.

Minotaur—3 seamen and marines killed; 1 officer, 1 petty officer, and 20 seamen and marines, wounded.—Total 25.

Revenge—2 petty officers, and 26 seamen and marines, killed; 4 officers and 47 seamen and marines, wounded.—Total 79.

Leviathan—4 seamen and marines killed; 1 petty officer and

21 sea-

21 seamen and marines, wounded. —Total 26.

Ajax—2 seamen and marines killed; 9 seamen and marines wounded.—Total 11.

Agamemnon, Spartiate, Africa, Belleisle, Colossus, Achille, Polyphemus, and Swiftsure—not received.

Defence—7 seamen and marines killed; 29 seamen and marines wounded.—Total 36.

Defiance—2 officers, 1 petty officer, and 14 seamen and marines, killed, 1 officer, 4 petty officers, and 48 seamen and marines, wounded.—Total 70.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

A list of the combined fleets of France and Spain, in the action of 21st October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, received from lord Collingwood by a dispatch subsequent to the above letter, showing how they are disposed of.

1. Spanish ship San Ildefonso, of 74 guns, brigadier don Joseph de Vargas; sent to Gibraltar.

2. Spanish ship San Juan Nepomucino, of 74 guns, brigadier don Cosmo Churruca; sent to Gibraltar.

3. Spanish ship Bahama, of 74 guns, brigadier don A. D. Galiano; sent to Gibraltar.

4. French ship Swiftsure, of 74 guns, monsieur Villemadrin; sent to Gibraltar.

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5. Spanish ship Monarca, of 74 guns, don Teodoro Argumosa; wrecked off San Lucar.

6. French ship Fougueux, of 74 guns, monsieur Beaudouin, wrecked off Trafalgar, all perished, and thirty of the Temeraire's men.

7. French ship Indomptable, of 84 guns, monsieur Hubert; wrecked off Rota, all perished.

8. French ship Bucentaure, of 80 guns, admiral Villeneuve, commander in chief; captains Prigny and Magendie; wrecked on the Porques, some of the crew saved.

9. Spanish ship San Francisco de Asis, of 74 guns, don Luis de Flores; wrecked near Rota.

10. Spanish ship El Rayo, of 100 guns, brigadier don Henriquez Macdonel; wrecked near San Lucar.

11. Spanish ship Neptuno, of 84 guns, brigadier don Cayetano Valdes; wrecked between Rota and Catolina.

12. French ship Argonaute, of 74 guns, monsieur Epron; on shore in the port of Cadiz.

13. French ship Berwick, of 74 guns, monsieur Camas; wrecked to the northward of San Lucar.

14. French ship Aigle, of 74 guns, monsieur Courrege; wrecked near Rota.

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15. French ship Achille, of 74 guns, monsieur De Nieuport; burnt during the action.

16. French ship Intrepide, of 74 guns, monsieur Infornet; burnt by the Britannia.

17. Spanish ship San Agustin, of 74 guns, brigadier don Felipe X. Cagigal; burnt by the Leviathan.

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18. Spanish ship Santissima Trinidad, of 140 guns, rear admiral don Baltazar H. Cisneros; brigadier don T. Uriarte; sunk by the Prince, Neptune, &c.

19. French ship Redoutable, of 74 guns, monsieur Lucas; sunk astern of the Swiftsure; Temeraire lost 13, and Swiftsure 5 men.

20. Spanish ship Argonauta, of 80 guns, don Antonio Parejo; sunk by the Ajax.

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21. Spanish ship Santa Anna, of 112

112 guns, vice admiral don Ignacio D'Alava; captain don Joseph de Gardoqui; taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

22. French ship Algeziras, of 74 guns, rear-admiral Magon (killed); captain monsieur Bruaro; taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

23. French ship Pluton, of 74 gus, monsieur Cosmao; returned to Cadiz in a sinking state.

24. Spanish ship San Juste, of 74 guns, don Miguel Gaston; returned to Cadiz; has a foremast only.

25. Spanish ship San Leandro, of 64 guns, don Joseph de Quevedo; returned to Cadiz dismasted.

26. French ship Neptune, of 84 guns, monsier Maistral; returned to Cadiz, and perfect.

27. French ship Heros, of 74 guns, monsieur Poulain; returned to Cadiz, lower masts in, and admiral Rossillie's flag on board.

28. Spanish ship Principe de Asturias, of 112 guns, admiral don F. Gravina; don Antonio Escano, &c. returned to Cadiz dismasted.

29. Spanish ship Montanez, of 74 guns, don Francisco Alcedo; returned to Cadiz.

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30. French ship Formidable, of 80 guns, rear admiral Dumanoir; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

31. French ship Mont Blanc, of 74 guns, monsieur Le Villegries; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

32. French ship Scipion, of 74 guns, monsieur Berenger; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

33. French ship Duguay Trouin, of 74 guns, monsieur Touffet; hauled to the southward, and escaped.

N. B. These four ships were captured by sir Richard Strachan on the 4th instant.

ABSTRACT.

At Gibraltar - - -		4
Destroyed - - -		16
In Cadiz, wrecks -	6	9
In Cadiz, serviceable	3	
Escaped to the southward		4
Total		33

Admiralty-office, Nov. 16.

Copy of a letter from capt. Wolfe, of the Aigle, to the hon. William Cornwallis, admiral of the Red, &c.

Aigle, Nov. 8, 1805.

Sir,

Being becalmed in Vigo Bay, on the 28th of September last, at eight A. M. a squadron of nine Spanish gun-boats attacked his majesty's frigate under my command. At nine, a breeze sprung up; reversed their attack into a hasty retreat; but, from their proximity to the shore, we only captured one of them, carrying a long twenty-four pounder, commander by don Josef Maria Galon, four artillery men, and twenty-four seamen. The Aigle sustained no other damage than a shot through the sails.

I am, &c.

(Signed) G. Wolfe.

The hon. admiral Cornwallis, &c.

Copy of a letter from capt. Hancock, of the Cruizer sloop, to the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. admiral of the White, &c.

His majesty's sloop Cruizer, in the Downs, 13th Nov. 1805.

My lord,

I have the honour to acquant your lordship, that last night, at seven P. M., stretching across from the North Sand Head to resume my

station off Flushing, we fell in with two luggers, which suffered us to approach them quite close. One of them was, at this time, in the act of boarding a brig to windward, within gun-shot, and the other ran athwart our bow, within hail, for the purpose of boarding us to leeward, taking us for a merchant vessel. This, being the largest, I made my first object, and after a chase of two hours, all the time within musket shot, and under fire of our bow guns and muskets, I had the good fortune to bring down her main-top sail and main lugsail, when she struck, and proved to be Le Vengeur French privateer lugger, of 14 guns, and 56 men, commanded by Jean Augustin Hirrel, two days out from Boulogne, and had, on the afternoon of the day on which she was captured, taken two Sweedish brigs, one laden with salt, from Liverpool, the other from Boston, in Lincolnshire, in ballast. She is a beautiful new lugger, and esteemed the fastest sailing vessel out of France.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN HANCOCK.

Admiral lord Keith, K. B. &c.

Copies of two letters, with inclosures from the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the leeward islands, to William Marsden, esq.

His majesty's ship the Northumberland, Carlisle Bay, June 23, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter from captain Rose, of his majesty's ship Circe, gives an account of the capture of La Constance schooner privateer from Guadaloupe; this is the same vessel formerly taken by the Circe off the coast of Spain; but recaptured to windward of this island; she had just left Guadaloupe, and her trim was not known; she is a remarkably fine vessel.

I am, &c.

A. COCHRANE.

His majesty's armed sloop Dominica, Roseau, Aug. 14.

Sir,

On the evening of the 11th instant (Scott's Head bearing N. E. two leagues) his majesty's armed sloop under my command captured a small row-boat, named L'Hazard, armed with musketry, having on board only 14 men, three days from Point-a-Petre, without having made a capture.

I have &c.

R. PETRE.

Rear-admiral the hon.
A. Cochrane.

His majesty's sloop Osprey, Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, August 25.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you of my having fallen in with a French privateer schooner, on the 17th of May last, the island of Berbuda bearing south, distant five or six leagues, which, after a chase of five hours, I captured. She proved to be Le Teazer of seven guns and 51 men, belonging to Guadaloupe, commanded by Joseph Ratisque, who was badly wounded by a grape shot. Out on a three month's cruise, and had made seven captures, mostly droghers: during the chase, she hove two of her guns overboard.

I have the honour, &c.

TIMOTHY CLINCH.

Rear-admiral the hon.
A. Cochrane.

North-

Northumberland, Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, September 13, 1805.

Sir,

I enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a letter from lieutenant Robert Petre, commanding his majesty's armed sloop Dominica (whose exertions and activity entitle him to great credit), giving an account of the capture of two small privateers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. COCHRANE.

His majesty's armed sloop, Dominica, off Roseau, Sept. 5, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty's armed sloop Dominica, under my command, captured on the 25th ult. after a chase of some hours, under the lee of this island, La Ravanche, a French row-boat privateer, mounting a twelve pounder carronade in the bow, and several swivels; having on board at the time of capture but fifteen men. She had been eight weeks from Guadaloupe, and had taken three small vessels:

Also, on 2d inst. at eight A. M. the Saints bearing N. E. by E. distant about five leagues, another row-boat, named La Prudente, having got within reach of the Dominica's guns, without discovering her to be an armed vessel, it being calm, I dispatched Mr. Jackson, midshipman, with eight men, all volunteers, to attack her in the boat, at the same time annoying her in her retreat by a fire of grape and cannister from the sloop. At ten, when about two leagues from us, the boat came up with her, and after exchanging a few volleys of musketry, the enemy struck. She was one day from the Saints, having on board sixteen men, well equipped. I am happy to say that only one man was hurt on the occasion, James Morgan, whose collar-bone was broken.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROBERT PETRE.

The hon. rear-adm. Cochrane, &c. &c. &c.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, November 23.

The King v. *the hon. Robert Johnson.*

TRIAL AT BAR BEFORE THE FOUR JUDGES.

The defendant, the hon. Robert Johnson, one of the judges of the court of common pleas in Ireland, stood indicted, for that he,—intending to bring into hatred and contempt the justice of Ireland, and to cause it to be believed that the people of that country were oppressed by his majesty's government, and to traduce the persons employed therein, particularly Philip earl of Hardwicke, the lord lieutenant; John earl of Redesdale, the lord high chancellor; Mr. justice Osborne, one of the judges; and Mr. Marsden, the secretary to the lord lieutenant,—on the 5th of November, 1803, wrote and published a scandalous libel, in the form of a letter, entitled Affairs of Ireland, of which the following was a part. The opening counsel here stated the libel, of which we substract the material passages:—

"*Equo ne credite, Teucri,*" was the advice given to the Trojans, yet they admitted the wooden representative of wisdom within their walls, and its wooden head towered above their houses; but its exalted head and hollow sides, formed a receptacle for greedy peculators and blood-thirsty assassins. The author of this fable meant it as a moral lesson for other ages and

counties, not to admit wooden heads to exalted situations. There were certain heads which were formed as non-conductors of ideas, and in most languages were called wooden heads: but there was no security for a people in the supposed innoxiousness of such characters; they might as well be overwhelmed by incapacity as by vice: That all the evils Ireland had suffered, might be traced to such a head and body as the government of lord Hardwicke; not that he asserted the head of the viceroy was literally built of timber, he only meant in a metaphorical sense, and was certain if the head of lord H. could be exhibited to Lavoissier, or any other accurate observer of nature, it would be found to contain abundance of ligneous particles, which obstructed the progress of ideas. This was the lord Hardwicke of Dr. Addington, under whom their property was subjected to the plunder of his clerks, and their persons to the pikes of the rebels. The government of a harmless man was not, therefore, of necessity a harmless government."

"Inquiry and research were the duty of the ignorant; and upon inquiry the result was, that he found their viceroy to be in rank an earl, in manners a gentleman, in morals a good father and husband; and, moreover, that he had a very good library in St. James's square. Here he should have for ever stopped; but by accident meeting a Scotch parson of the name of Lindsay, who since, by Divine Providence, for it could be by no other means, had become bishop of Kilaloe; from him he learned that lord Hardwicke understood the fatting of sheep as well as any man in Cambridgeshire.—While he was writing, a map of the West Indies hung in his view, and he was led to suppose that one of those islands had become extremely wealthy and populous; but that it was menaced by invasion from without, and rebellion within. Supposing that a committee of merchants, who had vested their property in this island, should, under these circumstances, apply to Dr. Addington, and he should tell them to quiet their apprehensions, that there was no danger, for he had entrusted the care of the island to an eminent sheep-feeder from Cambridgeshire, assisted by a strong-built chancery pleader from Lincoln's Inn. What would a sugar committee say to such a minister? The walls of Downing-street would ring with their reproaches. Yet such was the state of Ireland under its present government. On the chancery pleader he might have laid too much stress; but lord Hardwicke was one of the Westmorlands and Hobarts, who, knowing nothing, was to be sent to Ireland as to a school, to be trained up in the trade of politics, just as young surgeons were learned to bleed by practising upon the pauper patients in an hospital. Was he to be trained up in that unhappy country? The gift of lord Hardwicke to them could only be compared to what Falstaff said in jest, but they would find it a bloody truth—'Here's that will sack a city.'"

Another part of the libel adverted to the appointment of Mr. justice Osborne to the commission to try the rebels in the counties of Antrim and Downe. It commented upon the supposed charge of that learned judge to the grand jury, in which he told them, that by the energy of government the rebellion

rebellion had been subdued, which he asserts to be "a broadside upon the truth of the fact;" and adds that Mr. Justice Osborne was corruptly appointed over the heads of his seniors, because he would consent to eulogize the government, and screen the misconduct of Marsden.

The libel next attacked the conduct of lord Redesdale, by a comparison with what would have been the conduct of lord Kenyon in that station. It asserted, "Lord Kenyon would not have made an order of court, by which a secretary of the master of the rolls would have been deprived of the emoluments of his office, in order to throw them into the hands of his own secretary, for the purpose of discharging the claims of an unknown annuitant. He would never have used the great seal to garble the Bench: he would as soon have undertaken to have conducted a line of battle ships through the Needles, as to have assisted such a viceroy in the government of the kingdom; and his pride and independence would instantly have revolted, if he had been told he must consult no one nobleman or gentleman of property in the kingdom."—And if any man could have been found of whom an unhappy youth had exclaimed, "That viper from whose lips I imbibed the poison which now drags me untimely to the grave, he it is who is now my prosecutor, and wantonly lashed by a speech to evidence the dying son of his former friend:" the actor of such a scene, where, though the principal feature of the drama was guilt to be punished, yet justice was outraged, and humanity confounded, would never have had the favour of lord Kenyon, or have been brought forward by him into an official situation. In another part the writer insinuated, "That the Ennui had been wrapped round Mr. Marsden, and the stained hands of a petty clerk washed in the pure fountains of justice."

The attorney-general followed on the same side. He felt himself, he said, in a novel and most unpleasant situation. He had to accuse a judge of the land—a judge of Ireland, now made part of this kingdom—with a crime which would be a disgrace to any man—to any person who claimed the character of a gentleman. When, however, such a charge was to be imputed to a judge—to a person versant in the laws of his country, and, from his office, called on to dispense those laws to others, it must be doubly aggravated. The libel in question was one of the grossest kind, and which would disgrace any man: how much more gross and unbecoming must it not be esteemed, that the government of a country should be traduced and villified by one of the judges of the land. He paid the highest compliments to the character of lord Hardwicke, and the lord chancellor Redesdale, both of whom he described to be as superior to his eulogy as they were to the malice of the defendant. Of the publication itself, he thought it unnecessary to argue its libellous tendency; it was so obvious, that he was persuaded his learned friend, who had the defence of the learned judge, would not attempt to justify it. The only question then would be, Whether it had been published by the defendant? This would be proved by the evidence of the manuscript itself, which had been given by Mr. Cobbett upon his conviction as the publisher. The moment the original writing

was in the hands of the officers of the Crown, they set about endeavouring to discover whose it was, and it had been ascertained by the uniform and positive opinion of four gentlemen, that the style and character of it was that of the defendant. One of these persons, Mr. Waller, was the solicitor to a board of revenue in Ireland, at which the defendant, Mr. Johnson, had for many years acted as the assistant barrister: in this capacity, he of course became intimately acquainted with his handwriting, continually being in the habit of seeing his written opinions, as well as his notes and letters, which, as a member of the Irish parliament, he franked. The other witnesses, three in number, were, from their official situations, equally able to speak with certainty of the fact. If this was made out, the province of the jury would be at an end, as they would have no alternative but that of finding such a verdict as would transfer to the court the power of punishing the libel as it justly merited. He felt concerned to understand that an attempt would be made, and he was convinced the learned counsel on the other side would feel pain in making it, to evade the condemnation which this libel must naturally carry along with it, by alleging that there was no proof of the publishing of a libel in the county of Middlesex. This attempt, however, if it were made, should not avail the defendant, as he was in a condition to prove the publishing by a delivery of the letters containing the libel of Mr. Cobbett, with a request to him to publish them, in the county of Middlesex.

Mr. White, solicitor to the treasury, proved, that he received the manuscripts of the letters in question from Mr. Cobbett, immediately after his (Mr. C.'s) being found guilty of publishing the letters in question. These manuscripts he marked at the time, and they are the same he received from Mr. Cobbett.

Mr. Cobbett stated, that in October 1803, he received a letter, with the post-mark of Dublin, containing a proposal, if agreeable to him, of sending him certain true and useful information on the subject of the affairs of Ireland. If acceptable, he was to give intimation of the fact in his next number. This Mr. C. accordingly did, and in consequence received several letters which he published in his Register, and two of which were those now in question. They came addressed to Mr. Budd, to whose house in Pall Mall letters for Mr. Cobbett were at that time ordered to be addressed, and were delivered to Mr. C. by a messenger of Mr. Budd's, inclosed in envelopes, the first of which was open, and the other sealed, when delivered to Mr. C. The envelopes, he presumed, had been destroyed at the time. He had searched for them, but had not found them. The preliminary letter, containing the proposal to furnish the information, if acceptable, he had also searched for, and had not found it: but he admitted that he had not made any search for it, or requested it to be searched for at the printer's. He stated, however, that the practice at his printer's had not been to file any copy; but either to return it to him, or to throw it into a large box, whence it was destroyed. On this omission a point was, at the request of Mr. Adam, counsel for the defendant, reserved for the consideration of the court.

Mr. Richard Waller, who had been

been solicitor to the board of customs for the last 23 years, stated, that there were always two counsels employed by that board, that the defendant was one of them, and that for upwards of ten years the witness was frequently accustomed to receive from him opinions in writing relative to the affairs of the board. In consequence of this he was well acquainted with the defendant's hand-writing. He knew it as well as he could do that of any person. He had examined the papers now shown to him carefully, and he well knew they were in the hand-writing of the defendant. He entertained no doubt of it, and he was equally certain of the fact, as it was possible for any man to be on such a subject. *Cross-examined*—The witness admitted that he had ceased to have access to see the defendant's hand-writing since the year 1801. From that date, all connection between them had terminated, except in friendly salutions when they chanced to meet in the streets. The opinions of the defendant were not written so small or so fair as the letters which he now saw; they bore a strong resemblance to the title, which was larger than the body of the writing.

Charles Ormsby, an attorney, said, he had known the defendant for 20 years, and had access to see his hand-writing, particularly in opinions given by him to the board of customs. He had formerly examined the writings now shown him, and was then of opinion, as he still is, that they are in the hand-writing of the defendant, except a few words occasionally interspersed, which, he presumed, were annotations of the printer. On his cross-examination, the witness admitted, that the opinions of Mr. justice Johnson, which he had been in the use of seeing, were more loosely, and not so well written as those letters which he now saw.

Joshua Nunn, deputy remembrancer of the exchequer in Ireland, concurred in thinking the letters in question to be the hand-writing of the defendant.

John Edwards was clerk to the solicitor for the inland or excise department of the Irish revenue from 1794 to 1802. During this period he had constant occasion to see Mr. Johnson's hand-writing, he being counsel for that board also. He saw the papers in question, for the first time, on Monday last; but has no hesitation in thinking them to be in the hand-writing of the defendant, with which he was perfectly acquainted.

The proper officers from the secretary of state's office in Ireland, proved that lord Hadwicke, lord Redesdale, Mr. justice Osborne, and Mr. Marsden held the different offices mentioned in the indictment at the time the libel was published; and that they were the persons generally regarded as being referred to in the libel in question.

The counsel for the prosecution then declared their case finished: but before the libel was suffered to be read, an objection was taken by Mr. Adam, that there had been no proof of the publication of the libel in Middlesex. That assuming, for the sake of argument, the defendant had written the libel in Dublin, yet it did not appear that he was the person who had transmitted it by the post to Mr. Cobbett; that the defect of this proof arose from the loss of the envelopes, and therefore, for any thing that appeared to the contrary, the manuscript, although written by the de-

fendant, might have been afterwards locked up in his bureau, and stolen from thence by some person who sent it to the publisher. The principle of this objection he supported by reference to the case of the seven bishops, who were tried for the publication of a libel, in delivering a petition to king James. In their case the court was of opinion, that notwithstanding they had admitted the writing of the supposed libel at the archbishop's palace in Surry, yet such admission did not make the circumstance of its being found in possession of the king proof of its publication in Middlesex, and for that reason the attorney general of that day was obliged to call lord Sunderland, who having proved that the bishops had called at the palace, requiring admittance to the king, and, at the same time, informing lord Sunderland of the nature of their errand, the court esteemed that a sufficient evidence of the intention to publish.

The defendant's other counsel, Mr. Parke, Mr. Lockart, and Mr. Richardson, successively addressed the court on this objection, their arguments occupying several hours.

Lord Ellenborough, without thinking it necessary for the counsel for the prosecution to reply, determined that there was no analogy between the two cases. It would have been the extreme of injustice if the court had considered the acknowledgment by the bishops of the writing in one county to be proof of the publication; but in the present instance the hand-writing of the defendant being proved, the libel itself contained internal evidence to go to the jury that the defendant had sent it to Mr. Cobbett expressly for the purpose of publication.

The other judges concurring with his lordship, the objection was over-ruled, and the whole of the libel was then read.

Mr. Cobbett was again called on, who stated, that in the first letter he received, offering information on the affairs of Ireland, he was desired to notify his answer as if the information were to be expected from Yorkshire, not from Ireland, lest the letters should be intercepted. Accordingly, a notification appeared in the next number of the Register, informing their Yorkshire correspondent, that what he wished might be had of Mr. Budd, Pall-Mall.

Here the evidence for the prosecution closed.

Mr. Adam then commenced a most able defence for the accused judge, whom he described as a gentleman who had passed a long life in the honourable exercise of those important duties demanded by the high situation of public trust and confidence he had held. Afflictive indeed, would it be to such a man, whose whole time and attention had been devoted to the support of the government and constitution of the country and the laws, in the administration of which he had been so materially concerned, to have it recorded of him that he had been guilty of so malevolent an act, as that of sending into the world an anonymous libel, to destroy the fame of the immediate representative of the king, vilify the first law officer of the country, reflect upon the honour and character of a brother judge, and, by the general scope and tendency of the publication, excite a spirit of discontent and disaffection to his majesty's government, the eminent persons entrusted by him with the higher functions of the state. Truly had

it

it been stated by the attorney-general, that no one could contend the publication was not a libel; he admitted it was a libel of the most scandalous description—it was not the wish of the defendant to deny that it had that character; but in proportion as it was malicious and malignant, it was the duty of the jury not to convict a man of having written it without the clearest and most unequivocal proof legally brought forward that he was beyond dispute the author. The question of his criminality would consequently depend upon the comparative dependence to be placed on the testimony of the witnesses. If the crown had produced four witnesses, who, speaking only from their knowledge of the defendant's hand-writing five or six years ago, conceived that manuscript was written by him, he should, in opposition to their testimony, produce more than an equal number of witnesses who had been the intimate friends of the defendant during the whole of his life up to the present moment, and who were as well acquainted with the character of his hand-writing as with his features. These persons would state that the libel, instead of being the production of the defendant's pen, had not the least resemblance to his manner of writing. The proof then would be equally balanced; and as it was the first principle of justice not to presume guilt where innocence was equally probable, so he trusted the jury would take into their consideration the character and long habits of life of the defendant, and the utter impossibility of his being capable of publishing so defamatory a libel, and incline to that decision which would restore the defendant to that rank in society which he enjoyed before he was the object of this accusation.

Sir Henry Jebb was the first witness examined.—He stated, that he had been intimately acquainted with the defendant for the last years, and during the greater part of that time was equally well acquainted with his hand-writing, as with the features of his face. Being shown the papers in question, he stated that the former of the two letters, bearing date 28th of October, 1803, was, in some degree, similar to the hand-writing of the defendant, when superficially viewed, but, when more narrowly inspected by any person so well acquainted with it as the witness was, it would be easily discovered not to be his hand-writing. The other letter, bearing date the 29th November, he thought had no similitude whatever to the writing of the defendant. On his cross-examination, the witness said, that he had lately been given to understand, that there were people who could so exactly imitate the hand-writing of the defendant, that the real writing could not be distinguished from the counterfeit. About a month ago, the defendant called at the witness's house, accompanied by another gentleman, and informed him of this circumstance. He also told him, that a young man who could imitate his hand-writing to perfection, had confessed that he was the author of the publication attributed to the defendant in the present indictment; and that he was alone prevented from divulging the secret lest it should affect his father, who held a situation under government. In proof of the assertion that this person could write in such a manner

ner as to render it impossible to distinguish between it and the defendant's hand-writing, the defendant proposed, that the witness should mark several sheets of blank paper, and of brieves addressed to the defendant, which the other gentleman should take to the person alluded to, on which he should write, while the defendant remained in company with the witness. This was accordingly done, and in about three hours, the gentleman returned with the sheets and brieves, written upon in such a manner as made it impossible for the witness to distinguish them from the hand-writing of the defendant. The name of the person who wrote these sheets, the defendant never communicated to the witness, nor did the witness know it. The name of the gentleman who carried out and brought back the sheets was Carr, but he was not here as a witness. Being interrogated by lord Ellenborough; If there might not be some delusion in the business, it being far more practicable to imitate the initials of the witness which had been put on the sheets than to fill them up entirely with writing, resembling that of the defendant? the witness declared he had no doubt the sheets brought back to him were the same which when blank he had marked with his initials.

Dr. Francis Hodgkinson, senior Fellow of the University of Dublin, and brother-in-law to the defendant, whom he had known intimately for upwards of 20 years, deposed that he did not believe the letter first shown him, dated 28th October, to be the hand-writing of the defendant. The other letter was so totally different, that he had no hesitation in saying it was not his hand-writing. *Cross-examined*—He said he had not particularly remarked the words *could* and *should*; though he confessed he had heard it remarked in public, that the spelling of the words without the letter *l*, pointed out the defendant as the author. He also acknowledged, that several pieces of writing had been shown to him, not written, as he was informed, by the defendant, but so like to the defendant's writing, that the witness could not have been able to distinguish the difference.

Mr. Archdale said, he had known the defendant for 14 or 15 years, and had been clerk to Mr. Woller, one of the witnesses for the prosecution, during the greater part of that time, during which period his opportunity of seeing and of judging of the defendant's hand-writing had been much greater than Mr. Walker's could be. In his opinion the letters shown him were not the hand-writing of the defendant. Of that he had no doubt. The latter of the two papers had not the smallest similitude to the hand-writing of the defendant. On his cross-examination, the witness said that he had seen imitations of the defendant's writing, so like, that he could not positively say whether they were written by him or not. He had seen such written at a Mr. Fleming's, in Smock Alley, Dublin, about a month since. The person whom he saw write so like the defendant he did not know, but he went by the name of Fleming. Fleming was on the door. The witness knew nothing of him good, bad, or indifferent. Mr. Giffard called on the witness at his house in Cup-street, and carried him to the house of Fleming. He did not know much of Giffard, but believed he was a barrister. The

witness

witness was afraid of no man, and therefore would not refuse to accompany any man, even a stranger, to any place to which he might be asked to go.

John Giffard said he had known the defendant upwards of thirty years, and knew his writing well. He believed the first letter shown him not to be of the defendant's hand-writing. The second, he was convinced, was not. On his cross-examination, the witness stated that he had held a place under the revenue, from which he was removed by lord Hardwicke. He said he was acquainted with a person of the name of Archale; also with one of the name of Mitchell, who had been lord mayor of Dublin, and, though not intimately, with a young man of that name who had succeeded him in business. The younger Fleming, he recollected, did write something like the defendant. He writes a dashing hand. —*Re-examined for the defendant.* He knew the elder Fleming, he being lord mayor of Dublin while the witness served the office of sheriff.

D. Casseidy, who stated himself to be an apothecary, residing in England, said that he had known the defendant from his earliest youth, and had uniformly corresponded with him. There was some resemblance between the hand-writing of the defendant and the letter first shown him, dated in October; but hardly any between the defendant's hand-writing and the second letter—He did not think the former of the two letters was written by the defendant. He was certain the latter was not.

All of these witnesses represented the defendant as writing a more diffuse, larger, and freer hand than that in which the letters were written, though all of them agreed that the former letter was more freely written and more like the writing of the defendant than the other.

The attorney general then addressed the jury. Gross and unbecoming as he had formerly stated, and as he was convinced the jury must be satisfied, the libel was, in any man, but more particularly in a judge, it would be impossible for them, or for any man who had heard the tenor of the defence attempted to be set up, not to declare that it was infinitely more disgraceful, and inflicted a deeper stain on the character of the defendant, than the libel, malignant and mischievous as it unquestionably was, could possibly have done. He then proceeded to point out the contradictory nature of the defence set up, by which it was alleged that a person, who, from prudential motives, durst not avow himself, but who wrote a hand exactly similar to the defendant, who was the author of the publication in question; and the positive testimony of the witnesses in describing the letters in question, as the defendant would insinuate, by this very person whose hand could not be distinguished from the defendant's, as being altogether dissimilar from his hand-writing.

Lord Ellenborough then went over the whole of the case, and recapitulated all the evidence. He remarked upon several incongruities in the evidence of the defendant's witnesses, particularly the utter improbability of the defendant's knowing the real author, choosing rather to suffer the disgrace of a prosecution, than compel him to avow himself out of compassion to his family. Such a practice was not likely to be true. He expressed his firm persuasion that

that the verdict would meet the justice of the case.

After retiring for upwards of five minutes the jury returned with a verdict of—Guilty.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

November 30.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 30.

Copy of a letter from the honourable captain Blackwood, of his majesty's ship the Euryalus to William Marsden, esq. dated this day at the Admiralty.

Sir,

Observing in the Gazette Extraordinary, of the 27th instant, that the number of the enemy's ships taken and destroyed, in consequence of the action of the 21st of October, is stated at 20 sail of the line; I take the liberty of mentioning to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that as this must be intended to include the French ship Argonaute, of 74 guns, which ship I had an opportunity of knowing was safe in the port of Cadiz, it will be proper to state the actual number taken and destroyed, at 19 sail of the line. This apparent inaccuracy was occasioned by the dispatch of the commander in chief, dated the 4th, having been made up before my last return with a flag of truce from that port.

I am, &c.

H. BLACKWOOD.

DECEMBER.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

December 10.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 10.

Copy of a letter from the honourable rear-admiral Cochrane, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the leeward islands, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Northumberland, in sight of Barbadoes, 23d October, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to inclose to the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a letter from captain Tobin, giving an account of the capture of his majesty's late sloop the Cyane; and I am happy to acquaint their lordships, that I am just informed by a ship that left Barbadoes last night, that the Naiad has been captured by his majesty's ship Jason.

I am, &c.

ALEX. COCHRANE.

Princess Charlotte, at anchor off the Gulf of Paria, 8th October, 1805.

Sir,

I beg to acquaint you, that on the 5th instant, near Tobago, his majesty's ship under my command captured the Cyane French corvette (late in his majesty's service) of 26 pounders, two fours, and six 12-pound carronades, with a crew of 190 men, commanded by monsieur Mesnard, lieutenant de vaisseau; the Naiad brig, of 18 long 12-pounders, and 200 men, was in company, commanded by monsieur Hamou, lieutenant de vaisseau (the senior officer), but, by taking a more prudent situation and superior sailing, effected her escape without any apparent injury. When discovered, they were so distant that I saw no chance of overtaking them by an avowed pursuit; I therefore disguised the Princess Charlotte as much as possible, which had the desired effect of bringing them down.

Captain Mesnard defended his ship in a very gallant manner; and I am happy in saying, that her loss

in men has been inconsiderable. The second captain, monsieur Gautier, and two seamen, are killed; an enseigne de vaisseau and eight seamen wounded, some of them severely.

The sails and rigging of the Princess Charlotte are much cut, which was evidently the aim of both vessels. She had one man killed and six wounded, one of them mortally.

I have every reason to be satisfied with the officers and ship's company (at the time above thirty short of complement) upon this occurrence. To Mr. Patrick Warner, the first lieutenant, whose exertions I have been deprived of since he took possession of the Cyane, owing to a severe bruise he received by the falling of her main yard, I am much indebted.

The Naiad and Cyane left Martinique on the 29th ultimo, stored and victualled for three months, but had made no captures.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE TOBIN.

The hon. rear-adm. Cochrane, &c. Barbadoes.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to William Marsden, esq. dated at Port Royal, October 1, 1805.

Sir,

Herewith you will receive for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, the copy of a letter I have received from capt. Fyffe, of his majesty's sloop Rein-Deer. I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's sloop Rein-Deer, off Cape Mayze, Sept. 20.

Sir,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that on the 13th instant, after a chase of upwards of six hours, I captured the French privateer Renommee, of two 6-pounders and 40 men, belonging to St. Domingo, but last from Barracoa, and had not taken any thing. Much credit is due to the Rein-Deer's ship's company for their strong exertions at the sweeps during the whole chase in a very hot day. I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN FYFFE.

To James Richard Dacres, esq. rear-admiral of the Red, commander in chief, &c. Jamaica.

FIRE.

13. About eight o'clock yesterday evening, a fire was discovered in the lower part of the back premises of Mr. Gillet, a most respectable master printer, the front of whose house is in Salisbury-square, and the back in Hanging-sword-alley, Water-lane, near Crown-court, Fleet-street. The alarm was immediately spread, and it was not long before engines arrived; but when they did come something near the spot where the flames appeared to threaten devastation to a crowded neighbourhood, the men found that they could not bring their engines near enough, the house was so surrounded with clusters of little old houses in narrow and almost impassible courts.—In Salisbury-square, however, the firemen exerted themselves with the greatest skill, and proved ultimately successful in their endeavours to save the houses adjoining. But the fire finding itself thus kept within limits on either side, made the more desperate effort to advance within its line, and darted upwards in the same house with the utmost rapidity. As it advanced it communicated to the dwelling-house of Mr.

Mr. Gillett, in Salisbury-square. It was extremely fortunate, that several poor labouring men were alarmed for the safety of their families, and flocked round the spot. They were immediately employed to convey property out of Mr. Gillett's, a coal-merchant adjoining, and some other houses that were at the time supposed to be in the greatest danger, and a good deal was saved by either depositing the goods in the houses of some friendly neighbours, or even dropping them in the open street. Between nine and ten several people assembled at the bottom of Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, for the purpose of viewing the progress of the flames; and no doubt if they could divest themselves of the idea of terror which the ravages of that destructive element naturally impresses on the mind, they would be highly gratified with the grand appearance of the flames, which then extended far above the roof of any other house. But it was observed that about this time a poor woman and a child very narrowly escaped from the crush of part of the wall, which tumbled out into the street. At twelve o'clock the whole of Mr. G.'s premises, front and rear, were destroyed. There was a vast deal of confusion in the poor neighbourhood of the rear, but most fortunately the progress of the flames was put a stop to about that time, without having more than partially injured some of the surrounding houses. It is impossible to give too much praise to the 3d and 4th reg. of loyal London volunteers, who with some parties of other corps were on constant severe duty from eight to twelve, affording every facility to the firemen, and protecting the property of the people in distress.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, Dec. 14.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 14.

Copy of a letter from the hon. W. Cornwallis, admiral of the Red, &c. to W. Marsden, esq. dated Ville de Paris, Torbay, the 9th Dec.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter which I have now received from captain Fleming, of his majesty's ship Egyptienne, making known to me his having captured, in that ship the Spanish letter of marque La Paulina.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. CORNWALLIS.

His majesty's ship Egyptienne, at sea, Nov. 9.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that his majesty's ship under my command has this day captured, after a chase of nine hours, the Spanish letter of marque La Paulina, of 12 guns, eight of which she threw overboard in the chase. This vessel had sailed from Passages, in Spain, and had stood to the northward to avoid the British cruisers off that coast. I believe she was bound to the West Indies, where she could not have failed to have done great damage to our trade, as she sails remarkably fast.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. FLEMING.

The hon. admiral Cornwallis.

TRIAL OF ADMIRAL SIR R. CALDER, BART.

On board his majesty's ship the Prince of Wales, in Portsmouth Harbour, on Monday, Dec. 22. 1805.

At nine o'clock the usual signal for

for a court-martial was made on board the Prince, by hoisting an Union Jack at the mizen peak.

At ten the court assembled. It consisted of the following officers:

Vice-admiral George Montague,
Vice-admiral John Holloway,
Vice-admiral Bartholomew Samuel Rowley,
Rear-adm. Edward Thornborough.
Rear-admiral John Sutton,
Rear-admiral sir Isaac Coffin, bart.
Captain Robert Dudley Oliver,
Captain James Atholwood.

The lords of the Admiralty were the prosecutors, by —— Bicknell, esq. who represented them.

Mr. Gazeley and Mr. Erskine, jun. were the counsel or advisers of sir Robert Calder.—Moses Gretham, esq. judge advocate.

The prisoner was brought into court by Mr. Fenton, deputy marshal of the Admiralty. Mr. Fenton stood behind the prisoner. He was full-dressed in black, with a cocked hat; and he remained uncovered during the trial. He applied to the court for the indulgence of a chair. Admiral Montague observed, that it was the first time he had ever heard of such an application upon the part of a provost marshal. If it was asked on the ground of ill health and inability to bear fatigue, the court would have no objection to grant the indulgence; but it was to be understood that he was not to sit while a member of the court was speaking.

The business of the court immediately commenced.

The surgeon of the Tonant was called in, and deposed that captain Tyler could not attend, in consequence of his wounds.

The president read the order for assembling the court-martial. It recited, that vice-admiral sir Robert Calder had, by a letter to the secretary of the Admiralty, requested that an inquiry should be instituted with reference to his conduct on the 23d July last, in not renewing the engagement with the combined fleets of France and Spain. That the lords commissioners, actuated by a desire to do what appeared to be for the good of the service, and to enable vice-admiral Calder, to give his reasons publicly for his conduct, had thought fit, for the reasons above-mentioned, to order that a court-martial should be assembled to inquire into the conduct and proceedings of vice-admiral sir Robert Calder with his majesty's squadron under his command on the 23d day of July last; and also his subsequent conduct and proceedings until he finally lost sight of the enemy's ships, and for not having done his utmost to renew the engagement, and to take or destroy every ship of the enemy which it was his duty to engage. It was signed by Wm. Marsden, secretary.

The letter from admiral Calder to Mr. Marsden was then read; it was dated Prince of Wales, off Cadiz, and expressed that he had learned with astonishment from some of his friends, that reports to his prejudice had been circulated, and that his conduct had been improperly animadverted upon at a period when he was abroad, employed in the service of his country; and that to obviate the effect of such unfounded reports, he was desirous of having a naval court-martial.

The president said, as capt. Prous, one of the witnesses summoned, was not in attendance, it was far from his wish to proceed, if the evidence of that witness was considered at all material.

Admiral Calder observed, that his

his great object was to avoid creating the least unnecessary delay; he had therefore no objection to proceed without capt. Prous.

Mr. Josiah Hope, the master of the Prince of Wales, produced the log-book of the Prince of Wales.

Q. Is that the log-book of the Prince of Wales? A. It is.—Q. Are the contents of it, to the best of your knowledge, true? A. Yes.

Mr. Corthine Parker produced the Triumph's log-book, and deposed that the contents, to the best of his knowledge, were true.

Mr. Henry Craddock, master of the Glory, produced the log-book of that ship, and swore to the truth of the contents.

Mr. Wm. Glen, master of the Warrior, produced her log-book, and pointed out two places where the entry had been erroneous.

Mr. Edward Shode, the master of the Hero, produced her log-book, and verified the contents.

Extracts from the log of sir Robert Calder were then produced. They were the same he transmitted to admiral Cornwallis, by order of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty.

Admiral Charles Stirling sworn.—

Examined by Mr. Bicknell.

Q. Be so good as to state to the court, on board what ship your flag was flying on the 23d July last, and the subsequent day, and until you lost sight of the enemy.—A. The Glory.

Q. What was the force and disposition of the British fleet under the command of vice-admiral Calder on those days?—A. It consisted of fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a lugger, and a cutter. At day-light part of the van was far advanced to the enemy, the body of the fleet laying-to; the Malta, the Thunderer, the two frigates, the Egyptienne and Sirius, and the two prizes captured the day before, were not in sight.

Q. What was the force of the enemy's fleet on the morning of the 23d July, at day-break?—A. The enemy was so distant at day-light, and the weather so hazy, that we could not see them all; but as they approached us nearer when the weather cleared, I considered that their force was eighteen sail of the line, and seven or eight others.

Q. Will you have the goodness to state to the court all the circumstances that came within your knowledge and observation, respecting the British fleet and the combined fleet, from the time you came in sight of the enemy, on the 23d July, till you lost sight of them on the following day?—A. When the day advanced, the British van bore up to join the admiral, and soon after the fleet wore and ran to leeward, till we joined the Malta and Thunderer with the prizes, when we hauled our wind with the main-top-sail to the mast; the enemy had come down towards us, and the British fleet had showed their colours, but about the time of our hauling our wind they hauled theirs. We were not in any order of sailing or of battle, and therefore we sometimes had our main-top-sail full, or kept it aback, to keep such distance from the admiral as I thought he would approve. A look-out frigate from the enemy having come down to reconnoitre in the course of the forenoon, the Triumph was sent to chase her, and afterwards lay-to between the two fleets. The Dragon was sent to take the Windsor Castle in tow. About noon, the enemy, I think, bore for north-west by north to west, and by north;

north; the wind was north-west and by north, according to my idea. The logs will better state it with accuracy. The crippled ships stood on on the larboard tack, and it appeared to me that the admiral's object was to keep company with them. The enemy sometimes during the day, besides the time I before mentioned, bore up in line of battle, and then hauled their wind, not approaching us, I believe, nearer than four leagues, or being further than six from us, keeping near in the same line of bearing. About midnight, firing was heard in the direction where the enemy was, when the wind shifted to the northward, or rather came to the eastward of north, and, at day-light in the morning, they were seen steering away about south-east. I do not remember seeing them from the deck any part of the day, therefore can only speak of their bearings from the report of such officers as I sent up to look after them, who told me, they kept receding from us, till about six o'clock, when I understood they could be no longer seen from the Glory. About eight, the British fleet wore with their head to the north-west; the wind, as the day advanced, had come more round to the eastward.

Q. Was a signal made for the vice-admiral's ship, on Tuesday morning, the 23d of July, and at what hour, to ask what ships had occasion to lay by to refit?—A. A signal was made to that effect, about the time of our wearing; I do not recollect the exact time.

Q. What was the answer from your ship?—A. We answered in the negative, not having occasion to lay by.

Q. Did the British fleet, by going to leeward, increase their distance from the enemy?—A. They would have increased their distance, if the enemy had lain to; but as they bore up in the manner I have before stated, they came nearer to us than they were at day-light in the morning.

Q. If the British fleet had gone on in the same course, instead of steering a more easterly course, would not the captured ships have been equally protected?—A. If the British fleet had kept their wind, they would not have afforded any protection to the captured ships, as they would have drifted out of sight; we did not steer precisely in the same course throughout the day, sometimes we sprung our luff; the admiral sometimes bore down towards them, from their not being able to keep their wind; but when the enemy vauntingly bore up, he occasionally hauled his wind, and then edged down to near the prizes. I say vauntingly, because the enemy might have brought us to action when they chose, during the 23d. By the crippled ships I mean the prizes, and the Windsor Castle, which were in tow. The Dragon had the Windsor Castle, and the frigates the prizes.

Q. Could the two frigates have secured the captured ships, and thereby left the Thunderer and Malta at liberty to join the fleet?—A. The Thunderer and Malta did join the fleet when we formed a junction with the prizes.

Q. Considering the wind, and the relative situation of the two fleets, during the day of the 23d, could the British fleet have neared the enemy, and renewed the action?—A. That is a mere matter of opinion. It is impossible for me to say whether we could have neared the enemy's fleet or not;

we did not lay our heads towards them. I have before mentioned my belief, that the wind was N. W. and by N. on the 23d, and that the enemy bore from N. W. to W. and by N., consequently we could not have fetched them any part of the 23d, if they had chosen to avoid us, I mean by going a contrary tack.

Q. Did the vice-admiral make any signal, or show any disposition to endeavour to renew the action on that day?—A. I have before stated, that it appeared to me the admiral's object was to keep company with the crippled ships on that day, and I saw no other signal indicative of a disposition to renew the combat, after he asked if any of his ships wanted to lay to.

Q. Did the vice-admiral take any step to direct the British fleet to bear up after the enemy on the 24th?—A. The British fleet continued standing from the enemy till the time I have before mentioned that we wore.

Q. Could the British fleet have pursued the enemy with advantage on the 24th, they bearing southward and eastward, and the wind north and by east?—A. I do not know any objection to the British fleet following the enemy, if the admiral had thought proper to do so.

Q. Did the vice-admiral at any time, on the 24th, show any disposition to renew the action?—A. I think that question answered by the preceding; we continued steering from the enemy.

Q. Did the vice-admiral, from your remarks and observations, do all he might have done between the 23d of July at day-light, and the time you lost sight of the enemy, to renew the engagement, and to take or destroy every ship which it was his duty to engage?—A. We never attempted to renew the action, or lay our heads towards the enemy; and I have said before, it appeared to me the admiral's object was to cover the crippled ships.

Cross-examined by the Court.

Q. At the time the British fleet bore down to the crippled ships, in what state was the Windsor Castle?—A. She appeared to have lost her foretop-mast, and not able to make sail.

Q. What other ships of the British fleet were unable to keep company with the vice-admiral, had he endeavoured to bring the enemy to action?—A. I do not know that any other ship was disabled.

Q. From the 23d to the 25th, what other ships were not able to give him succour?—A. I do not know of any other ship being disabled.

Cross-examined by admiral Calder.

Q. Under what sail and at what rate did we edge down to the crippled ships on the morning of the 23d?—A. I believe the body of the fleet under their three top-sails.

Q. What rate of sailing?—A. I do not know; the log will tell.

Q. Was there not a heavy swell, and so little wind in the morning of the 24th, so much so that I made the signal for sailing in open order?—A. There was a considerable swell, but I do not recollect the signal. I think there was little wind in the early part of the day.

Q. Were you acquainted with the returns which had been made of the damages the squadron had received at sea?—A. No.

Q. Were you acquainted with the orders under which I acted?—A. No.

Q. What

Q. What force had the enemy at Rochefort when you left it to put yourself under my command?—A. From report, one three-decker, two 80 gun ships, three 74's, and some smaller vessels.

Q. Do you mean to say no frigates; whether two or three frigates?—A. I do not know, there were several smaller vessels.

Q. On what day was that?—A. I believe my order to put myself under sir Robert's command was on the 16th July.

Q. Recollect yourself; I believe you came under my command on the 15th?—A. It was so: it was three days before I joined you that I received the order: it must have been the 12th.

Q. In what state did you leave the Rochefort squadron?—A. I understand they were ready for sea, and meant to take the first opportunity of pushing out, and the signal had been made to me on that morning, the morning I left them, that the enemy was moving.

Q. Had those ships been frequently under sail during the time you were off Rochefort?—A. I know no other time but that day.

Q. Were they under sail?—A. Some of them were: I did not see them: it was mere report. Capt. Fleming's signal that they were moving was by telegraph. I ran down nearer with the squadron, and found them at anchor again.

Q. Could they have put to sea with the wind with which you came to me?—A. Certainly.

Q. Have you since learnt they did put to sea on or about the 13th July; or at what other time?—A. Yes, I understood they put to sea about that time; but I know not the precise date.

Q. Did you receive a letter from me on service after the action?—A. Yes: I had two letters from sir Robert Calder after the action, of different dates.

Did the first give you any reasons for sending to the northward with the Windsor Castle and Precious?—A. I can produce the letter (the letter was produced and read, it was dated Prince of Wales, 24th July); the admiral begged he might be permitted to return thanks to admiral Stirling for his unremitted attention to the service, and the gallant support he had given him during the whole action. Had the weather been favourable, and they could have seen the signals, so as to have availed themselves of the mistakes of the enemy, they should have captured more of their ships. He added, that he was going to Cape Finisterre to meet lord Nelson, and concert measures with him for attacking the combined fleet.

Q. Is this the answer to that letter?—A. It is not an answer to that letter, but was written in reply; I sent by the same conveyance a letter to the vice-admiral, on public service. I should not have written such a letter to my commander if it had been on public service; it was a private letter. The cutter brought me that letter.

It was produced and read. It began by thanking admiral Calder for his letter, and stated that he meant to give him all the support in his power. It stated admiral Stirling's hope that admiral Calder had got a good tale for John Bull, who could not but be pleased that he had taken two ships from a superior force.

I believe that letter was sent to the admiral on the 25th, and I had the honour to wait upon him in the afternoon, by his permission, and, to the best of my recollection, that

was my reason for not returning an official answer. I do not remember any other communication with the admiral from about midnight of the 22d.

After some conversation another letter from adm. Stirling was read. It was dated 24th July, and congratulated him on the capture of two ships of the line from a force so superior. He thought that if the three ships which showed a disposition to support them, had followed their intention, the consequences might have been decisive.

Q. Did I not always place the squadron between the squadron of the enemy and the Windsor Castle and captured ships, when in tow by our ships?—A. The British fleet was always between them.

Q. Was not the English squadron always placed by me between the enemy and the port of Ferrol, as long as the enemy remained in sight?—A. The British fleet was nearer to Ferrol than the enemy till they crossed our stern on the 24th.

Q. When they crossed our stern, could they have fetched Ferrol?—A. I don't think they could.

Q. (By the Court.) What distance was the British fleet from Rochefort the morning after the action?—A. I do not know, the chart will tell. I recollect by the master's reckoning. By the master's reckoning we were long. 44. 13. and about 39 leagues N. W. from Cape Finisterre.

Henry Craddock, the master of the Glory, sworn.

Q. What was the distance of the British fleet on the 23d and 24th July last from the port of Ferrol and Rochefort?—A. On the 23d July, at noon, to the best of my remembrance, Cape Finisterre bore the nearest; the difference will be very little. It bore about thirty-nine leagues south-east by east; Ferrol much the same distance; it might be about three leagues more. I cannot say the distance of Rochefort without a chart.

Q. Do you know the port of Ferrol?—A. Yes, by looking in and having a plan of the harbour.—Q. Can an enemy's ship come out of that port with a wind at north, or any wind that you had, between the time of the action and Wednesday the 24th, at eight P. M.?—A. I hardly recollect the wind at eight P. M. With the wind at N. N. W. they could not, in my opinion, and I hardly suppose they could with the wind at north.

Admiral Calder. I never can ask that gentleman any questions.

Admiral George Martin sworn. Be so good as to state all the circumstances, &c. (See the question as put to admiral Stirling.) A. Not having made any minutes, or expecting to be called on before a court-martial, I do not feel myself prepared to relate a narrative, or answer the question. I left the Barfleur on account of ill health, and am not prepared.

State as many facts as you can. Q. Was a signal made from the vice-admiral's ship on Tuesday morning, July 23, and at what hour, to ask what ships had occasion to lay by to refit? A. The signal was made generally.—Q. At what time? A. I cannot say, early in the morning.—Q. What was the answer from your ship? A. In the negative, that I did not require to lay to.—Q. What was the relative situation of the two fleets on Tuesday, the 23d, at day-break? A. At day-break, on Tuesday, the 23d, the Barfleur was five miles to leeward of the enemy, and nearly

nearly five miles to the windward of the fleet; the Barfleur, Hero, Triumph, and, I think, Agamemnon, were about midway between the two fleets.—Q. How was the wind at the time? A. I think about west north-west, from N. W. to N. N. W.

Q. What course were the two fleets then steering? A. The two fleets were standing on the larboard tack, the precise course I do not recollect. The Malta and some other ship were to leeward with the prizes, and were not seen by us till the following morning, about eight o'clock of the 23d.—Did the British fleet altering their course by sailing from the wind more to the eastward thereby increase their distance from the enemy? A. Upon a signal being made by one of the ships of the squadron, when I do not recollect, the Malta and prizes to leeward, the British fleet bore up to close them.

Q. Considering the wind, and the relative situation of the two fleets on the 23d July, could the British fleet have neared the enemy and renewed the engagement?—A. The enemy being rather abaft the beam, the British fleet naturally would have neared them had they tacked; but whether they would have renewed the engagement I cannot say, that must in a great measure have depended on the enemy.

Q. Did the vice-admiral make any signal or show any disposition to endeavour to renew the action on that day?—A. No.

Q. Were the lights of the enemy's fleet seen at any time during the night of the 23d?—A. In the early part of the evening they were; just when I went to bed they were not reported to me as having been seen.

Sir R. Calder.—I admit I did not show any disposition to do so, except by hauling the wind, when I saw them bearing down, as by doing so I must have separated myself from the crippled ships.

Q. At day-light on the 24th what was the relative situation of the two fleets, and how was the wind?—A. Very moderate, nearly calm; at seven or eight o'clock in the morning a breeze sprung up from the N. N. E. which brought the enemy a little on the quarter, at that time a considerable distance off, the whole of the fleet not being in sight from the deck.

Q. Did the enemy on the morning of the 24th, and at what hour, bear away to the southward and eastward?—A. I cannot say the precise hour the enemy bore away, but their heads were to the S. E. and they did not appear close to the wind.

Q. Could the British fleet have pursued the enemy the 24th with a prospect of advantage?—A. Every ship but the Winsdor Castle appeared to me to be in a situation. I can only speak from appearances, not having an opportunity of knowing their internal situation.

Q. Did the vice-admiral, at any time on the 24th, show any disposition to renew the engagement?

Admiral Calder—I did not, for reasons which I will hereafter state.

Q. Did the vice-admiral, from your remarks and observations, do all he might have done, between the 23d of July at day-light, and the time you lost sight of the enemy, to renew the engagement, and to take or destroy every ship which it was his duty to engage?—A. I consider that I have already answered, that the vice-admiral never did stand towards the enemy on either of those days.

Cross-examined by admiral Calder.

Q. Did the enemy ever chase or make any attempt to force me to action either on the 23d or 24th of July?—A. The enemy bore up shortly after noon, on the day of the 23d, as I then thought to renew the engagement; but by their hauling to the wind again, as soon as they closed with the leeward ship, I believe it was only intended for that purpose.

Q. Did I keep my wind when the enemy bore down?—A. Yes, I observed you haul to the wind when the enemy bore down.—Q. Was there not a swell, and so little wind, that I gave the signal to keep the ships in open order?—A. I have already mentioned there was little wind, and I do recollect the signal to keep open order.

Q. Could I have pursued the enemy on the 24th without separating the rest of the squadron from the Winsdor Castle and prizes and frigates?—A. Certainly not, without separating them from the prizes, and not under a press of sail without separating from the Windsor Castle.

Q. Did I not always place the squadron between that of the enemy and the Windsor Castle, and the prizes in tow by our ships?—A. It appeared to me to be the intention of sir Robert Calder, from the time of the action, to keep company with them till they separated by signal.

Q. Was not the English squadron always placed by me between that of the enemy and the port of Ferrol, as long as the enemy remained in sight?—A. We certainly wore between them; it did not appear to me, that any particular situation was chosen.

Mr. Craddock examined by the Court.

Q. You have said that an enemy could not come out of Ferrol, with a N. N. W. wind; do you know how the wind was on the 24th? The witness referred to the log. It appears it was at N. N. E.; from eight A. M. to eight P. M. it was from N. N. E. to N. E.

Q. Could an enemy's ship have come out of Ferrol with a wind from north north-east to north-east? A. They could at north-east; but, to the best of my judgment, it would be attended with some difficulty at north north-east.

Captain Philip Charles Durham.

Q. Was you ordered to reconnoitre the enemy's fleet, and to observe their motions on the 24th July?—A. I was. Q. At what time?—A. Between six and seven. Q. Did you at any time make a signal to the vice-admiral to ask if you should keep the enemy's fleet in sight?—A. I did. Q. At what time?—A. About six, or between five and six in the evening. It was in the afternoon, after four o'clock. Q. Was you to windward of the enemy's fleet at that time?

By the Court.

Q. When you last saw the enemy's fleet, under what sail were they standing, and what course were they steering?—A. They were under their topsails, top-gallant sails, and foresails, in general steering S. E. and by S. Q. How did the British fleet then bear from the enemy? A. The enemy bore about S. S. W. of me, and the admiral nearly N. or N. E.

Q. At the time you returned to the British fleet, under what sail were they standing, and what course were

were they steering?—A. They were steering by the wind upon the larboard tack, I should suppose about S. E. and by E.

Q. What sail were they under when you returned?—A. I think under topsail and foresail; when I returned to the fleet we lay about S. E.

Q. What distance were you at that time from Ferrol by your reckoning?—A. When I made the signal, "shall I keep sight of the enemy?" we were 125 miles from Ferrol, as near as a seaman can reckon.

Q. Do you recollect the bearings of Ferrol at that time?—A. If I recollect right, about south-east by compass.

Q. When you returned to the fleet, do you recollect what ships of the British fleet appeared to you to be in a disabled state? A. The Windsor Castle had no fore-topmast up, no other ship appeared to me to want any thing.

Q. What ships had the prizes in tow at that time? A. I think the Egyptienne and Sirius frigates.

Admiral Calder—I can ask capt. Durham no questions whatever; I beg leave to observe that to the Court.

Capt. Henry Inman sworn.

Q. Was you at any time on the 23d or 24th July ordered by the vice-admiral to reconnoitre the enemy's fleet?—A. No; it was to chase a frigate.

Q. Was you ordered at any time to chase a frigate of the enemy that appeared to be reconnoitring? A. Yes. On the morning of the 23d, between nine and ten, my signal was made to tack and chase a French frigate reconnoitring, about three or four miles to windward, abaft the beam.

Q. What motions did you observe of the enemy's fleet?—A. They were in line of battle to windward of this frigate, on our weather beam, about three or four miles, apparently repairing their damages, and hoisting up topsails.

Q. Did you observe what damages?—A. Yes.

State to the court what damages. —A. I will, to the best of my recollection: one of the ships of the rear appeared to have the head of her bowsprit gone, and apparently in tow of another; a second with her fore yard down, and fore top gallant-mast; another with her topsail-yard down, and three or four ships shifting top-sails during the time I lay there.

Q. Was the situation you have just described reported to the vice-admiral?—A. No, not till two or three days after the business was over.—Q. Was any signal made by the vice-admiral to know the situation of the enemy's fleet?—A. No.

By admiral Calder.

Q. Was your ship in danger of carrying away her masts on the 23d of July, when I made you a signal to chase the French frigate, then reconnoitring the squadron? —A. Yes, and I very much wonder the mainmast did not go; the bowsprit might also be very badly wounded, and the foremast also being sprung, though fished.—Q. Did you report to me this when you came on board the Prince of Wales?—A. Yes, some few days afterwards.

Q. Was you obliged to leave the admiral afterwards to relieve admiral S. and go into port?—A. Three carpenters declared the mainmast to be unsafe to carry a topmast, on which admiral Stirling ordered me into port, where the

foremast, main-mast, and bowsprit were shifted.

Q. Was the English squadron always kept by me between that of the enemy and the port of Ferrol, as long as the enemy were in sight?—A. Yes.

Q. By the Court—Did you make the signal of inability when you was ordered to chase the frigate?—A. No, I did not consider it a time to make a signal of distress or inability.

Captain Durham was called to correct some part of his evidence with respect to bearings.

Mr. Bicknell, the solicitor to the Admiralty, said he had closed all the evidence he had to offer for the prosecution.

DEFENCE.

Q. By the Court to the hon. captain Gardner, of the Hero. Is this your report of the damages sustained by the Hero?—A. Yes, it is.

The report was then read.

Sir R. Calder—Q. Did the enemy ever chase, or make any attempt to force me to action, on the 23d of July last?—A. No.

Q. Could I have forced them to come to action on that day?---A. Not if they chose to avoid it.

Q. If I had gone towards the enemy on the 24th, with intention to renew the action, could I have compelled them to do so, if they had chosen to avoid it, without approaching so near the shore as to have enabled them to communicate by signals with Ferrol?---A. I am not acquainted with the relative sailing of the two fleets; but I am of opinion, they could have communicated with the shore before they could have been brought to action, had they wished to do so.

Q. Was the British fleet always kept by me between that of the enemy and the port of Ferrol, while the enemy kept in sight?---A. The British squadron was always nearer to the port of Ferrol than that of the enemy.

Q. Was your mast in danger, by carrying sail, when sent by me to admiral Cornwallis, on our return to Ushant?---A. In carrying sail to accomplish that duty, which was only performed on sir R. Calder's appearing in sight of adm. Cornwallis's fleet, the foremast of the Hero was in danger of going over the side.

Court.---Q. From the manner in which you have described the state of the foremast of the Hero, at the time you joined admiral Cornwallis, what do you suppose would have been the consequence had the vice-admiral found it necessary to carry sail in pursuit of the enemy?---A. I think the foremast, particularly on the 24th, when there was a considerable swell, had we carried sail, must have gone by the board, from its putting on so bad an appearance after we had fished it to the extent of our means.

Q. What masts of the Hero were found necessary to be, and were taken out, when the Hero was repaired in port?--A. The foremast and mainmast were both taken out and replaced by new ones.

Q. (By the Court.) As the British fleet was always nearer to the shore than the enemy's, while in sight, in what way could they approach the shore to communicate with it, before some part of the British fleet, not disabled, could have closed with that part of the enemy which was disabled?---A. By shore, I mean any part of it between Cape Finisterre and Ferrol,

rol, whereby their wishes might be communicated to Ferrol.

Q. At what distance were you from the shore while the enemy was in sight?—A. I can refer to my book. We were 18 leagues N. W. from Ferrol on the 23d, the wind then N. N. E.

Q. Can you recollect whether you did not send a report of your damages by the Frisk or Nile, on the night between the 22d and 23d? A. Yes: I did verbally by lieutenant Fennel, of the Nile, nearly what is before the Court.

Q. Did you lay any stress on the state of the lower masts?—A. No. I said they were badly wounded.

Q. As you have said you are not acquainted with the relative sailing of the fleets, on what ground do you conclude the enemy could gain the shore before the British fleet could have fetched them?—A. From their being 15 or 16 miles distant from us at the time, and the enemy's line of battle ships being formed generally to sail as well as ours. I say generally.

Q. Did you receive any information from the vice-admiral, after the action, that it was his intention to renew the action?—A. Lieut. Fennel, of the Nile, told me he was sent on board to know the damages sustained, and that the admiral meant to renew the action in the morning.

Q. When did you receive this information?—A. Between two and three o'clock in the morning of the 23d.

The following paper was now put in by Sir R. Calder:—

"I admit that, in the night of the 22d, I did hope to renew the action."

Court.—You will please to dispatch captain Gardner as soon as possible, because he is ordered on immediate service.

Sir R. Calder.—For that express reason I called capt. Gardner first.

Q. Did the enemy appear to you to have suffered much?---A. No. I only observed one main topsail yard gone in the whole squadron. We were too far to judge of their sails.

The hon. capt. Legg, of the Repulse.

Q. Is that the report you made to me of the damages sustained by your ship?---A. Yes. That is the second report I sent in. The report was then read.

Q. Did you make a similar report on the night of the 22d?---No, I did not then know that the bowsprit had been wounded. I merely specified that the rigging had been cut, and sails, as the officer from the Frisk came on board so soon after the action, I being the next ship to the admiral, that I had no report made at that time of the damage. My first report was, I believe, transmitted to the Admiralty.

Sir R. Calder.---All the first or rough reports were sent to the Admiralty.

Q. Were you employed in fishing and securing your masts and bowsprit all the 23d of July?---A. No. The bowsprit was not considered so badly wounded as to be fished, till after it sprung on the evening of the 25th. The people were occasionally employed on the 23d in knotting and splicing the rigging, and repairing the sails.

Q. Did you make the signal to me on the 25th of the bowsprit being sprung?---A. Yes.

Q. Was not that the first time we

we had carried much sail during the action?—A. I don't think that we had carried any sail to signify before that. The Repulse was then under her three topsails and a foresail.

Q. Did you, about the same time, see the Malta make the signal of having sprung her fore-yard?—A. Yes: and I think her lower yard.

Q. Was the squadron brought to on the occasion? A. Yes; on the Repulse making signal.

Q. How long was it before the Repulse and Malta made the signal they were ready to proceed on service?—A. The Repulse made the former signal at seven o'clock in the evening of the 25th, when we were obliged to let every thing fly to save the masts. I made the signal that we were ready to make sail again as soon as it was day-light on the 26th.

Q. Did the enemy ever chase, or make any attempt to bring the British fleet to action on the 23d of July?—A. Never; but always kept hull down to windward.

Q. Could I have forced them to action on that day?—A. I think not.

Q. Did the enemy appear to you to have sustained any considerable damage in their masts and yards?—A. No. I could only distinguish one ship, with, I think, her maintopsail-yard down. Some others might have sails clued up to repair.

Q. If I had approached the enemy, could I have fetched them, had they avoided me, before they would have been able to communicate with the shore?—A. I should think not, if they chose to avoid an action.

Q. Was the British fleet kept between the enemy and Ferrol while the enemy were in sight?—A. I think they were till the 24th. But not when, during the latter part of the time, we last saw them. They then stood to the southward.

Q. When we parted with them, could they have fetched Ferrol?—A. As well as I recollect, I should think not.

Court.—Q. You have stated, that you did not discover your bowsprit to be sprung till the 25th. Do you apprehend, if you had been obliged to carry sail upon the Repulse, in pursuit of the enemy, your bowsprit would have borne it?—A. The bowsprit was not sprung till the evening of the 25th, and, as it then went under reefed topsails and foresails, I should suppose it was not equal to carry any sail, at any time after the action.

Q. Was there not much sea on the 24th?—A. A heavy sea, and almost calm, the ships rolling very much.

Q. Was it so all the day?—A. In the morning, after the breeze sprung up, about ten o'clock, the ship did not roll so much.

Sir R. Calder being asked, if he had any questions to put to this witness, said he had not.

Charles Boyle, of the Windsor Castle.

Q. Is this your report of the damages of your ship in the action?—A. Yes.

Q. Did I hail you myself, soon after the action, when you were passing to windward of the Prince of Wales?—A. Certainly.

Q. What did I say?—A. You asked me, if any fore top-mast could be got up very soon, or without loss of time.

Q. What was your answer?—A. That

A. That every exertion should be made.

Q. What was my reply?—A. That you did not doubt it.

Q. Was your ship in a condition to work to windward, either in line of battle, or order of sailing, so as to force the enemy to action, on the 23d or 24th of July?—No.

Q. Did you receive any communication from me, that I should regulate my sailing by yours, and that I should always keep between you and the enemy, for your protection?—A. Yes.

Q. Did I do so?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you see the whole, or only part of our squadron, on the morning of the 23d at day-break? A. I saw only part.

Q. What distance were you from those you did see?—A. I suppose about four or five miles.

Q. Could you have made a junction with the squadron, if I had not edged down?—A. It was impossible, from the state the wind was in.

Q. How far were the Malta and frigates to leeward from you on the morning of the 23d?—A. I was pretty nearly between our squadron and the Malta, Thunderer, and prizes.

Q. Could I have forced the enemy to action on the 23d?—A. Not taking the whole squadron, we could not have been taken into action without being towed.

Q. When did I part with you?—A. On the 25th.

Q. Did you receive any orders from me to regulate your conduct when I should part company with you?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you my letter?—I have not.

Q. Can you tell what has become of it?—A. I gave it to the commander in chief.

The letter was in court, and read, and captain Boyle said it was perfectly correct.

Q. Considering the crippled state, and the relative situation of the two fleets, could the Windsor Castle have been towed up to the enemy, so as to have renewed the action, either on the 23d or 24th?—A. On the 23d, taking the day from day-light to evening, the Windsor Castle could have set but very little sail. The fishing of the lower yards, bending a new fore-sail, fishing the main-top-sail yard, knotting her stays, the whole of them, she could have made but little sail; therefore, the powers of a 74, acting upon a body like the Windsor Castle, this court will judge how far it was possible to carry her up to an enemy directly to windward.

Court.—Q. As to the 24th?—A. The Windsor Castle was able to make more sail. We got up a jury foretop gallant mast for a foretop mast. We were then in a better state; might have been taken in tow, and might have kept our station in the line, but could not be carried, I fear, to windward, fast enough to fetch an enemy that was inclined to avoid an action.

Court.—Q. What impediment was there against the getting up a proper fore-top-mast on the 24th? A. The fore-top-mast was shot away between the cap and the trussel-trees; this took the cap with it, carried away all the larboard side of the top and cross-trees, therefore when a spare cap was got up, to go over the mast head, there was not a sufficient time to fit a top and cross-trees on the larboard side, so as to support a proper fore-top-mast. Besides, the fore-mast was wounded in such a way, that we could not, without taking much time,

time, have finished it to carry proper top-sails, had we been able to rig the jury cross-trees, which we had not.

Captain Wm. Lechmere, of the Thunderer.

Q. Is that the report you made to me of the damages your ship sustained on the 22d of July?—A. It is.

The report was then read.

Did the enemy ever chase, or attempt to bring me to action on the 23d or 24th of July?—A. No.

Q. Could I have forced the enemy to action on the 24th of July, if they had chosen to avoid it?—A. No.

Q. Did the enemy appear to you to have sustained any considerable damages in their masts or yards?—A. None in their masts; they shifted a top-sail yard or two, and that, I believe, was the utmost.

Q. Was the British fleet always kept between the enemy and Ferrol, as long as the enemy remained in sight?—A. Till the afternoon of the 24th we were always nearer Ferrol than the enemy was.

Q. Could they then have fetched Ferrol?—A. No; it was impossible. The wind was at N. N. E.

Captain Wm. Brown, of the Ajax.

Court.—Q. Are the questions the vice-admiral has to put to this witness the same as those immediately preceding?—Sir R. Calder. They are.

Court.—There seems no necessity to examine captain Brown, or any other witnesses on the general questions. Without fresh matter they may be spared.

Sir R. Calder.—I do not wish to waste the time of the court, and I have no desire to examine further witnesses on these general questions. But I do wish capt. Brown to verify his report of damages.

This was accordingly done, and the report read.

Capt. John Harvey, of the Agamemnon.

Q. Are those your reports of your damages?—A. They are.

The reports were then read.

Capt. Wm. Cumming, of the Prince of Wales.

Q. As you were near my person during the whole time of the action of the 22d, was any part of my conduct to be attributed to fear, or a want of zeal for his majesty's service?—A. Most certainly not.

Court.—Q. Capt. Cumming, what number of the British ships appeared to you, on the morning of the 24th, capable of sailing in line of battle, or order of sailing?—A. I imagine the whole, except the Windsor Castle, might have been formed in line of battle.

Q. If the Windsor Castle had been taken in tow, considering the relative situation of the two fleets, could the British squardron have renewed the action on the 24th, the enemy declining to do so?—A. Certainly not.

Q. Did the vice-admiral decline the action, either on the 23d or 24th, the enemy not being inclined to renew it?—A. He did not.

Capt. Edward Griffiths, of the Dragon.

Q. Do you know of signal posts being erected between Cape Ortegal and Cape Finisterre, and to Ferrol?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you reconnoitre the port of Ferrol about the 29th of July?—A. I did.

Q. Had

Q. Had the combined squadrons then arrived there?—No.

Q. Do you remember our being blown off that part about the 1st of August by a S. W. wind?—A. It blew a gale of wind from the S. W. on the 1st of August, and drove us not off the coast but along shore to the N. E.

Q. When did we return?—A. I cannot say precisely; I have not my log-book, nor any minutes. I should think we made the land two days afterwards. We were never forty-eight hours without seeing the land from the 28th of July to the 10th of August.

Q. Had the combined fleet taken the advantage of our being blown off that port, to get in during our absence?—A. Yes; as I saw a fleet afterwards at anchor off Corunna, consisting of thirteen sail of the line, four frigates, and a brig; and, at the same time, saw the squadron in Ferrol, as they had been there for many months.

Q. Under what sail was the Windsor Castle when you took her in tow? A. I cannot say exactly, but she had very little sail, no head-sail, except jibs, and some small after-sail.

Q. At what rate did you then tow her; and what sail had you set?—A. As well as I can recollect, we had only one single reef top-sail; and at any time on the 23d, I do not think we could have exceeded two knots.

Q. Could the Windsor Castle have been put in a condition by the evening of the 24th to have made it practicable for you to have towed her so as to have sailed in order of battle in the rear of a fleet, to have pursued an enemy with any probability of coming up with them, if they were not inclined to battle?—A. I should think not, the Windsor Castle being at the best of times but a dull sailing ship; if the enemy were inclined to avoid a battle, certainly not.

Capt. Charles Elphinstone Fleming sworn.

Q. Did you take one of the prizes in tow after the action?—A. Yes, the El Firme.

Q. In what state was the prize when you took her in tow?—A. Her rudder disabled, many of her ports blown off, and she made so much water through the shot holes that we could just keep her free.

Q. Were you able to have towed her up to the squadron, if I had not edged up to you?—A. No, the Egyptienne's rudder was gone, and the prizes were disabled, so that we could make very little way.

Q. Did you continue her in tow till you parted from the squadron?—A. No.

Q. Did the swell of the sea prevent your getting up jury-masts?—A. Yes, there was a very heavy swell, which prevented the boats going along-side her, and prevented our getting up jury-masts.

Q. Did the prize the Sirius, in tow, also lose her masts?—A. Yes, all her masts were gone, except the fore-mast, which was not fit to carry sail.

Q. Could you have taken the prisoners and wounded men out of the prizes in order to destroy them, if necessary?—A. I intended to do so, to let them sink, as there was so much difficulty to get the Spaniards at the pumps.

Q. How long was you at Rochefort before you sailed with admiral Stirling?—A. I do not recollect the exact time; I came in June and left in July.

Q. What was the force of the enemy

enemy in that port?—A. Five sail of the line and five or six frigates, I do not recollect which, and three or four brigs.

Q. When did they sail?—A. I do not know; I heard they sailed the day after. I was told by a French prisoner I took, l'Acteon, a French corvette, the captain of which informed me, he had sailed with the Rochefort squadron the day after admiral Stirling left that port in October last.

Lieut. Thomas Warren sworn.

Q. Was you my signal lieutenant in the month of July last?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you observe the enemy's ships on the morning of the 23d?—A. I did.

Q. Did you perceive they had a smaller number of ships on the morning of the 23d than they had on the 22d, the day of the action, besides the two prizes we had taken from them?—A. I did.

Q. Did you observe any of the enemy's ships advance from their weather bow?—A. I did; four of the line, besides frigates, were separated from the fleet, apparently in good order.

Q. Did they appear to have sustained material damage in their masts and yards?—A. Nothing of consequence.

Q. What was the signal made to the Defiance on the morning of the 24th?—A. No. 77, to bring to.

Q. What is the number of the signal made to reconnoitre the enemy?—A. 19.

Q. Was that number made to the Defiance on that day?

Court—Was any signal made to the Defiance to look out between the British fleet and that of the enemy, or to watch their motions, previous to that signal for her to bring to?—A. No, none.

Q. Do you know by what accident the Defiance came in that situation?—A. Being the sternmost ship of the weather line, a signal was made to bring her to, as one of the enemy's frigates was coming up a-stern to reconnoitre us, previous to which a signal was made to the Dragon to reconnoitre.

Q. Was my signal made after that to call in the Defiance to join the fleet, before he made the signal to the vice-admiral to ask if he should any longer keep sight of the enemy?—A. None, except that of answering her signal.

Q. Did the four sail of the line on the weather bow appear to be part of the fleet you engaged, or were they fresh ships that had not been in the action? I conceived them to be part of the fleet with which we had been engaged.

Q. What was the number of the enemy's line of battle ships at that time?—A. Eighteen.

Q. Was the signal which was made to captain Durham to bring to repeated by admiral Stirling before it was answered?—A. I did not see it.

[It was here proposed by Mr. Bicknell to call back capt. Durham to explain his evidence; but admiral Calder saying that he conceived his mistaking the signal to be accidental, it was deemed unnecessary.]

Mr. John Sutor, chaplain to the Phœnix.

Admiral Calder—I call this witness to show my apprehensions of the Rochefort and Ferrol squadrons, which I have mentioned in my defence to-day, and that I expressed them at the time. If the court think this unnecessary, I have no further trouble to give them. I mean this, that I may not be supposed

supposed to have taken up the ground since the 23d.

The Court thought it evidence proper to be received.

Q. Do you remember my sending to you a copy of the duplicate of my account of the action, in consequence of the illness of my secretary?—A. I do.

Q. When?—A. On the 24th of July last.

Q. Did I say any thing respecting my further intention? A. You observed, that from accounts you received of the danger of the different ships, it would be very imprudent in you to attempt to force the enemy to renew the action; that the damages were very considerable, and that if you had it in your power to renew the action, you must abandon the captured ships and the Windsor Castle.

Q. Did I make any and what observations of the probability of the Rochefort squadron being at sea? A. You told me you fully expected they were, as the wind was fair for sailing at the time admiral Stirling left the blockade.

Q. Did I say any thing of the French squadron?—You observed it was very probable they would be at sea, as they would have been apprised of the combined squadron being returned from the West-Indies, and that the wind had been fair for their sailing many days subsequent to our leaving the blockade of Ferrol.

Sir Robert Calder—I have no further trouble to give the Court, I have no other witness to call.

THE SENTENCE.

"In consequence of the letter of admiral sir Robert Calder to the lords of the Admiralty, requesting an investigation of his conduct on the 23d and 24th of July last, after the action with the combined squadrons of France and Spain, and while in sight of the enemy; and in consequence of the instructions, thereupon directed to admiral Montague, to hold a court martial, for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of the said admiral sir R. Calder, on the said days, and to try him for *not having done* his utmost to take or destroy every ship of the enemy which it was his duty to engage, the court has entered into the said inquiry; and after duly considering the conduct of the said admiral sir Robert Calder, and hearing and deliberating fully upon all the evidence laid before us respecting the same on the days aforesaid, we are of opinion, that the charges against the conduct of the said admiral sir Robert Calder, on the above days, in presence of the enemy, in not having done his utmost to take and destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage, *are fully proved.*

"The Court are of opinion, that such conduct on the part of the said admiral sir Robert Calder was not the result of fear or cowardice, but of error in judgment, for which he deserves to be severely reprimanded, and he is hereby severely reprimanded accordingly."

Admiralty-office, December 24.

Copy of a letter from the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the leeward islands, to William Marsden, esq. dated Barbadoes, 27th October, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for the information of my lords commissioners

missioners of the Admiralty, the copy of a letter from capt. Champain, of his majesty's ship Jason, stating the capture of the Naiad, a very fine French national corvette, of 16 long twelve-pounders (pierced for 22), and 170 men.

I am, &c.

ALEX. COCHRANE.

His majesty's ship Jason, Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, Oct. 15, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 13th inst. at half-past three A. M. in lat. 14 deg. 5 min. N. long. 55 deg. 48 min. W. I made all sail in chase of a strange brig, which, after a chase of nine hours, close hauled, at the distance of five miles of each other, and a partial firing of 15 minutes, I succeeded in capturing, and have brought in.

She proves to be the French national corvette Naiad, commanded by monsieur Hamon, lieutenant de vaisseau, pierced for 22 guns, mounting 16 long twelve pounders, with four brass two pound swivels, and had on board 170 men, one of whom was killed in the action (the only loss). She was on a two months' cruize from Martinique; of which time only fifteen days had expired, without her making a capture.

She came from Europe in March last with the Toulon squadron; and is one of the largest brigs in the French service; extremely well fitted, sails very fast, (having escaped from many of our cruisers,) and appears particularly calculated for his majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. W. CHAMPAIN.

The hon. rear-admiral Cochrane, commander in chief, &c. &c.

Copy of a letter from captain Lobb, of his majesty's ship Pomone, to William Marsden, esq. dated at Lisbon, December 3.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, the boats of his majesty's ship under my command boarded on the 5th of November, close in with Guardia, the Golondrina Spanish lugger privateer, of four guns and twenty-nine men, belonging to Corunna. She had been out six weeks, and not made any captures; the enemy had two men wounded, and the vessel I set fire to.

You will be pleased to communicate the inclosed also to their lordships, and I have the honour to be &c.

W. G. LOBB.

His majesty's sloop Curieux, Lisbon, Dec. 2.

Sir,

I beg to acquaint you, that his majesty's sloop under my command, captured on the 25th ult. 13 leagues west of Cape Selleiro, the Brilliano, a Spanish lugger privateer, with five carriage guns and 35 men, commanded by don Joseph Advis. She had been out five days from Port Carrel, and two days before we fell in with her, she had taken the English brig Mary, from Lynn, with coals, bound to Lisbon, and the Nymph brig, from Newfoundland, with fish for Viana.

I am, &c.

J. JOHNSTONE.

W. G. Lobb, esq. captain, his majesty's ship Pomone.

FROM THE CEYLON GAZETTE.

March 6.

Intelligence having been received

ed, that the enemy was collecting in force at Rooanellee, and in its neighbourhood, major Durkin, of his majesty's 51st regiment, was dispatched to that place on Saturday the 22d ult. with a force consisting of 220 firelocks, with a proportion of artillery.

Brigade-major Colebrook of the royal artillery drew up the river, at the same time, two gun-boats, carrying, the one a five-and-a-half-inch howitzer, and the other a three-pounder.

The commander of the forces, being desirous to see that part of the frontier, left Columbo, attended by his staff, on Monday morning, the 15th ult. and joined major Durkin's detachment, at Sellawack, on the 24th ult.

That detachment reached Rooanellee, without opposition, on the 25th ult. and the gun-boats, without any molestation from the enemy, but considerable impediments from the lowness of the water in the river, on the 26th at night.

The Candians had already evacuated Rooanellee, and fallen back to the mountains between that place and Candy; but major Durkin, by a night march, succeeded in surprising an advanced post of the enemy, at the distance of about ten miles from Rooanellee.

Mr. Ewer, governor of Fort Marlborough, was expected to be recalled from that settlement, when the last ships left that island, as Mr. Parry, a civil servant on the Bengal establishment, had, it was reported, been appointed to that station.

The spice plantations at Fort Marlborough, by the latest accounts, were in a high state of cultivation and luxuriance; and it was expected that in two years at furthest there would be a sufficient quantity of nutmegs, &c. in perfection, to export from thence to this country, which might be sold at a very moderate price, and prevent so necessary an article from being monopolized by foreigners, with a view of enhancing its value, in case the Banda Islands should ever be continued in possession of the Dutch.

The object of the expedition being thus answered, by driving the enemy from our frontiers, the army returned, without any loss, to Columbo, on the 2d instant; and we trust, from the excellent care taken of the soldiers, and their healthy appearance, that few of them will suffer from the fever, which is prevalent at this season in the interior of the country, but not by any means with the same violence as in the two last years.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of* CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS *from* December 25, 1804, to December 24, 1805.

Christened { Males 10,458 / Females 9,683 } 20,141. Buried { Males 8,802 / Females 8,598 } 17,400.

Increased in Burials this year 362.

Died under 2 years 5073	20 and 30 - 1277	60 and 70 - 1278	100 - 2
Between 2 and 5 2187	30 and 40 - 1748	70 and 80 - 716	
5 and 10 831	40 and 50 - 1810	80 and 90 - 391	
10 and 20 529	50 and 60 - 1385	90 and 100 - 73	

BIRTHS *in the year* 1805.

Jan. 1. Lady Heron Maxwell, a son.

9. Lady Mary Stopford, a daughter.

12. Countess Talbot, a son.

14. Lady Amelia Kaye, a son.

15. Countess of Mansfield, a daughter.

20. The lady of sir Richard Bedingfield, bart. a son.

—. The marchioness of Bath, a son.

30. Viscountess Mahon, a son.

Feb. 13. Lady Henry Fitzroy, a daughter.

17. Hon. Mrs. G. Villiers, a son.

20. Lady Charlotte Hope, a daughter.

22. The queen of Sweden, a princess.

23. The lady of sir William Blackett, bart. a son.

March 3. The lady of sir Wm. Johnston, bart. a daughter.

5. The countess of Sefton, a son.

6. The wife of James Colquhoun, esq. M. P., a son.

19. Lady Lovain, a daughter.

24. Viscountess Dunlo, a son.

25. The lady of sir Home Popham, bart. a son.

27. Hon. Mrs. Poyntz, a son.

30. Hon. Mrs. J. Wodehouse, a daughter.

April 1. Lady Kenyon, an heir.

3. Lady Catharine Forrester, a daughter.

6. Lady Ellenborough, a daughter.

7. Countess of Charlemont, a daughter.

10. The wife of major-general Gascoyne, M. P. a son.

13. Hon. Mrs. Dundas, a daughter.

15. Lady Le Despencer, a daughter.

24. Duchess of Bedford, a son.

May 4. Hon. Mrs. J. Vaughan, a daughter.

8. Lady Caroline Capel, a daughter.

10. The wife of T. T. Jones, esq. M. P. a daughter.

13. The lady of col. sir Robert Wilson, a son.

13. The lady of rev. sir John Fagg, bart. a daughter.

14. Lady Jane Long, a daughter.

23. Countess of Chesterfield, an heir.

25. Lady Elizabeth Norman, a daughter.

27. Hon. Mrs. Thomas, a daughter.

31. Countess of Westmeath, a daughter.

June 1. Lady Stanley, a daughter.

3. Princess royal of Denmark, a princess.

4. The lady of sir James Graham, bart. M. P. a daughter.

11. The lady of sir Wm. Pole, bart. a daughter.

15. Lady Caroline Parnell, an heir.

23. Duchess of Montrose, a daughter.

29. Lady F. Spencer, a daughter.

July 2. Countess of Cassilis, a daughter.

3. Lady C. Stuart Wortley, a son.

7. At Camberwell, madame Jerome Buonaparte, a son.

—. Lady Caroline Stewart, a son.

11. The lady of the hon. and rev. R. Hill, a daughter.

14. The lady of sir Charles Miles Monck, bart. an heir.

23. The wife of vice-admiral Whitshed, a daughter.

27. The hon. Mrs. Thomas De Grey, a son.

28. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.

Aug. 1. Lady Emily Henry, a daughter.

4. Lady of vice-adm. sir Charles Pole, a daughter.

4. Lady Frances Godolphin Osborne, a daughter.

6. Marchioness of Winchester, a daughter.

21. Viscountess Boye, a daughter.
27. Hon. Mrs. Spencer Percival, a daughter.
29. Empress of Germany, an archduke.
Sept. 1. The lady of sir Alex. Kinloch, bart. an heir.
2. Hon. Mrs. Charles Grey, a son.
—. The lady of hon. C. H. Pierrepont, M. P. a son.
3. Lady Amherst, a son.
4. Lady Theodosia Bligh, a daughter.
—. The lady of sir Thos. Maryon Wilson, bart. a daughter.
7. The wife of Wm. Wilberforce, esq. M. P. a son.
19. Countess of Westmoreland, a son.
20. The lady of sir Henry Peyton, bart. a son.
—. The lady of adm. sir Hyde Parker, a daughter.
27. Countess of Bristol, a son.
29. The wife of general Francis Dundas, a son.
30. Lady Margaret Walpole, a son.
Oct. 2. Hon. Mrs. Jas. Abercromby, a daughter.
8. The lady of capt. sir John Johnstone, bart. a daughter.
14. Lady H. Stuart, a daughter.
15. Hon. Mrs. George Knox, a son.
20. Hon. Mrs. W. Capel, a daughter.
21. Countess Conyngham, a son.
25. Lady Frances Moreton, a daughter.
29. Lady Charlotte Campbell, a daughter.
30. Lady Elliott, a son.
Nov. 2. The lady of right hon. sir Lawrence Parsons, bart. a son.
7. Lady Eliz. Richardson, a son.
—. Hon. Mrs. Wm. Fitzroy, a son.
8. The lady of hon. major Petre, a son.
9. Lady Mary Murray, a daughter.
18. The lady of sir John Sinclair, bart. a son.
27. Marchioness of Donegal, a son.
Dec. 2. Countess of Clonmell, a daughter.
4. Lady Graves, a daughter.
7. Lady Charles Aynsley, a son.
—. Lady Elizabeth Halliday, an heir.
9. Lady Wm. Beauclerk, a son.
12. Lady Mawbey, a son.
18. Lady Garlies, a son.

MARRIAGES *in the year* 1805.

Jan. 7. Col. Cooper, to Charlotte daughter of sir J. Honywood, bart.
—. Hon. H. Erskine, to Mrs. Erskine Munro.
8. Viscount Duncan, to miss Janet Dalrymple.
12. Thomas Frankland Lewis, esq. to Harriet, daughter of sir George Cornewall, bart.
23. Rev. John Glasse, to Anna Maria, daughter of sir Mordaunt Martin, bart.
25. Robert Chaloner, esq. to hon. Frances Laura, daughter of lord Dundas.
27. Hon. George Knox, to miss Anne Staples.
Feb. 1. Anthony Buller, esq. to Isabella, daughter of sir Wm. Lemon, bart.
9. Earl of Clonmell, to lady Harriet Greville.
14. Hon. capt. O'Brien, to the hon. miss Hotham.
March 7. Hon. capt. Paget, to miss E. A. Monk.
16. Rev. C. D. Barmont, to lady dowager Boynton.
17. Earl of Ormond, to miss Price Clarke.
April 6. Capt. Bishopp, to lady Charlotte Townshend.

15. John M'Clintock, esq. to lady Elizabeth Trench.

—. Francis Mason, esq. to Selina, grand-daughter of lord Hood.

25. Sir Thomas Tancred, bart. to miss Harriet Crewe.

May 10. James Buchanan, esq. to lady Janet Sinclair.

14. Earl of Dalhousie, to miss Browne.

15. R. Beadon, esq. son of the bishop of Bath and Wells, to Annabella, daughter of sir William A'Court, bart.

20. Marquis of Lansdowne, to lady dowager Gifford.

22. Hon. Edward Paget, to the hon. miss Bagot.

25. Benj. Bathurst, esq. to the daughter of sir John Call, bart.

June 3. Hon. William Lamb, to lady Caroline Ponsonby.

12. Viscount Hampden, to miss Browne.

14. Hon. George Bowes, to miss Mary Thornhill.

15. — Woodgate, esq. to lady Honora Lambert.

25. Viscount Arbuthnot, to miss Margaret Ogilvy.

July 2. T. S. Horner, esq. to a daughter of sir J. Coxe Hippisley, bart.

8. Lieut.-col. Cunynghame, to the daughter of sir J. Whitefoord, bart.

20. Earl Cowper, to the hon. miss Lamb.

—. Lord Grantham, to lady H. T. Cole.

—. Hon. col. Acheson, M. P. to miss Sparrow.

—. Duc de Chartres, to miss Coghan, sister of the countess of Barrymore.

22. Bishop of Killala, to Mrs. Obins.

23. W. H. Fellows, esq. M. P. to miss Emma Benyon.

23. Sir E. B. Littlehales, bart. to lady Eliz. Fitzgerald

28. Earl of Aberdeen, to lady Catharine Hamilton.

—. Lieut.-gen. Floyd, to lady dowager Denny.

Aug. 17. Sir John Buchanan, bart. to lady Frances Marsham.

25. Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. to miss Bagwell.

29. Marquis of Waterford, to lady Susan Carpenter.

Sept. 5. James Macdonald, esq. son of the lord chief baron, to miss Elizabeth Sparrow.

17. Lord Ashburton, to miss S. Cunninghame.

25. John Knight, esq. to the hon. miss Wynn.

Oct. 8. Walter Jones, esq. M. P. to miss Cath. Iremonger.

15. Earl of Enniskillen, to lady C. Paget.

17. Sir James Duberley, to miss St. Barbe.

—. Lord Edw. Somerset, to the hon. Louisa Courtenay.

—. Sir Robert Peele, bart. to miss Clerke.

23. Brigadier-general the hon. A. Hope, to miss Georgina Brown.

—. James Munro, esq. to Caroline, daughter of sir Mordaunt Martin, bart.

Nov. 1. Thomas Sheridan, esq. to the daughter of sir John Callander, bart.

16. Viscount Duncannon, to lady Maria Fane.

19. Hon. Edw. Stewart, to the hon. Catharine Charteris.

21. Hon. Robert Trench, to the hon. L. S. Dillon.

25. Charles Palmer, esq. to lady Madelina Sinclair.

26. George Reid, esq. to Louisa, daughter of sir Charles Oakley, bart.

Dec. 10. Wm. Davies, esq. to the hon. miss Seymour.

12. Vis-

12. Viscount Hereford, to miss F. Cornewall.

13. Isaac H. Browne, esq. M. P. to miss Boddington.

16. Sir C. E. Nightingale, bart. to miss Dickinson.

DEATHS *in the year* 1805.

Jan. 1. Sir Samuel Hales, bart. a lieut. in the R. N.

—. Lord viscount Hereford.

2. Earl of Rosslyn.

4. Sir Gregory Page Turner, bart. M. P.

5. Sir John Gallini, formerly ballet-master at the opera-house.

8. The earl of Chichester.

9. Sir Edward Winnington, bart.

—. Lady Aylmer.

10. Sir Cecil Wray, bart.

17. Lady Milner, wife of sir W. Milner, M. P.

18. Right hon. sir Richard Heron, bart.

—. Archbishop of Canterbury.

20. Dowager viscountess Palmerston.

24. Dowager lady Hudson.

—. Hon. Penniston Lamb, M. P.

25. Sir Richard Pearson, lieut.-gov. of Greenwich hospital.

26. Sir Francis Whitworth, lieutenant-colonel of the royal artillery.

Feb. 2. Sir Stuart Threipland, bart. of the royal college of Physicians, Edinburgh.

3. Sir Thomas Rivers Gay, bart.

4. Hon. Samuel Mitchell, esq. president of his majesty's council at Grenada.

7. Dowager lady Harland.

13. General Stephenson.

14. Hon. Mrs. James Everard Arundell.

15. Dowager countess of Aylesford.

17. Sir James Stirling, bart.

22. Bishop of Raphoe.

—. Lady Harewood.

23. Countess dowager of Dartmouth.

25. Dowager queen of Prussia.

—. Dr. Buchan, author of Domestic Medicine, &c.

—. Hon. governor Thomas Pownall.

26. Hon. Frances Boscawen.

28. George Shum, esq. M. P.

—. Earl of Massareene.

March 1. Dr. de Valangin.

3. Dowager countess of Morton.

11. Lady Fawcett.

16. Sir James Campbell.

22. Lord George Lennox.

24. The prince of Lichtenstein.

27. Lord Hawke.

—. Dowager lady Baker.

April 10. Lady Hester Edwards.

12. John Scudamore, esq. M. P.

13. The lady of sir Francis Vincent, bart.

15. Earl of Tyrconnel.

17. Sir Philip Monnoux, bart.

—. Sir John Carew, bart.

May 7. Marquis of Lansdown.

—. Lady Walpole.

9. Schiller, the German poet.

20. Countess dowager of Massareene.

25. Dr. Paley, archdeacon of Carlisle.

June 5. Lady Ann Duff.

18. The wife of A. St. John, esq. M. P.

26. Rev. Peregrine Ilbert, archdeacon of Barnstaple.

27. Lieutenant-general Drummond.

29. Hon. Arthur Wolf.

July 3. Hon. Mrs. George Cavendish.

6. Mr. Richard Suett, the comedian.

14. John Pitt, esq. M. P.

—. Princess Maria of Denmark.

27. Lady Irvine.

29. Lord Aston of Forfar.

—. Sir Wm. Myers, bart.

Aug. 3. Christopher Anstey, esq. author of The Bath Guide.

8. Right hon. sir Richard Worsley, bart.

9. Viscountess Sydney.

15. Dowager marchioness of Stafford.

16. Hon. David Ross.

19. Viscount Avonmore, chief baron of the Irish exchequer.

21. Earl of Jersey.

25. His royal highness the duke of Gloucester.

26. Lady Mary Hume.

28. Hon. Mrs. Lowther.

Sept. 3. Earl of Clanwilliam.

10. Grand duke of Finland.

12. Countess of Lisburne.

14. Sir James Tilney Long, bart.

17. Hon. col. Eardley.

23. Mrs. Munster, sister of the late earl Camden.

27. Capt. sir James Rivers, bart.

29. Hon. Smith Barry.

Oct. 4. David Scott, esq. M. P.

—. General Rooke, M. P. for Monmouth.

8. The reigning duke of Brunswick Oels.

11. Baron Kinnaird of Insture.

13. Dowager duchess of Athol.

14. Sir Rowland Wynne, bart.

21. At the battle of Trafalgar, where his fleet proved victorious, admiral lord viscount Nelson of the Nile.

22. Duke of Roxburgh.

25. Sir James Malcolm, bart.

Nov. 11. The imperial field marshal Schmidt.

12. Dr. Holmes, dean of Winchester.

19. Hon. Reginald Cocks, F.R.S.

23. Admiral sir R. Kingsmill, bart.

25. Lady Charlotte Hornby.

26. Right hon. sir John Skinner.

29. Dowager lady Hay.

Dec. 1. Bishop of Ossory.

3. Lord Henry Murray.

8. Baroness French, of Castle French, Ireland.

9. Paul Le Mesurier, esq. alderman of London.

18. Lord Bletsoe.

25. Hon. John Scott, son of the lord-chancellor.

PROMOTIONS *in the year* 1805.

WAR OFFICE.

Jan. 1. Major-generals. Philip Martin, William Borthwick, sir Eyre Coote, K. B. Harry Burrard, Charles Lenox, John Adolphus Harris, Arthur Ormsby, Henry Read, Wm. John Arabin, Geo. Don, sir J. Francis Craddock, K. B. lord Charles Fitzroy, Napier Christie Burton, Richard Rich Wilford, Edward Morrison, sir Charles Asgill, bart. Thomas Garth, Vaughan Lloyd, Pierre count de Meuron, sir J. St. Clair Erskine, bart. Lucius Barber, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels. Henry viscount Gage, on half-pay of the 93d foot; Charles William Este, of the 65th foot; Roger Aytoun, on half-pay of the late 72d foot; George Rochfort, of the royal invalid artillery; James Webber, on half-pay of unattached officers; colonel Francis Grose, of the new South Wales corps; Henry Richmond Gale, on half-pay of the late 20th light dragoons; John Spens, on half-pay of the late 95th foot; George earl of Crawfurd, on half-pay of the late 92d foot; William Scott, on half-pay of the late 80th foot; Robert Tipping, on ditto; Archibald Campbell, on half-pay of the late Breadalbane fencibles; Alexander Trotter, on half-pay of the late 73d foot; Francis Fuller, of the 59th foot; James Affleck, of the 16th light dragoons; George Vaughan

Vaughan Hart, of the 75th foot; John Robinson, of the 7th garrison battalion; George Warde, of the late horse grenadier guards; the hon. Thomas Maitland, of the 5th garrison battalion; Richard Bright, of the royal marines; William Ramsey, of the Ceylon regiment; James Campbell, on half-pay of unattached officers; John Skerret, of the Newfoundland fencibles; Hildebrand Oakes, of the 1st garrison battalion; Colin Campbell, of the 6th foot; George Prevost, of the 60th foot; Stain Park Dalrymple, of the 71st foot; William Waller, of the 3d dragoons; Mervyn Archdall, of the 12th light dragoons; John Coape Sherbrooke, of the 4th garrison battalion; sir William Clarke, bart. of the 84th foot; Gordon Drummond, of the 8th foot; James Hale, of the 21st light dragoons; William Payne, of the 3d dragoon-guards; the hon. Edward Bligh, aid-de-camp to the king; William earl Craven, of the 9th garrison battalion; lord William Bentinck, aid-de-camp to the king; Edmund earl of Cork, of the 16th garrison battalion; Coote Manninghan, of the 95th foot; Henry George Grey, aid-de-camp to the king; the hon. Edward Paget, ditto; Arthur Wetham, ditto; Brent Spencer, ditto; to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels. William Grant, of the royal invalid artillery; James Croker, on half-pay of unattached officers; Lewis Bayly Wallis, on half-pay of the 95th foot; John Hope, of the 60th foot; John O'Toole, on half-pay of the late Irish brigade; count Sutton Clonare, on ditto; George Meyrick, on half-pay of the 130th foot; sir Montagu Burgoyne, bart. on half-pay of the 21st light dragoons; Robert Uniacke, on half-pay; Alen Cameron, of the 79th foot; Andrew lord Blaney, of the 89th foot; the hon. Stephen Mahon, of the 7th dragoon-guards; Daniel Hoghton, of the 8th foot; John Sullivan Wood, of the 8th light dragoons; Daniel O'Meara, on half-pay of the late 12th West India regiment; the hon. George Cranstoun, of the 64th foot; James Phillips Lloyd, of the 86th foot; Francis baron Rottenburgh, of the 60th foot; James Mercer, of the 22d foot; John Robert Napier, on half-pay of the 95th foot; the hon. Charles Colville, of the 13th foot; Frederick Charles White, of the 1st foot-guards; Thomas Brinley, of the 4th foot; Henry De Berniere, of the 9th foot; Gore Browne, of the 40th foot; Lewis Lindenthal, of the queen's German regiment; Barnard Foord Bowes, of the 6th foot; Roger Coghlan, of the 82d foot; Robert Anstruther, adjutant-general to the forces serving in Ireland; to be colonels in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels. Henry Fane, of the 1st dragoon-guards; Robert Bolton, of the 13th light dragoons; Robert Cheney, of the 1st foot-guards; the hon. William Monson, of the 76th foot; George Anson, of the 15th light dragoons; Kenneth Alexander Howard, of the Coldstream foot-guards; to be aides-de-camp to the king.

Majors. Nathaniel Kirkman, of the 31st foot; James Campbell, of the 94th foot; John Gordon, of the 92d foot; sir Edward Michael Ryan, knt. of the 2d garrison battalion; William Kelly, of the 24th foot; John Campbell, of the 1st dragoon-guards; John Macleod, of the 5th garrison battalion; Hercules Scott, of the 78th foot; the hon. William Collyear, on half-pay of the late 28th light dragoons; Percy Groves, of the 3d foot;

Henry Elliott, of the 70th foot; Robert Kelso, of the 22d foot; Nicholas Forster, of the 5th West India regiment; Overington Blunden, of the 12th light dragoons; John Nugent Smyth, of the 55th foot; John Lamont, of the 92d foot: William Fuller, of the 10th light dragoons; William Howe Le Lancey, assistant quarter master general; William Froome, of the 48th foot; Peter Kingston, of the 6th dragoon-guards; Henry Torrens, of the 86th foot; Benjamin D'Urban, of the 89th foot; Daniel White, of the 29th foot; William Spread, of the 37th foot; John Locke, of the 24th light dragoons; William Carter, of the 8th West India regiment; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains. Joseph Fell, of the 10th garrison battalion; Peter Kettlewell, of the late royal Irish artillery; Forster Coulson, of ditto; Richard Uniacke, of ditto; Robert Samuel Francis, of ditto; Robert Thornhill, of the royal artillery; Thomas Fleming, of the 30th foot; George J. Hamilton, of the late royal Irish artillery; Luke G. Tomkins, of the 27th foot; William Charles Shortt, of the 41st foot; Philip Stewart, of the 3d foot; Charles Fane, of the Coldstream guards; Edward Sebright, of the 1st foot-guards; H. R. Featherstonhaugh, of ditto; Archibald Campbell, of the 94th ditto; George Ramsey, of the royal artillery; Edward W. Drozier, of ditto; John Lemoine, of the royal artillery; William Skyring, of ditto; William Cox, of ditto; Spencer C. Parry, of ditto; Robert Evans, of ditto; David Meredith, of ditto; John Ashley Sturt, of the 80th foot; William Fenwick, of the 34th foot; George D. Robertson, of the 30th foot; Alexander Anderson, of the 33d foot; Alexander M'Donald, of the 15th garrison battalion; Daniel Watling, of the 2d West India regiment; John Bronwin, of the 64th foot; Donald Macpherson, of the 92d foot; John Watling, of the 39th foot; William Stewart, of the 37th foot; William Shewin, of the 9th garrison battalion; Robert Smart, of the 31st foot; C. W. Le Geyte, of the 45th foot; hon. George Matthew, of the 17th foot; William Miller, of the royal artillery; Benjamin Blomefield, of ditto; William Robe, of ditto; George Salmon, of ditto; Francis Weller, of the 13th foot; Richard T. Bingham, of the 1st foot-guards; Charles Maxwell, of the 67th foot; Holt M'Kenzie, of the 41st foot; Robert Wright, of the royal artillery; Charles Madden, of the 44th foot; Henry Cox, of the 81st foot; Molyneux Marston, of the 48th foot; Dennis O'Farrell, of the 18th foot; Maurice Charles O'Connel, of the 1st West India regiment; Garrett Fitzsimmons, of the 17th foot; William J. O'Connor, of the 60th foot; Daniel Mahony, of the 58th foot; John Henry Fitzsimmons, of the 65th foot; Joseph Maclean, of the royal artillery; James Phillips, of the Coldstream guards; William White, of the 60th foot; John James, of the royal marines; Samuel T. Dickens, of the royal engineers; John Harris, of the royal artillery; Philip H. Nicholl, of the 17th foot; hon. John de Courcy, of the 1st foot-guards; Robert Smyth, of the 18th foot; John Quayle, of the royal artillery; George viscount Forbes, of the 30th foot; Francis H. Doyle, of the 12th garrison battalion; J. B. Garstin, of the 65th foot; John Maclean, of Champagne's regiment; John Clark, of the 48th foot;

foot; Henry Bird, of the 5th foot; Andrew F. Barnard, of the 1st foot-guards; hon. Leeson Blackwood, of the 60th foot; Henry Westenra, of the 12th light dragoons; J. Scott, of the 73d foot; George Bowles, of the 8th foot; Anthony French, of the 21st foot; T. O'Dell, of the 3d foot; Thomas Williamson, of the 30th foot; Harris W. Haile, of the Nova Scotia fencibles; Edward Darley, of the 62d foot; Archibald Campbell, of the 84th foot; Ralph James, of the 44th foot; Henry Wright, of ditto; Thomas Murray, of the 18th foot; David Leeky, of the 45th foot; David Ross, of the 36th foot; Thomas Wilkinson Haswell, of the 3d foot; Thomas Fotheringham, of the 3d foot-guards; Philip Capoll, of De Rolle's regiment; Anthony Mohr, of ditto; Thomas Smith, of the 14th light dragoons; Henry Nixon, of the 44th foot; William Henry Bunbury, of the 35th foot; to be majors in the army.

Whitehall, Jan. 3. Major-general the right hon. Thomas Maitland, appointed governor and commander in chief in and over the settlements in the island of Ceylon, in the Indian seas, and the territories and dependencies thereof.

Queen's palace, Jan. 11. Right hon. Henry lord Mulgrave, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Whitehall, Jan. 12. Right hon. Henry Addington, created viscount Sidmouth, of Sidmouth, co. Devon.

Queen's palace, Jan. 14. Right hon. Henry viscount Sidmouth, sworn lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, *vice* the duke of Portland, retired on account of ill health.—Right hon. Robert earl of Buckinghamshire, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster.—Right hon. John Hookham Frere, right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, right hon. Reginald Pole Carew, the right hon. John Sullivan, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Downing-street, Jan. 25. Francis Gore, esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the Bermuda or Somers islands, in North America.

Whitehall, Feb. 2. Right rev. Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, bishop of Norwich, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected archbishop of Canterbury, *vice* Dr. Moore dec.

Whitehall, Feb. 5. Sir John Colpoys, K. B. and admiral of the blue, appointed treasurer and receiver-general of the royal hospital at Greenwich, *vice* capt. Jervis dec.—Right hon. William Hay, earl of Erroll, appointed knight-marshal of Scotland, *vice* sir Robert Laurie dec.

St. James's, Feb. 20. Vicary Gibbs, esq. his majesty's solicitor-general, knighted.

Queen's palace, Feb. 21. The most rev. father in God Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, lord archbishop of Canterbury, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

Queen's palace, Feb. 21. His majesty, in council, was this day pleased to appoint John Lloyd Williams, of Gwernan, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Cardigan, instead of Henry Greswold Lewis, of Llwyngrewis, esq. John Hill Harries, of Preskelly, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Pembroke, instead of George Harris, of Preskelly, esq. Charles Rogers, of Stannage, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Radnor, instead of Thomas Grove, of Cwm Ellan, esq.—And his majesty was also pleased to make the following

following amendments upon the roll: Derbyshire, William Bagshaw, to be William Chambers Bagshaw, of the Oaks, esq. Norfolk, William Moseley, to be John Moseley, of Toffts, esq. Yorkshire, Henry Fane Chomley, to be Henry Chomley, of Househam, esq.

Downing-street, Feb. 22. Edward Thornton, esq. appointed his majesty's minister-plenipotentiary to the circle of Lower Saxony, and resident with the Hans Towns.

Whitehall, Feb. 23. The hon. and rev. E. Legge, LL. B. appointed dean of his majesty's chapel royal in the castle of Windsor, dean of Wolverhampton, and registrar of the knights of the most noble order of the garter thereunto annexed, *vice* Dr. Sutton, bishop of Norwich, translated to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.—The hon. and rev. J. Marsham, D. D. appointed prebendary of his majesty's free chapel of St. George, in the castle of Windsor, *vice* Legge, resigned.

Dublin castle, Feb. 23. Rev. John-George Beresford, commonly called John lord George Beresford, dean of St. Macartin's, Clogher, promoted to the bishoprick of Cork and Ross, *vice* Dr. Thomas Stopford dec.—Rev. Richard Bagwell, M. A. promoted to the deanery of the cathedral church of St. Macartin's, Clogher, *vice* Beresford resigned.

Downing-street, March 1. Lord Henry Stuart, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the elector of Wirtemberg; the hon. William Hill, envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the circle of Franconia; the hon. John King, secretary of legation to the elector of Wirtemberg; Benjamin Bathurst, esq. secretary of legation to the king of Sweden; and Andrew Allen, jun. esq. consul for the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode island, and Connecticut.

Queen's palace, March 7. His majesty, in council, was this day pleased to appoint Bagot Read, of Penyrhillan, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Montgomery, instead of William Owen, of Bryngwin, esq. and Edward Lloyd Lloyd, of Erbistock, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Flint, instead of Thomas Foulkes, of Gwernigion, esq.

Whitehall, March 9. Rev. Henry Bathurst, LL. D. recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Norwich, *vice* Dr. Sutton, archbishop of Canterbury.

Downing-street, March 29. Frederick Maitland, esq. brigadier-general of his majesty's forces, appointed governor of the island of Grenada, in the West Indies.

Whitehall, March 3. Right hon. Francis lord Napier, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Windsor, April 21. Joseph Sydney Yorke, esq. of the royal navy, knighted.

Whitehall, April 27. Sir Charles Middleton, bart. admiral of the white, created baron Barham, of Barham-court and Teston, co. Kent; and, in default of male issue, the dignity of a baroness to Diana Noel, wife of Gerard Noel, esq. of Exton park, co. Rutland, only daughter of the said sir Charles Middleton, bart. and the dignity of a baron to her lawful heirs-male.

Downing-street, April 27. Wm. Bligh, esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief in and over New South Wales.

Whitehall, April 30. Right hon. Charles lord Barham, appointed first

first lord of the admiralty, *vice* lord viscount Melville.

St. James's, May 1. Right hon. Charles lord Barham, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.—George Payne, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Leicester.

St. James's, May 9. James Lind, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

Whitehall, June 15. Cornelius Smelt, esq. appointed governor of the Isle of Man.

Queen's palace, July 10. Right hon. John Jeffereys, earl Camden, declared lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, *vice* viscount Sidmouth resigned.—Right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viscount Castlereagh, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* earl Camden.—Right hon. Dudley lord Harrowby, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, *vice* the earl of Buckinghamshire resigned.

Downing-street, July 15. Charles Blair, esq. appointed consul-general at Naples.

His royal highness Ernest-Augustus, duke of Cumberland, elected chancellor of the university of Dublin, *vice* his uncle, the late duke of Gloucester.

Hon. and rev. Edward Legge, dean of Windsor, elected a director of Greenwich hospital, *vice* Wells dec.

War-office, Sept. 7. Field-marshal his royal highness Frederick duke of York, K. G. appointed colonel of the 1st regiment of foot-guards, *vice* the duke of Gloucester dec.—Lieut.-general his royal highness Adolphus-Frederick, duke of Cambridge, K. G. to be colonel of the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards, *vice* the duke of York.—General his royal highness Edward duke of Kent, K. G. to be field-marshal of the forces.

Whitehall, Sept. 14. His royal highness Frederick duke of York, appointed keeper of his majesty's forest and warren of Windsor, and lieutenant of the said forest; also, warden and keeper of the New Forest, co. Southampton, and of the manor and park of Lindhurst, and the hundred of Rudbergh; all *vice* the duke of Gloucester dec.

Whitehall, Sept. 17. George Watson, esq. appointed a commissioner for managing his majesty's revenue of excise, *vice* Fisher dec.—James Hume, and John Williams, esqrs. appointed commissioners for managing his majesty's customs, *vice* Boone resigned, and Stiles dec.

Whitehall, Oct. 5. Sir Francis-John Hartwell, of Dale-hall, co. Essex, knt.; lieut.-gen. John Doyle, colonel of his majesty's 87th regiment of foot, and lieutenant-governor of the island of Guernsey; Robert Wigram, of Walthamstow-house, co. Essex, esq. lieutenant-colonel-commandant of the 6th regiment of loyal London volunteers; Claude Champion de Crespigny, of Champion-lodge, in Camberwell, co. Surry, and LL. D.; Manasseh Lopes, of Maristow-house, co. Devon, esq. with remainder to his nephew, Ralph Franco, esq.; John-Geers Cotterell, of Garnons, co. Hereford, esq.; William Hillary, of Danbury-place, co. Essex, and of Rigghouse, co. York, esq.; and Alexander Muir Mackenzie, of Delvine, co. Perth, esq.; created baronets of the united kingdom.

Dublin-castle, Oct. 5. Right hon. Charles Long, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council of Ireland.

Downing-street, Oct. 22. Lieut. general Henry Bowyer, appointed

general

general and commander of his majesty's forces serving on the windward and leeward Charibbee island station, *vice* Myers dec.

Whitehall, Nov. 2. William Robertson, esq. appointed one of the lords of session in Scotland, *vice* David Ross, esq. of Ankerville, dec.

War office, Nov. 2. His majesty has been pleased to appoint

Major-generals Andrew Cowell, Jas. Ferrier, Jos. Dusseaux, Colin Mackenzie, Archibald Robertson, John Dickson, Miles Stavely, John Money, Thomas Murray, James Edward Urquhart, George Churchill, Eyre Power Trench, George Beckwith, Thomas Roberts, hon. sir G. J. Ludlow, K. B. sir John Moore, K. B. Richard earl of Cavan, sir David Baird, knt. hon. Henry Astley Bennett, hon. Frederick St. John, sir Charles Ross, bart. John Whitelocke, Hay M'Dowall, lord Charles Henry Somerset, John Despard, William Anne Villettes, William Wemyss, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels Stapleton Cotton, of the 16th light dragoons, Samuel Dalrymple, of the 3d foot-guards; William Johnstone, of ditto; Rowland Hill, of the 90th foot; hon. W. Stapleton, on half-pay of the late 31st light dragoons; Denzil Onslow, on half-pay of the late 97th foot; John Murray, of the 84th foot; William Twiss, of the royal engineers; hon. Charles Hope, of the 7th dragoon-guards; Richard Mark Dickens, of the 34th foot; sir George Pigot, bart. on half-pay of the 130th foot; Frederick Maitland, of the 29th foot; John Leveson Gower, on half-pay of the late 10th garrison battalion; Martin Hunter, of the New Brunswick fencibles; John lord Elphinstone, of the 26th foot; Richard earl of Donoughmore, on half-pay of the 112th foot; John Abercrombie, of the 53d foot; sir George Charles Braithwaite Boughton, bart. on half-pay of the late 113th foot; to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels Thomas Mahon, of the 9th light dragoons; John Shaw Maxwell, on half-pay of the late 23d light dragoons; William Thomas Dilkes, of the 3d foot-guards; Henry Rudyerd, of the royal invalid engineers; John Oswald, of the 35th foot; John Gaspard Le Marchant; James Hadden, of the royal artillery; James Catlin Craufurd, of the 91st foot; William Doyle, of the 62d foot; John Hatton, of the 66th foot; Pinson Bonham, of the 69th foot; John Burnet, of the 17th foot; William Anson, of the 1st foot-guards; John Bouchier, of the late royal artillery in Ireland; Isaac Brock, of the 49th foot; lord Evelyn Stuart, of the 22d foot; Robert Nicholson, of the royals; George William Ramsey, of the 60th foot; Robert Craufurd, on half-pay of the 60th foot, to be colonels in the army.

Whitehall, Nov. 9. His majesty has been pleased to grant to the rev. William Nelson, D. D. now lord Nelson, brother and heir to the late lord viscount Nelson, who, after a series of transcendant and heroic services, fell gloriously, on the 21st of October last, in the moment of brilliant and decisive victory, the dignity of a viscount and earl of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the names, styles, and titles of viscount Merton and earl Nelson, of Trafalgar, and of Merton in the county of Surrey; the same to descend to the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten, and, in default thereof, to the heirs-male, successively, of Susanna, wife of Thomas

Thomas Bolton, esq. and Catherine, wife of George Matcham, esq. sisters of the late lord viscount Nelson.—His majesty has also been pleased to grant the dignity of a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to Cuthbert Collingwood, esq. vice-admiral of the blue squadron of his majesty's fleet, and the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of baron Collingwood, of Caldburne and Hethpoole, in the county of Northumberland.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 9. His majesty having been pleased to order the rank of admirals of the red to be restored in his majesty's navy, the following flag-officers were this day promoted in pursuance of the king's pleasure, viz. admirals of the white, to be admirals of the red, from Robert Roddam, esq. to the hon. William Cornwallis.—Admirals of the blue, to be admirals of the white, from Charles Buckner, esq. to sir Henry Harvey, K. B.—Vice-admirals of the red, to be admirals of the blue, from Isaac Prescott, esq. to sir Charles Morice Pole.—Vice-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the red, from John Brown, esq. to John Holloway, esq.—Vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the red, from George Wilson, esq. to Cuthbert Collingwood, esq.—Vice-admirals of the blue, to be vice-admirals of the white, from James Hawkins Whitshed, esq. to sir Robert Calder, bart.—Rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the white, from James Richard Dacres, esq. to sir Richard Bickerton, K. B.—Rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue, from George Bowen, esq. to Robert M'Douall, esq.—Rear-admirals of the white, to be vice-admirals of the blue, from Billy Douglas, esq. to Edward Thornborough, esq.—Rear-admirals of the white, to be rear-admirals of the red, from James Kempthorne, esq. to sir Isaac Coffin, bart.—Rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the red, from John Aylmer, esq. to Richard Boger, esq.—Rear-admirals of the blue, to be rear-admirals of the white, from Jonathan Faulknor, esq. to sir Thomas Louis.—The under-mentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz. from John M'Dougall, esq. to Philip D'Auvergne, prince of Bouillon, to be rear-admirals of the blue.—Richard Goodwin Keats, esq. Edward Buller, esq. and the hon. Robert Stopford, to be colonels of his majesty's royal marine forces, *vice* George Martin, esq. sir Richard John Strachan, bart. and sir William Sydney Smith, knt. appointed flag-officers.

Carlton-house, Nov. 15. John Clerk, esq. advocate, appointed, by the prince of Wales, his royal highness's solicitor-general for Scotland, *vice* William Robertson, esq. now lord Robertson.

Whitehall, Nov. 19. The most hon. Richard marquis Wellesley, K. P. permitted to receive and wear the insignia and order of the Crescent, which the grand signior has transmitted to him.

St. James's, Nov. 21. Right hon. Edward earl of Powis, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and declared lieutenant-general and general-governor of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, *vice* earl Hardwicke.

Windsor, Nov. 23. General the right hon. lord Cathcart, invested with the ensigns of the most antient and most noble order of the Thistle, his lordship having previously

viously received the honour of knighthood from his majesty.

Whitehall, Nov. 25. His royal highness Edward duke of Kent, appointed keeper and paler of the house and park of Hampton court, and mower of the brakes there, and of the herbage and pannage of the said park, with the wood called browsings, windfall wood, and dead wood, happening in the said park; and of all the barns, stables, outhouses, gardens, and curtileges, belonging to the great lodge in the said park, together with the said lodge itself, &c. during his majesty's pleasure.

Whitehall, Nov. 26. James Willis, esq. appointed a commissioner for managing his majesty's customs, *vice* Agar dec.

Whitehall, Nov. 30. Sir Charles Green, knt. major-general of his majesty's forces, colonel of the regiment of York light infantry volunteers, and governor of Surinam; and George Prevost, esq. major-general of his majesty's forces, governor of the island of Dominica, and lieutenant-colonel of the 60th (or royal American) regiment of foot; created baronets.

Whitehall, Dec. 7. Rev. Thomas Rennell, D. D. appointed dean of Winchester, *vice* Dr. Robt. Holmes dec.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his majesty in council, for the year* 1805.

Bedfordshire, John Polhill, of Renhalt, esq.

Berkshire, Moris Ximenes, of Bear-place, esq.

Bucks, Edward Nugent, of Lillies, esq.

Cambridge, and Huntingdonshire, Joseph Marshall, of Elm, esq.

Cheshire, George John Legh, of High Legh, esq.

Cumberland, Charles Smallwood Featherstonhaugh, of Kirkoswald, esq.

Derbyshire, Wm. Chambers Bagshaw, of the Oaks, esq.

Devonshire, Samuel Kekewick, of Peamore-house, esq.

Dorsetshire, John Gould, of Upway, esq.

Essex, Jas. Reed, of Warleys, esq.

Gloucestershire, Edmund John Chamberlyne, of Mangersbury, esq.

Herefordshire. Leonard Parkinson, of Kinnersley-castle, esq.

Hertfordshire, Emillius Henry Delmé Radcliffe, of Hitchin-priory, esq.

Kent, John Minet Fector, of Updown, esq.

Leicestershire, George Payne, of ——, esq.

Lincolnshire, Montague Cholmley, of Grantham, esq.

Monmouthshire, Joseph Price, of Monmouth, esq.

Norfolk, William Moseley, of Toffts, esq.

Northamptonshire, John Capel Rose, of Cransley, esq.

Northumberland, John Hunter, of the Hermitage, esq.

Nottinghamshire, Christopher Rolleston, of Watnal, esq.

Oxfordshire, Elisha Biscoe, of Holton-park, esq.

Rutlandshire, John Hack, of Clipsham, esq.

Shropshire, Thomas Whitmore, of Apley, esq.

Somersetshire, John Perring, of Combe Florey, esq.

Staffordshire, John Heylegar Burt, of Cofton, esq.

Southampton, James Blunt, of Nether Wallop, esq.

Suffolk, George Nassau, of Trimley Saint Martin's, esq.

Surrey, Robert Chatfield, of Croydon, esq.

Sussex, William Margesson, of Offington, esq.

Warwickshire, Francis Parrot, of Bedworth, esq.

Wiltshire, sir Richd. Colt Hoare, of Stourhead, bart.

Worcestershire, John Amphlet, of Clent, esq.

Yorkshire, Henry Fane Cholmley, of Househam, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen, John Josiah Holford, of Kilgyne, esq.

Pembroke, George Harris, of Priskelly, esq.

Cardiganshire, Henry Grisswell Lewis, of Llwyngrewis, esq.

Glamorganshire, Thomas Markham, of Nash, esq.

Brecon, William Greenly, of Cwmdee, esq.

Radnorshire, Thomas Grove, of Cwm Ellan, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merionethshire, John Edwards, of Penrhyn, esq.

Caernavonshire, Richard Garnons, of Pantdu, esq.

Anglesea, John Williams, of Treban, esq.

Montgomeryshire, William Owen, of Bryngwin, esq.

Denbighshire, Samuel Ryley, of Marchwiel, esq.

Flintshire, Thomas Foulkes, of Gwernigion, esq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his royal highness the Prince of Wales, in council, for the year* 1805.

County of Cornwall, Samuel Stephens, of Tregenna-castle, esq.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

By the King, A PROCLAMATION

For a General Fast.

GEORGE R.

WE, taking into Our most serious consideration the just and necessary war in which We are engaged, and putting Our trust in Almighty God that he will graciously bless Our arms, both by sea and land, have resolved, and do, by and with the advice of Our privy council, hereby command, that a public day of fasting and humiliation be observed throughout those parts of Our united kingdom called England and Ireland, on Wednesday the 29th day of February next ensuing, that so both We and Our people may humble Ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon of Our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up Our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty, for averting those heavy judgments which Our manifold provocations have most justly deserved; and for imploring his blessing and assistance on Our arms, for the restoration of peace, and prosperity to Us and Our dominions: and We do strictly charge and command, that the said public fast be reverently and devoutly observed by all Our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation; and upon pain of such punishment as We may justly inflict on all such as contemn and neglect the performance of so religious and necessary a duty; and, for the better and more orderly solemnizing the same, We have given directions to the most reverend the archbishops and the right reverend the bishops of England and Ireland to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches, chapels, and places of public worship, and to take care that the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses.

Given at Our court at the Queen's palace, this second day of January, one thousand eight hundred and five, in the forty-fifth year of Our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

[Another proclamation appoints a fast in Scotland, Feb. 21.]

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas alarming accounts have been received that the infectious disease (which, with a malignancy equalling

equalling if not exceeding that of the plague, has occasioned a dreadful mortality in several parts of Spain, and in Our town and garrison of Gibraltar) has spread and extended itself to parts of the coast of the Mediterranean; and whereas, from the season of the year in which it has continued its ravages in those places where it has already appeared, there is no good ground of confidence or hope that the comparative coldness and the temperature of the climate can afford any obstacle to its introduction and progress in Our kingdom:—And whereas We feel it to be incumbent upon Us to employ such means as, under the protection and favour of Divine Providence, may be best calculated to guard Our loving subjects against the visitation of so dreadful a calamity, We have thought fit, by and with the advice of Our privy council, to issue this Our royal proclamation; and We do herein, by and with the advice of Our said council, most strictly enjoin and command all Our loving subjects, and more especially those residing at any of the sea-port towns, or in any other places on the coasts of this kingdom, whether they may themselves be liable to quarantine or otherwise, as they tender the preservation of their own lives, and the safety and welfare of all the inhabitants of this kingdom, most scrupulously to observe all the laws of quarantine which now are or may hereafter be in force, and all orders made by Us, with the advice of Our privy council, or by Our privy council, under the authority thereof; and particularly most carefully to avoid any communication with any ship or vessel, or with any person or persons coming therein, from or through the Mediterranean, or from the west of Barbary, on the Atlantic Ocean, or from Cadiz, or other parts of Spain without the Streights, lying to the southward of Cape St. Vincent, or from any place to which, by Our royal proclamation, by and with the advice of Our privy council, or by Our orders in council, the laws of quarantine are, or may hereafter be, extended; or with any boat, or persons therein, coming from or having been on board any such ship, until such ship, vessel, or boat, with the crews and persons on board, and the goods, wares, and merchandizes imported therein, shall have performed their quarantine in such places and manner as are or shall hereafter be directed in that behalf, and until they respectively shall have been duly discharged therefrom. And We do further strictly exhort, enjoin, and command, all magistrates and persons in authority, and all others Our loving subjects, without loss of time, to give information to Us, through Our principal secretary of state for the home department, or to Our privy council, of any persons that they may know or believe to have offended against any of the said laws or orders; and We do hereby warn all persons whom it may concern, that We have given the strictest orders for enforcing, with the utmost rigour, the most punctual observance of the laws of quarantine, and all the orders, rules, and regulations relating thereto, it being Our firm determination, upon serious consideration of the great extent of misery and calamity which a single instance of improvidently neglecting any of these regulations may bring upon Our loving subjects, to cause the several penalties which the law has provided, or may provide, to be inflicted upon

all those who may be guilty of any offence against the same.—And whereas it is also necessary to take the utmost precaution to prevent the spreading of infection, in case the said malignant disease, or any other of a contagious nature (which God, in his mercy, avert!) should unhappily manifest itself in any part of Our united kingdom, notwithstanding the precautions taken to guard against the introduction thereof, We have thought fit, by and with the advice of Our said council, to take measures for the establishment of a board of health, to consist of men able, learned, eminent, and experienced in the study and practice of physic, together with persons most capable, from their knowledge of the ports of Our kingdoms, to afford assistance in the forming of regulations respectively applicable to the local circumstances of the said ports; such board to be authorized and directed to prepare and digest the best rules and regulations for the speedy and effectual adoption of the most approved methods of guarding against the introduction and spreading of infection, and for purifying any ship or house, or any place in which any contagious disorder may have manifested itself, and to communicate the same to all magistrates, medical persons, and others of Our loving subjects, who may be desirous, and may apply to be made acquainted therewith; and We most strictly enjoin and command all magistrates and persons in authority, all medical persons, and others Our loving subjects, especially those within the maritime counties, to give immediate notice to Us, through Our principal secretary of state for the home department, or Our privy council, in case any person or persons should be attacked with any fever, attended with new and uncommon symptoms, such as to afford ground for apprehension that such fever is of the same nature as the disorder prevailing in several parts of Spain, and in Gibraltar, in order that the most immediate and effectual measures may be taken, as well for affording due and necessary assistance and relief to those afflicted with the same, as for preventing the contagion from spreading amongst Our loving subjects.

Given at Our court at the Queen's palace, this sixth day of February one thousand eight hundred and five, in the forty-fifth year of Our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

His MAJESTY'S speech to both houses of parliament on the 15th of January 1805.

My lords, and gentlemen,

Since the end of the last session, the preparations of the enemy for the invasion of this kingdom have been continued with incessant activity, but no attempt has been made to carry their repeated menaces into effect.—The skill and intrepidity of my navy, the respectable and formidable state of my army, and militia, the unabated zeal and improved discipline of a numerous volunteer force, and the general ardour manifested by all classes of my subjects, have indeed been sufficient to deter them from so presumptuous and desperate an enterprise.—While this spirit continues to animate the country, and its voluntary exertions for its own defence subsist in their full vigour, we need not fear the consequences of the most powerful efforts on the part of the enemy. But let us never forget,

forget, that our security has arisen from the resolution with which we have met and provided against the danger, and that it can be preserved only by steady perseverance and unremitting activity.—The conduct of the court of Spain, evidently under the predominant influence and control of France, compelled me to take prompt and decisive measures to guard against the effects of hostility. I have, at the same time, endeavoured, as long as it was possible, to prevent the necessity of a rupture; but, in consequence of a refusal of a satisfactory explanation, my minister quitted Madrid, and war has since been declared by Spain against this country.—I have directed a copy of the manifesto, which I have caused to be prepared on the occasion, to be laid before you, together with such papers as are necessary to explain the discussions which have taken place between me and the court of Madrid. You will, I trust, be convinced by them, that my forbearance has been carried to the utmost extent which the interests of my dominions would admit; and while I lament the situation of Spain, involved in hostilities contrary to its true interests, I rely with confidence on your vigorous support in a contest, which can be attributed only to the unfortunate prevalence of French councils.—The general conduct of the French government on the continent of Europe has been marked by the utmost violence and outrage, and has shown a wanton defiance of the rights of neutral territories, of the acknowledged privileges of accredited ministers, and of the established principles of the law of nations.—Notwithstanding these transactions, so repugnant to every sentiment of moderation and justice, I have recently received a communication from the French government, containing professions of a pacific disposition.—I have, in consequence, expressed my earnest desire to embrace the first opportunity of restoring the blessings of peace, on such grounds as may be consistent with the permanent safety and interests of my dominions; but I am confident you will agree with me, that those objects are closely connected with the general security of Europe. I have, therefore, not thought it right to enter into any more particular explanation, without previous communication with those powers on the continent, with whom I am engaged in confidential intercourse and connexion, with a view to that important object, and especially with the emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proof of the wise and dignified sentiments by which he is animated, and of the warm interests he takes in the safety and independence of Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the public service to be laid before you. I regret the necessity of any additional burthens being imposed on my people; but I am sure you will be sensible how much their future safety and happiness depend on the vigour of our exertions, and that, in the mode of raising supplies, you will continue to show your anxiety for the support of public credit, and for restraining, as much as possible, the accumulation of the national debt.

My lords, and gentlemen,

In considering the great efforts and sacrifices which the nature of the contest requires, it is a peculiar satisfaction to me to observe the

many proofs of the internal wealth and prosperity of the country. It will, I am sure, be your great object to maintain and improve these advantages, and at the same time to take all such measures as, by enabling me to prosecute the war with vigour, may afford the best prospect of bringing it to a safe and honourable termination.

HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE, AUG. 12.

Delivered by lord Hawkesbury at the bar of the house of lords:

GEORGE R.

His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of lords, that the communications which have taken place, and are still depending, between his majesty and some of the powers on the continent, have not yet been brought to such a point as to enable his majesty to lay the result of them before the house, or to enter into any further explanation with the French government, consistently with the sentiments expressed by his majesty at the opening of the present session. But his majesty conceives that it may be of essential importance that he should have it in his power to avail himself of any favourable conjuncture for giving effect to such a concert with other powers, as may afford the best means of resisting the inordinate ambition of France, or may be most likely to lead to a termination of the present contest, on grounds consistent with the permanent safety and interests of his majesty's dominions, and the security and independence of Europe. His majesty therefore recommends it to the house of lords to consider of making provision for enabling his majesty to take such measures, and enter into such engagements, as the exigencies of affairs may require.

Order in council, granting general reprisals and letters of marque against Spain, dated Jan. 12, 1805.

At the court of the queen's palace, the 11th of January, 1805, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas his majesty has received information that the king of Spain has issued a declaration of war against his majesty, his subjects, and people; his majesty, therefore, being determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his crown, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war in which he finds himself engaged, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the king of Spain, so that as well his majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissionated, by letters of marque, or general reprisals or otherwise, by his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to the king of Spain, or his subjects, or others inhabiting within the territories of the king of Spain, and bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions; and, to that end, his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorising the commissioners for executing

executing the office of lord high admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisals to any of his majesty's subjects, or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking, the ships, vessels, and goods, belonging to Spain, and the vessels and subjects of the king of Spain, or any inhabiting within his countries, territories, and dominions; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and his majesty's said advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorising the said commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, to will and require the high court of admiralty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same; and, according to the course of admiralty, and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods, as shall belong to Spain, or the vassals and subjects of the king of Spain, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories, and dominions: and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare and lay before his majesty at this board a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of admiralty in his majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissionated for the purposes aforementioned.

Eldon, C.	Castlereagh.
W. Pitt.	Montrose.
Mulgrave.	W. Grant.
Camden.	Hawkesbury.
C. Morgan.	Melville.
Ellenborough.	E. Nepean.
Sidmouth.	

ANTIGUA.—By his excellency the right hon. Ralph lord Lavington, baron of Lavington, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, knight companion of the most honourable order of the bath, captain-general and governor in chief in and over all his majesty's leeward Charibbee islands in America, chancellor, vice-admiral and ordinary of the same, &c.—A proclamation.

The earl Camden, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the colonial department, having, in consequence of a report of the committee of his majesty's privy council for trade and foreign plantations, communicated to me the royal pleasure, that I should not open any of the ports of any of the islands over which I preside, for the admission of articles from the American states, which are not allowed to be imported by law, except in cases of real and very great necessity,—I issue this my proclamation, notifying and declaring, that under the regulation and authority of an act passed in

the twenty-eighth year of his majesty's reign, entitled "An act for regulating the Trade between the subjects of his majesty's colonies and plantations in North America, and in the West India islands, and the countries belonging to the United States of America; and between his majesty's said subjects and the foreign islands in the West Indies;" I admit in the different ports of the several islands under my command, the importation of the following articles; viz. tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, flax, masts, yards, bowsprits, staves, heading, boards, timber, shingles, and lumber of any sort; horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and live stock of any sort; bread, biscuit, flour, pease, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, barley, and grain of any sort; such commodities respectively being the growth or production of any of the territories of the said United States of America. But whereas, in the first section of the act of the general council and assembly of the Leeward Islands, passed in April 1798, and intitled, "An act more effectually to provide for the support, and extend certain regulations for the protection of slaves, to promote and encourage their increase, and generally to ameliorate their condition; it is enacted and ordained, that every owner or director of any slave or slaves within the Leeward Islands, shall weekly, and every week, under the penalty of ten shillings per head, for each and every slave under his or her direction, for every omission, purchase or provide for every said slave or slaves, among divers other kinds of provisions, one pound and one quarter of herrings, shads, or mackarel, or other substitutes for herrings, shads, or mackarel, the provision of which substitutes is altogether unattainable in any of the Leeward Islands; And whereas, from various causes in time of war, the expectation of the smallest degree of supply of herrings, shads or mackarel, from the British colonies in North America, is a perfectly hopeless speculation, and the most favourable supply of them, which, from long and uniform experience, can be annually expected from any of the ports of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, is found to be much too precarious, and infinitely too irregular in every respect, but particularly in the periods of their arrival, to answer the constant and unremitting demands of the plantations in the Leeward Islands; and whereas the sudden privation of these last-mentioned articles not only may create the greatest inconvenience, and produce the most pernicious consequences in the said colonies, but must inevitably disable every owner or director of the slave or slaves in them from fulfilling the duty imposed on him or her by the first section of the before-mentioned act for meliorating the condition of the slaves in the Leeward Islands; —Now conceiving the immediate case to be one of those of "real and very great necessity," which demands my exercise of the discretionary power lodged in me on such occasions, I hereby notify, that over and above the articles specified in the before-mentioned act passed in the 28th year of his majesty's reign, and already described in this proclamation, I likewise permit the importation from the American states into the ports of the islands in my government, of herrings, shads, mackarel, and all sorts of pickled and salted fish, for the space of six calendar months, to

to be computed from the date of this proclamation; by the expiration of which period some means may be devised by which his majesty's Leeward Islands may be supplied with the said articles from ports of his majesty's own dominions, or I may receive his majesty's further commands on this subject.—Provided that no importations of any kind be made from the states of America on more favourable terms, as to duties on entry, than on similar importations from the British colonies in North America, where such duties are due and payable: whereof all persons concerned are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly.—Given under my hand and seal at arms, at the government-house at Antigua, this 29th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1804, and in the 45th year of his majesty's reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

LAVINGTON.

JAMAICA LEGISLATURE.

Resolutions adopted by the house of assembly of Jamaica, relative to the governor's speech at the preceding prorogation, dated the 12th December, 1804.

Report made from the committee appointed to take into consideration his honour the lieut.-governor's speech at the last prorogation, to search into precedents, and to report the same, with their opinion of the measures proper to be adopted by the house in consequence thereof, stating that they had proceeded to take the said speech into their most serious consideration; that, from the period of the revolution, when the rights and privileges of the respective branches of the legislature were more accurately ascertained than in remote and turbulent times, the committee have carefully searched the records of parliament, and can find no instance of a minister having ventured to suggest to the sovereign a speech animadverting on the proceedings of either house of parliament. The addressses of his present most sacred majesty in particular have ever been most gracious, worthy of the exalted virtue which has endeared him to all his subjects, and dictated by a sacred respect for the principles of freedom, which have been uniformly displayed by the illustrious princes of the house of Brunswick on the British throne: the committee have also searched the Journals of this house, and find that, from the year 1679-80, when the political constitution of this island may be considered to have been settled, there have been few attempts to encroach on the liberties of the people, or abridge the privileges of their representatives; and none but what have been vigilantly attended to and firmly resisted by the house of assembly: it is with the deepest regret that the committee feel themselves under the necessity of giving their opinion that the speech referred to their consideration is a breach of the privileges of this house, which, if submitted to, might be drawn into precedent, and lead to the most fatal consequences: it contains not only direct animadversions on the proceedings of the house, but on the particular subject which the commons house of parliament have ever regarded as resting exclusively with them, viz. the extent of the supply proper to be granted for the exigencies of the government. The law of parliament on this subject

being very clearly laid down in the elegant commentaries of sir William Blackstone, the committee will refer to his authority, and with the greater confidence, because on political questions he has not been suspected of partiality for the popular branch of the constitution; yet he observes, "If the two houses of parliament, or either of them, had avowedly a right to animadvert on the king, or each other, or the king had a right to animadvert on either of the houses, that branch of the legislature so subject to animadversion would instantly cease to be part of the supreme power, the balance of the constitution would be overturned, and that branch or branches in which this jurisdiction resided would be completely sovereign. The supposition of law therefore is, that neither the king, or either house of parliament collectively taken, is capable of doing any wrong." He adds, that such cases being out of the reach of express legal provisions, "if ever they unfortunately happen, the prudence of the times must provide new remedies upon new emergencies." It is the painful duty of the committee, in obedience to the orders of the house, to suggest the proper remedy in the new emergency arising out of this speech: following the precedents established by the wisdom of our ancestors, and uniformly acted upon by the house of assembly, the committee recommend to the house to come to the following resolutions:—Resolved, That the loyalty and patriotism of his majesty's subjects, the inhabitants of this island, have ever been most conspicuous, and that their representatives could at no time be justly charged with refusing the supplies necessary for the support of government and the defence of the country, from motives of disaffection.—Resolved, That, in the session of 1803, this house granted for the service of the following year 311,040*l.*: That a large proportion of the money voted was for the expense of the army and barrack department, which were fully provided for to the extent for which the faith of this country is pledged.—Resolved, That nothing but an anxious desire to aid and support the government, to the utmost of our ability, could have induced the house to vote so large a supply in the distressed situation to which our constituents were reduced.—Resolved, That the assumption of any branch of the legislature, of a right to animadvert in any manner upon this house, in the exercise of its rightful powers as a component part of the same legislature, and more especially in matters of supply, is unconstitutional, and, if submitted to, would destroy the independence of this house, and the legislative constitution of the island.

CATHOLICS' PETITION.

On Monday, the 25th of March, the following petition of the Roman catholics of Ireland was laid before the two houses of parliament.

To the right honourable and honourable the knights, citizens, burgesses of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Roman catholics of Ireland, whose names are hereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and of others his majesty's

majesty's subjects professing the Roman catholic religion,

Sheweth,—That your petitioners are stedfastly attached to the person, family, and government of their most gracious sovereign; that they are impressed with sentiments of affectionate gratitude for the benign laws which have been enacted for meliorating their condition during his paternal reign, and that they contemplate, with rational and decided predilection, the admirable principles of the British constitution.—Your petitioners most humbly state, that they have, solemnly and publicly, taken the oaths by law prescribed to his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, as tests of political and moral principles; and they confidently appeal to the sufferings which they have long endured, and the sacrifices which they still make, rather than violate their consciences (by taking oaths of a religious or spiritual import contrary to their belief), as decisive proofs of their profound and scrupulous reverence for the sacred obligations of an oath.—Your petitioners beg leave to represent—that by those awful tests they bind themselves, in the presence of the allseeing Deity, whom all clasess of christians adore, "to be faithful and bear true allegiance to their most gracious sovereign lord king George the Third, and him to defend to the utmost of their power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; to do their utmost endeavours to disclose and make known to his majesty and his heirs, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and faithfully to maintain, support, and defend to the utmost of their power, the succession to the crown in his majesty's family against any person or persons whatsoever."—"That by those oaths they renounce and abjure obedience and allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this realm;—that they reject and detest, as unchristian and impious to believe, that it is lawful in any ways to injure any person or persons whatsoever under pretence of their being heretics, and also that unchristian and impious principle,—that no faith is to be kept with heretics; that it is no article of their faith, and that they renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; that they do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence within this realm; that they firmly believe, that no act, in itself unjust, immoral or wicked, can ever be justified, or excused, by or under pretence or colour that it was done for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; and that it is not an article of the catholic faith, neither are they thereby required to believe or profess, that the pope is infallible, or that they are bound to any order in its own nature immoral, though the pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order; but that on the contrary they hold, that it would be sinful in them to pay any respect or obedience thereto; that they do not believe, that any sin whatsoever, committed by them, can

can be forgiven at the mere will of any pope or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever, but that any person, who receives absolution without a sincere sorrow for such sin and a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sin, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and by the same solemn obligation "they are bound and firmly pledged to defend, to the utmost of their power, the settlement and arrangement of property in their country, as established by the laws now in being; that they have disclaimed, disavowed, and solemnly abjured any intention to subvert the present church establishment for the purpose of substituting a catholic establishment in its stead;" and that they have also solemnly sworn, "that they will not exercise any privileges to which they are or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the protestant religion or protestant government in Ireland."—Your petitioners most humbly beg leave to show, that however painful it is to their feelings, that it should still be thought necessary to exact such tests from them, (and from them alone of all his majesty's subjects,) they can with perfect truth affirm, that the political and moral principles, which are thereby asserted, are not only conformable to their opinions, but expressly inculcated by the religion which they profess; and your petitioners most humbly trust, that the religious doctrines, which permit such tests to be taken, will be pronounced by this honourable house to be entitled to a toleration, not merely partial but complete, under the happy constitution and government of this realm; and that his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, holding those principles, will be considered as subjects upon whose fidelity the state may repose the firmest reliance.—Your petitioners further most humbly show, that seventy years have now elapsed since their most gracious sovereign and the honourable houses of parliament in Ireland, by their public and deliberate act, declared, that "from the uniform peaceable behaviour of the Roman catholics of Ireland for a long series of years, it appeared reasonable and expedient to relax the disabilities and incapacities under which they laboured, and that it must tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that his majesty's subjects of all denominations should enjoy the blessings of a free constitution, and should be bound to each other by mutual interest and mutual affection:" a declaration, founded upon unerring principles of justice and sound policy, which still remains to be carried into full effect (although your petitioners are impressed with a belief, that the apprehensions, which retarded its beneficial operation previous to the union, cannot exist in the parliament of the united kingdom.)—For your petitioners most humbly show, that, by virtue of divers statutes now in force, his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, who form so great a proportion of the population of Ireland, and contribute so largely to the resources of the state, do yet labour under many incapacities, restraints, and privations, which affect them with peculiar severity in almost every station of life; that more especially they are denied the capacity of sitting or voting in either of the honourable

nourable houses of parliament; the manifold evils consequent upon which incapacity they trust it is unnecessary to unfold and enumerate to this hon. house. They are disabled from holding or exercising (unless by a special dispensation) any corporate office whatsoever in the cities or towns in which they reside; they are incapacitated and disqualified from holding or exercising the offices of sheriffs, and sub-sheriffs, and various offices of trust, honour, and emolument in the state, in his majesty's military and naval service, and in the administration of the laws, in this their native land.—Your petitioners, declining to enter into the painful detail of the many incapacities and inconveniencies avowedly inflicted by those statutes, upon his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, beg leave, however, most earnestly to solicit the attention of this hon. house to the humiliating and ignominious system of exclusion, reproach, and suspicion, which those statutes generate and keep alive.—For your petitioners most humbly show, that in consequence of the hostile spirit thereby sanctioned, their hopes of enjoying even the privileges, which through the benignity of their most gracious sovereign, they have been capacitated to enjoy, are nearly altogether frustrated, inasmuch that they are, in effect, shut out from almost all the honours, dignities, and offices of trust and emolument in the state, from rank and distinction in his majesty's army and navy, and even from the lowest situations and franchises in the several cities and corporate towns throughout his majesty's dominions.—And your petitioners severely feel, that this unqualified interdiction of those of their communion from all municipal stations, from the franchises of all guilds and corporations, and from the patronage and benefits annexed to those situations, is an evil not terminating in itself; for they beg leave to state, that, by giving an advantage over those of their communion to others, by whom such situations are exclusively possessed, it establishes a species of qualified monopoly, universally operating in their disfavour, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.—Your petitioners likewise severely feel, that his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, in consequence of their exclusion from the offices of sheriffs and sub-sheriffs, and of the hostile spirit of those statutes, do not fully enjoy certain other inestimable privileges of the British constitution, which the law has most jealously maintained and secured to their fellow subjects.—Your petitioners most humbly beg leave to solicit the attention of this honourable house to the distinction which has conceded the elective, and denies the representative franchise to one and the same class of his majesty's subjects; which detaches from property its proportion of political power, under a constitution whose vital principle is the union of the one with the other; which closes every avenue of legalized ambition against those who must be presumed to have great credit and influence among the mass of the population of the country; which refuses to peers of the realm all share in the legislative representation, either actual or virtual, and renders the liberal profession of the law to Roman catholics a mere object of pecuniary traffic, despoiled of its hope and of its honours.—Your petitioners further most humbly show, that the

the exclusion of so numerous and efficient a portion of his majesty's subjects as the Roman catholics of this realm, from civil honours and offices, and from advancement in his majesty's army and navy, actually impairs, in a very material degree, the most valuable resources of the British empire, by impeding his majesty's general service, stifling the most honourable and powerful incentives to civil and military merit, and unnecessarily restricting the exercise of that bright prerogative of the crown, which encourages good subjects to promote the public welfare, and excites them to meritorious actions, by a well regulated distribution of public honours and rewards.—Your petitioners beg leave most humbly to submit, that those manifold incapacities, restraints, and privations, are absolutely repugnant to the liberal and comprehensive principles recognised by their most gracious sovereign and the parliament of Ireland; that they are impolitic restraints upon his majesty's prerogative; that they are hurtful and vexatious to the feelings of a loyal and generous people; and that the total abolition of them will be found not only compatible with but highly conducive to the perfect security of every establishment, religious or political, now existing in this realm.—For your petitioners most explicitly declare, that they do not seek or wish, in the remotest degree, to injure or encroach upon "the rights, privileges, immunities, possessions, or revenues, appertaining to the bishops and clergy of the protestant religion as by law established, or to the churches committed to their charge, or to any of them;"—the sole object of your petitioners being an equal participation, upon equal terms with their fellow subjects, of the full benefits of the British laws and constitution.—Your petitioners beg leave most humbly to observe, that, although they might well and justly insist upon the firm and unabated loyalty of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects to their most gracious sovereign, their profound respect for the legislature, and their dutiful submission to the laws, yet they most especially rest their humble claims and expectations of relief upon the clear and manifest conduciveness of the measure, which they solicit, to the general and permanent tranquillity, strength, and happiness of the British empire. And your petitioners, entertaining no doubt of its final accomplishment, from its evident justice and utility, do most solemnly assure this honourable house, that their earnest solicitude for it, at this peculiar crisis, arises principally from their anxious desire to extinguish all motives to disunion, and all means of exciting discontent.—For your petitioners humbly state it as their decided opinion, that the enemies of the British empire, who meditate the subjugation of Ireland, have no hope of success, save in the disunion of its inhabitants; and therefore it is that your petitioners are deeply anxious, at this moment, that a measure should be accomplished, which will annihilate the principle of religious animosity, and animate all descriptions of his majesty's subjects in an enthusiastic defence of the best constitution that has ever yet been established.—Your petitioners therefore most humbly presume to express their earnest but respectful hope, that this honourable house will, in its wisdom and liberality, deem the several statutes, now in force against them, no longer necessary,

cessary to be retained, and that his majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, professing the Roman catholic religion, may be effectually relieved from the operation of those statutes, and that so they may be restored to the full enjoyment of the benefits of the British constitution, and to every inducement of attachment to that constitution, equally and in common with their fellow subjects throughout the British empire.—And your petitioners will ever pray, &c. Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, Fingall, Kenmare, Gormanstown, Southwell, Trimlestown, Robert Plunket, Thomas Barnewall, Thomas French, bt. Edward Bellew, bt. Francis Goold, bt. Thomas Ryan, James Ryan, Edward Moore, John Purcell, M. D. Thomas Egan, M. D. Ambrose O'Farrel, Richard Bolger, Randal M'Donnel, Christopher D. Bellew, Anthony Donelan, John Hartney, Gerard Wm. Bagot, O'Donoghue of the Glins, Hugh O'Connor, Pierce O'Brien Butler, John O'Reilly, Thomas O'Connor, John Rorke, James Nowlan, jun. Nicholas Fleming, Denis Thomas O'Brien, James Scully, Denys Scully, James Nangle, Antony O'Donel, M. D. Thomas Warren, John Duffy, Richard Sause, Bartholomew Taylor, Joseph Taylor, Charles Ryan, Francis Cruise, Nicholas Gannon, Valentine O'Connor, Walter Dowdall, Francis Coleman, Lewis Ward, Jas. P. Ward, Valentine O'Connor jun. Thos. Fitzgerald, Dav. Hinchy, Jas. Barron, Edward Ryan, John Burke, Edward Burke, James Byrne, John Brennan, Jeremiah Ryan, Pierse Barron, Wm. Barron, Charles Byrne, Dominick Rice, Ambrose Moore, Randle P. M'Donnell, Eneas M'Donnell, John Byrne, Robert Caddel, Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Barry, John Lalor, M. F. Lynch, Thomas Dillon, Christopher Taylor, Philip Roche, Charles Roche, Elias Corbally, John Taaffe, Thos. Fitzgerald, Richard Strange, Dom. Willm. O'Reilly, George Goold, Malachy Donelan, William Bellew, Robert French, Maurice O'Conell, Daniel Cronin, Daniel O'Mahony, James Ryan, Gerald Aylmer, Thomas Galway, John Whyte, John Roche, Thomas Redington, E. Burke, J. M. Grainger, H. Trant, R. S. Keating.

LONDON COMMON HALL.

Perchard, mayor.—In a meeting or assembly of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the several companies of the city of London, in common hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Thursday the 18th day of April, 1805,

Resolved unanimously,—That it appears from the reports of the commissioners for naval inquiry, that the right hon. Henry Dundas, viscount Melville, late treasurer of his majesty's navy, has been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty, whereby immense sums of the public money have been put out to hazard, by being employed in speculations for private emolument and advantage.—Resolved, That such gross and aggravated breaches of fidelity in men holding high and confidential offices in the state, render it peculiarly necessary and important, that every possible effect should be given to the inquiries now before parliament respecting the same, so that condign punishment may follow convicted criminality.—Resolved unanimously, That

That it is highly essential, for the purpose of fully inquiring into the receipt, management, and expenditure of the public money, and the conduct of the public offices, and for completely investigating all abuses, that the powers of the said commissioners should be prolonged and extended, and such other measures adopted as may appear necessary for the detection and punishment of all offenders, and for establishing such a system of vigilance and economy as may effectually guard against the recurrence of such flagrant abuses.—Resolved unanimously, That a petition to that effect be presented to the hon. house of commons. And the draft of a petition being prepared, was read and approved.—Resolved unanimously, That the said petition be engrossed and left at the town clerk's office, Guildhall, for the signatures of the livery, every day, except Sunday, between the hours of 10 and 2, until Wednesday next, the 24th inst.—Resolved unanimously, That the said petition be presented to the honourable house of commons, by the representatives of this city in parliament.—Resolved unanimously, That our representatives in parliament be, and they are hereby, instructed to support the said petition, and to give their utmost parliamentary assistance in promoting and prosecuting these inquiries, and also their strenuous support to such motion or motions as may have for their object the removal from his majesty's councils, or any place of trust, profit or honour, in or under the government, all persons who may be implicated in, or have connived at, such flagrant abuses.—Resolved unanimously, That the virtuous and independent decision of the house of commons on these nefarious transactions, is highly honourable to themselves, and grateful to the country at large, while the strong and general impression produced upon the public mind, effectually evinces, that the English constitution can never cease to be the pride and veneration of Britons, so long as our representatives continue to be the faithful guardians of the people.—Resolved unanimously, That we do highly approve the very able and indefatigable exertions of the commissioners for naval inquiry in the investigation of the public accounts; and the firm and inflexible integrity with which they have exposed the unprincipled perversion of public money to private emolument.—Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this common hall be given to the representatives of this city in parliament for supporting the resolutions of the house of commons on the 8th instant.—Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this common hall be given to such of the livery as have seats in parliament who supported the said resolutions.—Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this common hall be given to the right hon. John earl of St. Vincent, who was the primary cause of that investigation, by which the abuses in the naval department have been brought to light.—Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this common hall be given to the right hon. the lord mayor, for his fair and impartial conduct this day.

WOODTHORPE.

Note remitted by sir Arthur Paget, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Vienna, upon

upon the subject of the deportation of sir G. Rumbold.

The occurrence which has lately taken place at Hamburg, is already too well known to his excellency the vice-chancellor of the court and of state, for the undersigned envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty to think it necessary, at this time, to state the details of it. But however habituated one may be to behold the French government heap violence upon violence, and atrocity upon atrocity, this last enterprise is such, that, perfectly convinced that there can be but one manner of regarding and appreciating it, the undersigned would nevertheless think himself wanting to his duty, if he did not solicit the particular attention of his excellency, to a crime as revolting in itself, as it is pernicious in its relations with the great interests of the German empire. The undersigned thinks it impossible that his majesty the emperor, in his quality of chief of that empire, could rest a tranquil spectator of so audacious a violation of all political rights and decorum; and he flatters himself, that in the present atrocity, the known principles and sentiments of his imperial majesty will suggest measures comformable to the common interests of all independent powers.—The undersigned seizes this opportunity, &c.

A. Paget.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Letter from Bonaparte to his majesty the king of England, dated 2d January, 1805.

Sir and brother,

Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood, shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences? I consider it as no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war; it besides presents nothing that I need to fear; peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable, to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war which all my efforts will not be able to terminate? Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war?—To form a coalition with some powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil: a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew intestine troubles?—The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances?—Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed. To take from France her colonies?—The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than

you

you know how to preserve? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect, to cause two nations to fight merely for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have however fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.

NAPOLEON.

Answer given by lord Mulgrave, sec. of state for foreign affairs, dated the 14th January, 1805, addressed to M. Talleyrand.

His Britannic majesty has received the letter which has been addressed to him by the head of the French government, dated the 2d of the present month. There is no object which his majesty has more at heart, than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace, founded on bases which may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions. His majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his majesty feels it is impossible for him to answer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the powers on the continent with whom he is engaged in confidential connections and relations, and particularly the emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he is animated, and the lively interest which he takes in the safety and independence of the continent.

MULGRAVE.

Letter from Napoleon to the landamman of Switzerland, dated 4th January, 1805.

To our great and dear friend the landamman of Switzerland.

Very dear and great friend,—At the moment when it pleased Divine Providence to call me to the throne of France, nothing could be more pleasing to me, than the expression of the sentiments with which you participate in the event. Your deputies have delivered your letter of congratulation, and, in the manner in which they have discharged their mission, have fully justified the confidence you placed in them. During their stay here, they have been able to assure you of my unchangeable intentions to preserve the friendly relations between the two states. I wish they may convey to you these assurances, as also those of my esteem and regard for you. I pray God, my dear and great friend, to have you in his holy keeping.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

MARCH 19.

Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution, king of Italy, to all those to whom these shall come, greeting.

Art. I. The emperor of the French,

French, Napoleon, is king of Italy. II. The crown of Italy is hereditary by direct and lawful descent, whether natural or adopted, from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants; with this restriction, that the right of adoption is not to extend to any person who is not a citizen of the French empire, or of the kingdom of Italy. III. At the period that the foreign armies shall have evacuated the state of Naples, the Ionian isles, and the island of Malta, the emperor Napoleon will transmit the crown of Italy to one of his male children, whether natural or adopted. IV. From the date of that period, the crown of Italy shall no longer be united to that of France, in the same person; and the successors of Napoleon I. in the kingdom of Italy, shall reside constantly in the Italian republic. V. In the course of the present year, the emperor Napoleon, with the advice of the council of state, and the deputation of the electoral colleges, shall give to the Italian monarchy a constitution, founded on the same basis with that of the French empire, and upon the same principles with the laws which he has already given to Italy.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
(Counter-signed) MARESCALCHI.

The different authorities of the Italian monarchy having taken the oath of fidelity, his majesty addressed them in a long speech; in which he took a view of his conquests, and observed that the strength and power of the French empire were exceeded by the moderation of her political concerns. As a proof of this moderation, he proceeded to show that the provinces of Germany, which would have been lost for ever but for the generous protection of the French, had been restored; that Austria, notwithstanding her unsuccessful wars, had acquired the state of Venice; that Holland was declared independent as soon as she was conquered; that Switzerland was conquered and set free; all of which were striking proofs of the liberality of the French nation. His majesty concluded with the following declaration:

"We have accepted, and we will place on our head, the iron crown of the antient Lombards, for the purpose of new-tempering it, to consolidate it, that it may not be broken in the midst of the tempests which menace it, so long as the Mediterranean shall not be restored to its pristine state. But we do not hesitate to declare, that we will transmit this crown to one of our lawful children, natural or adopted, the day when we shall be without alarm for that independence which we have guarantied to the other states of the Mediterranean."

Abstract of a convention concluded by the French minister, Salliceti, with the Ligurian republic, in the name of the emperor Napoleon.

The emperor Napoleon engages to procure a peace for the Ligurian republic with the Barbary powers, and to cause the Ligurian flag to be respected by those powers.—Should he, however, not be so successful in this endeavour as he expects to be, he engages to furnish the ships of the said republic with French colours, that they may thus be protected.—The emperor of the French will further grant permission for the importation of all Ligurian commodities into Piedmont,

Parma, and Placenza, only paying the small importation-toll, which was before customary, which shall begin to be in force immediately after the ratification of this convention.—On the other part, the government of the Ligurian republic engages to furnish 6,000 seamen, during the present war, and to have 4,000 of them in readiness in a short time.—The Ligurian republic cedes the harbours, with the arsenal, as also the galley harbours and the dock-yard, with the basin, and places them at the disposal of the French; and as it is intended to build in the said dock-yard ten ships of the line for France, the Ligurian republic engages to enlarge the basin sufficiently for the entrance and stationing of these ships at its own expense; and as at the time of the conclusion of this convention a new-built ship of the line, a frigate, and two corvettes are lying finished in the dock of Genoa, these ships shall likewise be placed at the disposal of France.

Proclamation of the French emperor to the army.

Soldiers,

The war of the third coalition has begun.—The Austrian army has passed the Inn, violated treaties, and has attacked and driven our ally from his capital. You yourselves have been conpelled to advance by forced marches to the defence of our frontiers. Already you have passed the Rhine. We will not again make peace without a sufficient guarantee. Our policy shall no more give way to our generosity.

Soldiers, your emperor is in the midst of you; you are only the advanced guard of a great people. If it should be necessary, they will all rise at my voice to confound and dissolve this new league which has been formed by the hatred and the gold of England.

But, soldiers, we shall have forced marches to make, fatigues and privations of every kind to endure. Whatever obstacles may be opposed to us we will overcome them, and we shall take no rest until we have placed our eagles on the territory of our enemies.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Sept. 24.

Proclamation of the emperor Napoleon addressed to his army, after the battle of 2d December.

Soldiers,

I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz, you have justified what I expected from your intrepidity.—You have covered yourselves with eternal glory. An army of 100,000 men, which was commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four hours, either cut off or dispersed. What escaped your sword have thrown themselves into the lakes.

Forty stand of colours, the standards of the Russian imperial guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, above thirty thousand prisoners are the fruits of this ever memorable battle.

That infantry, so celebrated and superior to you in numbers, have proved unable to resist your charge, and henceforth you have no rivals to fear.

Thus, in less than two months the third coalition is conquered and dissolved. Peace cannot be at a great distance; but, as I promised to my people before crossing

ing the Rhine, I will conclude it only upon terms consistent with my pledge, and which shall secure not only the indemnification but the reward of my allies.

Soldiers, When the French people placed the imperial crown upon my head, I trusted to you to enable me to maintain it in that high splendour of glory which alone could give it value in my estimation: but at that moment our enemies entertained the design to tarnish and degrade it; and the iron crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, would they have compelled me to place on the head of my bitterest foe; an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have brought to nought on the anniversary of your emperor's coronation. You have taught them, that it is easier for them to defy and to threaten, than to subdue us.

Soldiers! When every thing necessary to the security, the happiness, and prosperity of our country has been achieved, will I return you my thanks in France. Then will you be the objects of my tenderest care. My people will receive you with rapture and joy. To say to me—'I was in the battle of Austerlitz'—will be enough to authorise the reply—'That is a brave man!'

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Head-quarters at Austerlitz,
Dec. 8d, 1805.

Declaration of war made by Spain against England, dated Madrid, 12th Dec. 1804.

The peace which Europe beheld with so much delight re-established at Amiens, has, unfortunately for the welfare of nations, proved but of short duration. The rejoicings with which this happy event was celebrated upon all sides, were scarcely concluded, when the public satisfaction began to be troubled, and the advantage of the peace to disappear. The cabinets of London and Paris held Europe suspended, and agitated between its terrors and its hopes, seeing the event of the negotiations every day become more uncertain, until the moment that discord arrived at such an height, as to kindle between them the fire of a war, which must naturally extend itself to other powers; since it was very difficult for Spain and Holland, who had treated jointly with France at Amiens, and whose interests and political relations are so reciprocally connected, to avoid finally taking part in the grievances and offences offered to their ally.—In these circumstances, his majesty, supported by the most solid principles of a wise policy, preferred pecuniary subsidies to the contingent of troops and ships with which he was bound to assist France, in virtue of the treaty of alliance in 1796: and as well by means of his minister in London, as of the English agents at Madrid, he gave the British government to understand, in the most positive manner, his decided and firm resolution to remain neutral during the war; making no doubt that he should quickly have the satisfaction of seeing that these ingenuous assurances were well received by the court of London.—Nevertheless, that cabinet, which must have resolved in silence before-hand, for its own particular ends, upon the renovation of the war with Spain, and which it was always able to declare, not with the forms and solemnities prescribed by the law of nations, but by means of positive aggressions, which

should turn to its own profit sought the most frivolous pretexts to bring into doubt the conduct of Spain, which was truly neutral, and to give demonstrations, at the same time, to the desires of his Britannic majesty to preserve the peace, all with the intention of gaining time, cajoling the Spanish government, and holding in uncertainty the opinion of the English nation upon its own premeditated and unjust designs, which could in no manner be approved by that nation. Thus it is, that in London it appeared artfully to accept various reclamations from Spanish individuals, which were addressed to it; while its agents in Madrid magnified the pacific intentions of their own sovereign: but they never showed themselves satisfied with the frankness and friendship with which all their notes were answered, rather anxious for proclaiming and magnifying armaments which had no existence, and pretending, contrary to the most positive protests on the part of Spain, that the pecuniary succours given to France were not merely an equivalent for the troops and ships which were stipulated in the treaty of 1796, but an indefinite and immense stock, which did not permit them to consider Spain in any other light than as a principal party in the war.—Moreover, as there was not time entirely to banish the illusion under which they laboured, they exacted, as the precise conditions upon which they would consider Spain as neutral, the cessation of every armament in her ports, and a prohibition of the sale of prizes brought into them. And, notwithstanding that both of these conditions, although urged in a tone superlatively haughty and unusual in political transactions, were immediately complied with, and religiously observed, they persisted, nevertheless, to manifest their want of confidence, and they quitted Madrid with eagerness, immediately after receiving dispatches from their court, of which they did not communicate a particle of the contents. The context which results from all this between the conduct of the cabinets of London and Madrid, must be sufficient to show clearly to all Europe, the bad faith, and the secret and perverse aims of the English ministry; even if they had not manifested them by the abominable crime of the surprise, battle, and capture of the four Spanish frigates, which, navigating in the full security which peace inspires, were fraudulently attacked in consequence of orders from the English government, signed in the very moment in which it was faithlessly exacting conditions for the prolongation of the peace, in which every possible security was given to it, and in which its own vessels were provided with provisions and refreshments in the ports of Spain.—Those very vessels, which were enjoying the most perfect hospitality, and were experiencing the fidelity with which Spain was proving to England the good faith of her engagements, and how firm her resolutions were to maintain her neutrality—those very ships carried, concealed in the bosom of their commanders, the unjust orders of the English cabinet for assaulting Spanish property on the seas—iniquitous orders, and profusely circulated, since all its vessels of war, on the seas of America and Europe, were already detaining and carrying into its harbours as many Spanish vessels as they met with, without respecting even the cargoes

goes of grain which were coming from all parts to succour a faithful nation, in a year of the greatest calamity. Barbarous orders! since they deserve no other name, to sink every ship under a hundred tons; to burn those which they found on shore on the coast; and to make prize of, and carry to Malta, those only which exceeded a hundred tons. The master of a laud, of Valentia, of fifty-four tons, has made this declaration, that he effected his escape in his launch upon the 16th of November, on the coast of Catalonia, when his vessel was sunk by an English vessel, whose captain took from him his papers and his flag; and informed him, that he had received these express instructions from his court. —In spite of such atrocious actions, which proved to perfect evidence the covetous and hostile views which the English cabinet had meditated, it was still able to carry on further its perfidious system of blinding the public opinion, alleging, for this purpose, that the Spanish frigates had not been carried into the English ports in quality of prizes, but as being detained until Spain should give the desired securities, that she would observe the strictest neutrality.—And what greater securities could or ought Spain to give? What civilized nation, until this hour, has made use of means so unjust and violent, to exact securities of another? Although England should find, at last, any claim to exact from Spain, in what manner could she justify it, after a similar atrocity? What satisfaction could she be able to give for the lamentable destruction of the frigate Mercedes, with all its cargo, its equipage, and the great number of distinguished passengers who have perished, the innocent victims of a policy so detestable?—Spain could not comply with what she owes to herself, nor think herself able to maintain her well known honour and dignity amongst the greatest powers of Europe, were she any longer to show herself insensible to such manifest outrages, and did she not take care to revenge them with the nobleness and energy which belong to her character.—Animated with these sentiments, the magnanimous breast of the king, after having exhausted (in order to preserve the peace) all the resources compatible with the dignity of his crown, finds himself in the hard predicament of making war upon the king of England, upon his subjects and people, omitting the formalities of style by a solemn declaration and publication, owing to the English cabinet's having begun and continued to make the war without declaring it.—In consequence, after having given orders for an embargo, by way of reprisal, upon all English property in his dominions, and that the most convenient instructions, both for his own defence, and the offence of the enemy, should be circulated to his viceroys, captains general, and great officers of the marine, his majesty has commanded his minister in London to retire, with all the Spanish legation; and his majesty does not doubt, that all his subjects, inflamed with that just indignation with which the violent proceedings of England must inspire them, will not omit any of all those means to which their valour shall prompt them, of co-operating with his majesty towards the most complete vengeance for the insult offered to the Spanish flag. For this purpose, he invites them to arm corsairs against Great-Britain, and to pos-

sess themselves, with resolution, of her ships and property, by every possible means; his majesty promising them the greatest promptitude and celerity in the adjudication of prizes, upon the sole proof of their being English property; and his majesty expressly renouncing, in favour of the captors, whatever part of the value of the prizes he had, upon other occasions, reserved to himself; so that they shall enjoy them in their full value, without the smallest discount.—And finally, his majesty has resolved, that what is contained in the premises, shall be inserted in the public papers, that it may come to the knowledge of all; and also that it shall be transmitted to the ambassadors and ministers of the king, in foreign courts, in order that all the powers shall be informed of these acts, and take interest in a cause so just; hoping that Divine Providence will bless the Spanish arms, so that they may obtain a just and convenient satisfaction for the injuries they have received.

RUSSIAN AND GERMAN PAPERS.

Note from his excellency baron Novosiltzoff to his excellency baron Hardenberg, minister of state for Prussia.

When his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in compliance with the wishes of his Britannic majesty, had resolved to send the undersigned to Buonaparte, to meet the pacific overtures which he had made to the court of London, his Russian majesty was guided by two sentiments and motives of equal force, with which you are acquainted; namely, his desire, on the one hand, to support a sovereign, who was ready to make exertions and sacrifices for the general tranquillity, and, on the other hand, to procure advantages to all the states of Europe, from a pacific disposition, which, from the formal manner in which it was announced, must be considered as very sincere. The existing disagreement between Russia and France could have placed insurmountable obstacles in the way of a negotiation of peace by a Russian minister; but his imperial majesty of Russia did not hesitate, for a moment, to pass over all personal displeasure, and all usual formalities.—His imperial majesty of Russia availed himself of the mediation of his Prussian majesty, when he requested passports for his plenipotentiary. He declared that he should only receive them on that particular condition, namely, that his plenipotentiary should enter directly upon a negotiation with the chief of the French government, without acknowledging the new title which he had assumed; and that Buonaparte should give explicit assurances that he was still animated by the same wish for a general peace, which he had appeared to show in his letter to his Britannic majesty.—This preliminary assurance was the more necessary, since Buonaparte had assumed the title of king of Italy immediately upon receipt of the answer given by his Britannic majesty to his letter of the 1st of January; a title which in itself put a new obstacle in the way of the desired restoration of peace.—After his Prussian majesty had transmitted the positive answer from the cabinet of the Thuilleries, that it persevered in the intention sincerely to lend its hand to a pacific negotiation, his imperial majesty of Russia accepted the passports the more readily, because the French government showed

showed so strong an inclination to transmit them. By a fresh transgression of the most solemn treaties, the union of the Ligurian republic with France has been effected. This event of itself, the circumstances which have accompanied it, the formalities which have been employed to hasten the execution thereof, the moment which has been chosen to carry the same into execution, have, alas! formed an aggregate which must terminate the sacrifices which his imperial majesty of Russia would have made at the pressing request of Great Britain, and in the hope of restoring the necessary tranquillity to Europe by the means of negotiation. Without doubt his imperial majesty of Russia would not have insisted so strenuously on the conditions fixed by him, if the French government had fulfilled the hope that it would respect the first tie which holds society together, and which upholds the confidence of engagements between civilized nations; but it cannot possibly be believed that Buonaparte, when he granted the passports, which were accompanied with the most pacific declarations, seriously intended to fulfill them; because, during the time which would necessarily elapse between the granting of the passports and the arrival of the undersigned at Paris, he took measures which, far from facilitating the restoration of peace, were of such a nature, that they annihilated the very ground of peace.—The undersigned, in recalling to the recollection of his excellency baron Hardenberg facts with which the cabinet of his Prussian majesty is very minutely acquainted, must at the same time inform him, that he has just now received from his Russian majesty an order dated the 9th (21st) June, to return the annexed passports immediately, and to request his excellency to transmit the same to the French government, with this present declaration, since no use whatever can be made of them in the present state of affairs.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his excellency the assurance of his respect.

(Signed) N. V. Novosiltzoff.

Berlin, 28th June, O. S.
(10th July) 1805."

Note transmitted by baron De Hardenberg, the Prussian minister of state, to the French minister M. Laforet.

The undersigned minister of state and of the cabinet, with the deepest regret, finds himself under the necessity of communicating to M. Laforet, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of the French, the note which M. Novosiltzoff has addressed to him upon returning him the French passport; at the same time announcing to him the order which his majesty the emperor of all the Russias has transmitted to him, in consequence of the recent changes in Italy, and especially the union of the Ligurian republic with the French empire, not to proceed upon his journey to France. His majesty could not but feel the greatest concern in seeing thus confirmed the fears which, from the moment the intelligence of that *unexpected event* transpired, it was impossible not to entertain, respecting the effect which it might produce on the salutary negotiation which it was under deliberation to open. The earnest desire which his majesty

has always cherished, and of which he has given repeated proofs, for the restoration of peace, is the strongest assurance of the sentiments of concern with which he is affected upon this occasion.—The undersigned has the honour to offer to M. Laforet the renewed assurance of his high consideration. —Berlin, 11th July.

(Signed) HARDENBERG.

DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

Although the emperor has not as yet taken any direct part in the different efforts which have been made, in the course of the present maritime war, to reconcile the belligerent parties, and effect the re-establishment of peace, his majesty has not been the less ardently desirous that an object so beneficial should be obtained by the exertions of the powers whose mediation was particularly solicited for that purpose.—This desire on the part of the court of Vienna was necessarily increased from the time that events, involving directly the interests and the balance of the continent, were produced by the subsequent consequences of the war between France and England, and from the time that his majesty the emperor of the French had publicly declared that the final settlement of the affairs of Lombardy should be deferred until the conclusion of this war, when it would be included in the negotiations which would take place for its termination. From that time the court of Vienna, who has possessions in Italy, and towards whom engagements were entered into respecting that important part of Europe, found herself immediately interested in the success of the negotiations for peace; and she has in consequence declared, on different occasions, how anxious she was to have it in her power to contribute to accelerate their opening.—It resulted from this disposition on her part, that nothing could be more satisfactory to her than the intelligence of the pacific proposal made at the beginning of this war by his majesty the emperor of the French to the court of London; and of that of this latter power, in which she referred, upon the point, to the interference of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias: proposals which announced, on the part of both powers, a moderate and conciliating disposition, which it was hoped the mission of M. Novosiltzoff to Paris, offered and accepted with equal alacrity, would realize.

It is, therefore, with the deepest regret that the emperor has learned that this mission had been cut short by the recent changes in the condition of the republics of Genoa and Lucca. Finding on his side, in these late changes, reasons of additional weight for desiring the speedy commencement of conciliatory measures, and not being willing to relinquish the hopes which he had built upon the spirit of moderation professed and solemnly confirmed by the French sovereign, the court of Vienna hastens to offer its good offices, in the hope that the general expectation which was entertained from the conciliating temper of all the powers, should not again be disappointed. She therefore invites the courts of St. Petersburg and the Thuilleries immediately to renew the negotiation which was on the point of being opened; being ready to lend her most earnest assistance to this desirable object,

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and flattering herself that the court of Berlin will also contribute towards it on her side, as a necessary consequence of the lively interest which she has always professed to take in the re-establishment of the public repose.—August, 1805.

Proclamation of the emperor of Austria, Francis II. elective emperor of the Romans, hereditary emperor of Germany, &c.

The emperor of France has compelled me to take up arms.

To his ardent desire of military achievements—his passion to be recorded in history under the title of a conqueror—the limits of France, already so much enlarged, and defined by sacred treaties, still appear too narrow; he wishes to unite in his own hands all the ties upon which depends the balance of Europe. The fairest fruits of exalted civilization, every species of happiness which a nation can enjoy, and which results from peace and concord; every thing which, even by himself, as the sovereign of a great civilized people, must be held dear and estimable, is to be destroyed by a war of conquest: and thus the greater part of Europe is to be compelled to submit to the laws and mandates of France.

This project announces all that the emperor of France has performed, threatened, or promised.—He respects no proposition which reminds him of the regard prescribed by the law of nations to the sacredness of treaties, and of the first obligations which are due towards foreign independent states. At the very time that he knew of the mediation of Russia, and of every step which, directed equally by a regard to my own dignity and to the feelings of my heart, I adopted for the re-establishment of tranquillity, the security of my states, and the promotion of a general peace, his views were fully disclosed, and no choice was left between war, and unarmed, abject submission!

Under these circumstances, I took hold of that hand which the emperor of Russia, animated by the noblest feelings in behalf of the cause of justice and independence, stretched forth to support me. Far from attacking the throne of the emperor of France, and keeping steadily in view the preservation of peace, which we so publicly and sincerely stated to be our only wish, we declared in the presence of all Europe, 'that we would, in no event, interfere in the internal concerns of France, nor make any alteration in the new constitution which Germany received after the peace of Luneville.' Peace and independence were the only objects which we wished to attain, no ambitious views, no intention, such as that since ascribed to me, of subjugating Bavaria, had any share in our councils.

But the sovereign of France, totally regardless of the general tranquillity, listened not to these overtures. Wholly absorbed in himself, and occupied only with the display of his own greatness and omnipotence, he collected all his force—compelled Holland and the elector of Baden to join him—whilst his secret ally, the elector Palatine, false to his sacred promise, voluntarily delivered himself up to him; violated, in the most insulting manner, the neutrality of the king of Prussia, at the very moment that he had given

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the most solemn promises to respect it; and by these violent proceedings he succeeded in surrounding and cutting off a part of the troops which I had ordered to take a position on the Danube and the Iller, and finally, in compelling them to surrender, after a brave resistance.

A proclamation no less furious than any to which the dreadful period of the French revolution gave birth, was issued, in order to animate the French army to the highest pitch of courage.

Let the intoxication of success, or the unhallowed and iniquitous spirit of revenge, actuate the foe; calm and firm I stand in the midst of 25 millions of people, who are dear to my heart, and to my family. I have a claim upon their love, for I desire their happiness. I have a claim upon their assistance; for, whatever they venture for the throne, they venture for themselves, their own families, their posterity, their own happiness and tranquillity, and for the preservation of all that is sacred and dear to them.

With fortitude the Austrian monarchy arose from every storm which menaced it during the preceding centuries. Its intrinsic vigour is still undecayed. There still exists in the breast of those good and loyal men, for whose prosperity and tranquillity I combat, that antient patriotic spirit which is ready to make every sacrifice, and to dare every thing, to save what must be saved—their throne and their independence, the national honour and the national prosperity.

From this spirit of patriotism on the part of my subjects, I expect, with a proud and tranquil confidence, every thing that is great and good; but above all things unanimity, and a quick, firm, and courageous co-operation in every measure that shall be ordered, to keep the rapid strides of the enemy off from our frontier, until those numerous and powerful auxiliaries can act, which my exalted ally, the emperor of Russia, and *other powers*, who have formerly and recently experienced the insults of the emperor of France, have destined to combat for the liberties of Europe, and the security of thrones and of nations. Success will not forsake a just cause for ever; and the unanimity of the sovereigns, the proud manly courage and the conscious strength of their people, will soon obliterate the first disasters. Peace will flourish again; and in my love, my gratitude, and their own prosperity, my faithful subjects will find a full compensation for every sacrifice which I am obliged to require for their own preservation.

In the name, and at the express command of the emperor and king,

FRANCIS count SAURAU.

Vienna, Oct. 26.

DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR FRANCIS.

Brunn, Nov. 13.

By the special order of his majesty the emperor and king, who has for some days honoured our town with his presence, the following notice has been published by the resident of police, the baron Von Summerew:—

PROCLAMATION.

His majesty the emperor and king had never a higher wish than the maintenance of peace. This wish lay in the principles of his government

government as well as in his heart. Without any even the most distant project of enlarging his states, or of procuring an indemnification for the sacrifices he had made at Luneville and Ratisbon to the tranquillity of Europe, he desired nothing but that the emperor of France, actuated by a similar spirit of enlightened and humane policy, should return within the limits prescribed by the treaty of Luneville. Whoever with a clear understanding took an interest in the fate of Europe, felt the justice and moderation of this desire.

True to his principles, his majesty, in the progress of the present war, was ready every moment to hold out his hand to peace and, amid the most brilliant victories, he would have thought and acted in the same way as under the influence of contrary occurrences.

His majesty believed that the great and happy moment of this reconciliation, and of returning happiness to his people, was not far distant, when the emperor of France, on several occasions, publicly manifested corresponding dispositions, and expressed himself with precision in the same spirit to Austrian general officers, whom the fortune of war had made his prisoners.

Full of confidence in such manifestations, and animated by an earnest wish to avert the approaching danger from the capital of Vienna, so dear to his heart, and, in general, to free his good and faithful subjects from the pressure of a longer war, his majesty sent his lieutenant field-marshal, the count de Guilay, to the head-quarters of the French emperor, *in the name of himself and his allies*, to obtain a confirmation of these pacific dispositions, to learn the further overtures which the emperor Napoleon might make on this occasion, and to treat for an armistice as preparatory to negotiations *for a general peace*.

But the hopes of his majesty were not fulfilled. As the basis of an armistice, limited to a few weeks, the emperor of France demanded,

'That the allied troops should return home; that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded; and that the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol should be previously evacuated to the French armies.'

All Europe will feel the inconsistency between such demands and the foregoing manifestations of the emperor. His majesty the emperor and king had, by this first step, fulfilled a sacred duty which his heart had dictated.

But he should have thought himself grievously injuring himself, the honour of his monarchy, the dignity of his house, the reputation of the good and great nation over which he rules, and the highest interest of the states, in the eyes both of the present and of future generations, if, notwithstanding the duty incumbent on him to preserve all these entire, he had yielded to the severe but passing pressure of the moment, and assented to conditions which would have been a death-blow to his monarchy, and a breach of the relations in which he stood with all friendly states.

His majesty wished for peace—he wishes for it still, with sincerity and earnestness. But he never could, and never will, place himself in a defenceless state, where he and his people would be delivered over to the imperious and arbitrary decisions of a mighty foe.

In such circumstances, nothing

thing remains to his majesty, but to cleave to those great and unexhausted resources which he finds in the hearts, in the prosperity, in the loyalty, in the strength of his people; and in the as yet undiminished force of his high allies and friends, the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia; and to persist in this firm and intimate connection till the emperor of the French, with that moderation which is the brightest gem in the crown of a great monarch, consents to conditions of peace which are not purchased by a sacrifice of the national honour and independence of a mighty state.

Note from count Wintzingerode, minister of state and conferences to his serene highness the elector of Wirtemberg, to his excellency M. Didelot, the French minister, dated 30th Sept. 1805.

The undersigned is under the necessity of giving to M. Didelot official communication of an event the most unexpected, and of an outrage the most unheard of, against the capital of his highness the elector, by marshal Ney.

Having appeared before the gates of Stutgard, not only with the intention of passing through it but of taking up his quarters there, general Hirzel, the commandant, went himself to the gates, and endeavoured, by the strongest representations, showing at the same time the positive orders to that effect of his highness the elector, to prevail on him to follow the conducting officers, posted on all the roads, made to preserve the communications round the town, and to facilitate the march of the French troops to all quarters to which they were destined.

But marshal Ney, rejecting all proposals of the kind, and refusing to accept of any compromise, ordered his guns to be pointed against the gate leading to Louisburg, compelled it to be opened by those means, entered the capital of his highness the elector in an hostile manner, with a force so considerable that the town was not capable of containing it. He ordered the magistracy to assemble, for the purpose of communicating to them that two regiments of hussars and five battalions of infantry would arrive there the same night, for which he made an immediate and peremptory demand of 100,000 rations of bread.

The undersigned is at a loss for expressions to convey the deep regret of his highness the elector, as well as the just indignation which he must necessarily feel, at the grievous and unheard-of insult which has been offered to him in his capital, at the moment that the emperor Napoleon makes professions of friendship to him, and flatters him with the prospect that he shall soon see him at his palace.

The elector places too much reliance on the justice and candour of the emperor of the French, to entertain, for a moment, the least doubt that he will not give to his highness the elector satisfaction complete and adequate to the enormity of the insult which has been offered to him.

His highness the elector has ordered the undersigned to require of his excellency M. Didelot, by this official note, to make a direct report of these transactions.

At the moment that his highness the elector sees his capital in the possession of a foreign army, his chief and greatest anxiety is

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for the persons of the envoys of the different powers of Europe accredited to his court, and who have only consented to remain there, under the assurance that his highness would cause them to be respected equally with himself.

His highness the elector firmly expects that his excellency will prevail on the commandant at Stutgard, to cause the sacred character of public ministers, in which the envoys accredited to his court are clothed, to be secured against all insult, and that they may continue to enjoy all the rights assured to them by the laws of nations.

The undersigned seizes, &c.

P. S.— At this instant, the undersigned has received official information from baron De Taubenheim, first equerry to his highness the elector, that some hussars, acting as body guards to general Dupont, have forced open the doors of the principal stables of the elector, and wounded, with a sabre, one of the servants, who endeavoured to prevent this violence. One of the elector's coachmen, dressed in his livery, and driving M. Didelot, attached to the French embassy, received also some blows with the flat of a sword. Upon complaint being made, of the breaking of the stable doors, by baron De Taubenheim, to the aid-de-camp of general Dupont, the only answer he received was—'It is all the same to me.'

It is sufficient, without doubt, that these facts be communicated to his excellency, to excite in him all the indignation that they are calculated to produce.

Copy of a circular note addressed to M. De Schraut, minister of Austria; M. De Maltiz, minister of Russia; M. De Madeweuf, minister of Prussia; M. De Hertling, minister of Bavaria; M. De Ernsiedel, minister of Saxony; M. De Spaen, minister of Holland.

The undersigned minister of state, &c. &c. of his highness the elector feels it to be his duty to communicate to his excellency M. ——, the note, of which the annexed is a copy, transmitted by order of his highness the elector, to his excellency M. Didelot, minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of the French, respecting an unexpected event, the details of which are fully mentioned in the said note.

The undersigned seizes this opportunity, &c.

Louisburg, 1st Oct. 1805.

Proclamation of the lieut.-general Deroy to the Bavarian army.

Soldiers,

Your country has called you to its defence.

In the midst of peace, our elector has been attacked by Austria: Bavaria has been over-run by her troops.

Your prince wished to remain neutral; and you have seen yourselves forced to avoid the Austrian armies, in order to prevent an engagement.

But Austria requires your being incorporated with her army: she wishes you to be disarmed.

You know the manner in which you were treated in former campaigns. Then you fought for that power: you marched together, and you submitted to excessive fatigues.

What

What would have been your fate, if, when dispersed in that army, you had not dared to call yourselves Bavarians, the faithful subjects of Maximilian Joseph?

You, Bavarians, would not allow yourselves to be disarmed—you who, at the moment of the enemy's invasion, have traversed through his columns for the purpose of rejoining your colours.

You, Suabians, and Franconians, who, at the first signal, came to unite yourselves with your brethren in arms—you will not suffer yourselves to be dishonoured. Avenge the prince whom you love; avenge the unprovoked injuries which you have received; come to the camp, in order to conquer peace for your country.

The great emperor of the French has joined us with all his forces.

Full of confidence in Providence, and in the justice of our cause, do not allow your country to be oppressed.

Soldiers, let us possess courage and confidence, and we shall be victorious.

Note transmitted by the baron De Hardenberg to M. Duroc and M. Laforest.

The king has commanded me to communicate what follows to his excellency marshal Duroc, and to M. Laforest, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of the French:

His majesty is uncertain whether he ought to be more surprised at the outrages which the French armies have taken the liberty of committing in his provinces, or at the extraordinary arguments by which it is attempted at this day to justify them. Prussia had declared her neutrality; but adhering to the last to her prior engagements, all the advantages of which henceforth would be in favour of France, she made sacrifices to them which might have endangered her dearest interests. This invariable integrity, this connection, which, without being in the least degree expensive to France, produced to her an invaluable degree of security on many essential points—how has it been repaid? Justly jealous of that consideration which is no less due to his power than to his quality, the king has read with sensations which he has in vain endeavoured to suppress, the justificatory dispatch communicated by the French ambassador to his cabinet.

A justification is attempted upon the authority of the practice of the last wars, and the similarity of circumstances; as if the exceptions which were then admitted had not been founded upon positive acts, which have been since annulled by the peace; as if the emperor ever took those acts into his consideration, when he took possession of the country of Hanover, of a country that had been so long placed under the protection of Prussia! But ignorance of our intentions is pleaded; as if the intention did not exist in the nature of the transaction, so long as the contrary is not stipulated! as if the solemn protestations of the authorities of the province, and of the minister of his majesty to his highness the elector of Bavaria, had not sufficiently made known what was by no means necessary, and that I myself, with the map in my hand, in the conferences which I had with their excellencies M. Duroc and M. De Laforest, had

had not declared that no troops whatever should pass through the Margraviates; pointing out to them, at the same time, the route of communication that Bavaria had stipulated for herself as the only one in which the march of the troops was not likely to meet with any obstruction! It has been said, that in matters of such importance, a positive explanation should take place: as if that were a duty incumbent on the power which reposed in confidence on the faith of a principle, and not upon that which intended to subvert it. In short, a pretext is made of facts which have never had any other foundation than in false reports; and in imputing outrages to the Austrians, which they have never committed, the observation of his majesty is only directed to the contrast which their conduct offers to that of the French armies.

The king could have even drawn from this contrast conclusions more unfavourable respecting the intentions of the emperor. He will confine himself to the reflection, that his imperial majesty had at least his reasons for considering the positive engagements which existed between him and Prussia as of no importance in his eyes, under the present circumstances; and that he himself was consequently on the point of sacrificing every thing to adhere to his engagements. He considers himself at this day absolved from all obligations antecedent to the present time. Thus restored to that state of things, in which he has no other duty than that of his own safety and the maxims of common justice, the king will not the less evince that he is always animated by the same principles.

To see Europe participate in that peace, in which he aspires to maintain his own subjects, is his only wish: to contribute, by all the means in his power, to re-establish it upon a solid basis, and to apply to this great work his active mediation, and his unremitting endeavours, shall be his chief duty.

But, impeded on every side in these his noble intentions, the king can no longer intrust to other hands than his own the care of providing for the safety of his people. Without obligations for the future, and also without assurances, he finds himself compelled to order his armies to occupy those positions which are indispensably necessary for the protection of the state.

Entreating their excellencies M. Duroc and M. De Laforest to transmit these observations to his imperial majesty, I have to assure them of my high consideration.

(Signed) HARDENBERG.

Berlin, 14th October 1805.

The armistice concluded between their majesties the emperors of the French and Austria.

His majesty the emperor of the French, and his majesty the emperor of Germany, being desirous of coming to definitive negotiations, in order to put an end to a war which has devastated both their dominions, have previously agreed upon an armistice, to exist till the conclusion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of the negotiations. In the latter case, hostilities shall not recommence within fourteen days; and the cessation of the armistice shall then be announced to the plenipotentiaries of both powers, at the head-quarters of their respective armies.

Article

Article I. The line of both armies shall be in Moravia, the circle of Iglau, the circle of Znaim, the circle of Brunn, a part of the circle of Olmutz, upon the right bank of the little river of Trezeboska, before Prosstnitz, to the spot where that river discharges itself into the Marck; and the right bank of the Marck to the junction of that river with the Danube, Presburg being included.

No French nor Austrian troops shall, on any occasion, be stationed within five or six leagues of Halitch, upon the right bank of the Marck.

Further, the line of both armies shall include in the territory to be occupied by the French army, all upper and lower Austria, Tyrol, the state of Venice, Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, the county of Goritz and Istria, and lastly in Bohemia, the circle of Montabor, and the whole space to the eastward, from Tabor to Lintz.

Art. II. The Russian army shall evacuate the Austrian states, with Austrian Poland, viz. Moravia and Hungary within the period of fifteen days, and Gallicia within a month. The routes shall be prescribed to the Russian army, that it may be always known where they are, as well as to prevent any misunderstanding.

Art. III. There shall be no levy in mass, or insurrection, in Hungary, nor any extraordinary recruiting for troops in Bohemia, nor shall any foreign army be permitted to enter the territory of the house of Austria.

The negotiators for both powers shall meet at Nicolsburg, for the immediate commencement of negotiations, in order to effect, without delay, the re-establishment of peace and a good understanding between the two emperors.

The duplicates of this instrument are hereby signed by us, marshal Berthier, minister of war, major-general of the grand army, plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, and prince John of Lichtenstein, lieutenant-general and plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary, &c.

Done at Austerlitz, Dec. 6, 1805.

(Signed)

Marshal BERTHIER.

J. Prince of LICHTENSTEIN, lieutenant-general.

ST. DOMINGO.

Jacques I. emperor of Hayti, commander in chief of the armies, by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state,

Desirous to dispense equally, and without distinction, the favours of the government, and to secure to the authorised consignees (and this without respect to private interests and particular privileges) the benefits resulting from the imperial decree of Aug. 1, present year,

Decrees as follows, to be executed throughout the whole extent of the empire:

Art. I. All authorised commercial houses for receiving consignments shall have and exercise equal and similar rights, agreeably to the favour granted by the abovementioned law.

II. Consequently, according to the principle of the preceding article, each consignee shall be permitted, in his turn, and following the order of the number affixed to his commission, to sell and have the responsibility of foreign vessels.

III. This

"III. This distribution shall be calculated so that no authorised consignee, however favoured, or whatever his claims, shall receive a number of vessels exceeding those received by other consignees.

"IV. According to the preceding article, each merchant already commissioned is required to present his patent to the secretary-general of the government, who will give to it the requisite formality.

"Done at the imperial palace, Sept. 6."

IMPERIAL DECREE.

Jacques I. emperor of Hayti, commander in chief of the armies, by the grace of God, and the constitutional law of the state,

"Desirous of restraining the frequent abuses in the receipt of the duties of importation and exportation, as also in the receipt of the tax of one-fourth, levied on the territorial produce:—

"Considering the necessity of restricting the exportation of specie to foreign countries:

"Considering, moreover, the necessity of inflicting upon fraudulent speculators and public dilapidators, punishments commensurate with the crimes they commit:

"Decrees as follows, to be carried into effect throughout the whole extent of the empire:—

Art. I. Every vessel which shall be discovered trespassing against the laws, either as it relates to the duties of importation or of exportation, shall, together with her cargo, be confiscated for the benefit of the state.

II. When a vessel shall be suspected of fraud, the armed force shall be called upon by the administrator of the place, who, assisted by the collector of the custom-house, and in presence of the comptroller and the commandant of the place, shall proceed to the unloading and examination thereof, in the strictest manner; a process verbal of which shall be drawn up, and immediately forwarded to the minister of finance.

III. Every authorised mercantile house receiving consignments, is bound to make known to the administrator of the place, before the vessel consigned to it be permitted to sail, the amount of the sale of her cargo, in produce; and the surplus of the specie which it has not been able to convert into produce shall be deposited in the treasury: a receipt for the amount thereof shall be given by the said administrator, payable in produce of the place, at the current prices, and to the order of the bearer.

IV. The consignees shall be required to produce (in addition to the state of duties made out by the collector upon the cargo of each vessel) the permits for the sale thereof, which shall be deposited in the office of the administrator.

V. Every foreign vessel shall be required, within twenty-four hours after her arrival at any port, to declare her intention of disposing of the cargo there, or of sailing to another port.

VI. Every individual who shall be convicted of having purchased goods, without receiving a regular permit therewith, shall be imprisoned six months, and his property confiscated.

VII. Every holder of a permit to dispose of his goods, is required to deposit it in the revenue office (*bureau des domain*); a quantity of new permits, proportionate to the amount of goods he may have on hand, shall be delivered to him.

VIII. Every Haytian, of whatever profession he may be, who shall be convicted of having sold produce before having paid the rent of his farm, the impost of one-fourth, and the proportion receivable by the cultivators, shall be prosecuted criminally.

IX. Every one renting or owning a farm, shall be obliged to carry the amount of the one-fourth belonging to the cultivators to the office of the justice of the peace, to be then divided amongst them, in his presence, and in that of the commandant of the place, which shall both certify the account of sales of the said farmers or proprietors.

Done at the imperial palace, Gonaives, Sept. 23.

"DESSALINES."

PUBLIC ACTS *passed in the Third Session of the Second Imperial Parliament.*

February 7, 1805.

An act for granting to his majesty certain duties on malt in Great Britain.

An act for continuing the duties on pensions, life-hold estates, &c. and for granting certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco and snuff.

February 22.

An act for raising the sum of 3,000,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

An act for consolidating the duties to be exercised by the commissioners for the affairs of taxes.

An act for enabling the lord lieutenant of Ireland to continue to apprehend and detain suspected traitors.

March 1.

An act for granting additional annuities to certain holders of stock.

March 22.

An act for raising 22,000,000*l.* by way of annuities.

An act for granting additional duties on postage.

An act for the more effectual performance of quarantine.

An act for the further regulation of the marine service.

March 25.

An act for regulating bounties and draw-backs on goods to and from Ireland.

An act for granting certain stamp duties, and fixing certain other taxes in Ireland.

An act for enabling the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills for the service of the present year.

An act for revising the drawback on sugar.

An act for restraining, during a certain period, the issuing of promissory notes and bills of exchange in England.

An act for permitting merchants to lodge, for a time, their spirituous liquors in warehouses in Ireland.

April 2.

An act for granting certain additional duties of excise.

An act for granting certain additional duties on legacies, and for augmenting

augmenting the duties on certain stamps.

April 11.

An act for permitting a number of persons in the Irish militia to enlist into the army or marine service.

An act for preventing frauds in the use of permits amongst retailers of spirituous liquors.

An act for punishing the adulteration of flour, meal, &c. within the bills of mortality.

May 17.

An act for rasing 1,500,000*l.* by way of annuities for the service of Ireland.

An act for repairing the roads through which the post is carried in Ireland.

An act for restraining the negotiation, during a certain period, of promissory notes and bills of exchange in Ireland.

An act for preventing the counterfeiting of Irish silver pieces called Tokens.

An act for confirming the charter of officers of excise in Scotland.

June 5.

An act for making perpetual certain duties on wine.

An act for regulating the duty on slate brought coastwise.

The property act.

An act for granting certain duties on sugar, malt and tobacco.

An act for continuing the inquiry of the naval commissioners.

An act for appointing commissioners of inquiry in the military department.

An act for regulating the licenses of persons selling beer, ale, wine, &c.

June 7.

An act for granting a sum to be raised by lotteries.

An act for granting an additional duty on Spanish red wines.

An act for farming the duty paid on post horses.

An act for regulating the trade of maltsters in Ireland.

An act for regulating licenses granted to persons dealing in exciseable commodities in Ireland.

An act for granting bounties to persons catching and bringing fish to London, Westminster, and other parts of the kingdom.

An act for regulating the office of paymaster-general to his majesty's forces.

An act for consolidating the several laws relating to the imports and exports of certain ports in the West Indies.

An act for regulating the election of members to serve in parliament in Ireland.

An act for defraying the charge of pay and clothing of the militia of Great Britain.

An act for defraying ditto for Ireland, and for adjusting the mode of holding court-martials on militia serjeants, corporals, and drummers.

An act for inquiring into the perquisites of certain public offices in Ireland, and for amending the abuses therein.

An act for making allowances of pay, in certain cases, to certain officers of militia while disembodied.

An act for making perpetual certain acts relating to the manufacture of sail-cloth in Great Britain: for permitting the importation of corn to the isles of Guernsey, Jersey and Alderney: and for regulating the fees of officers

of customs in the British colonies in America and Newfoundland.

An act for vesting in the barrack-master-general the power of selling estates occupied for the barrack service.

An act for the encouragement of seamen to serve on board his majesty's fleets.

An act for the preservation of bark, timber-trees, and underwood.

An act for amending certain laws relating to the maintainance, relief, and employment of the poor.

July 2.

An act for consolidating certain acts relating to the sale and redemption of the land-tax.

An act for inquiring into the losses of such of his majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland as may have suffered by the outrages of the rebels.

An act for repealing certain duties on woollen goods, the manufacture of these kingdoms, and exported to the East Indies.

July 10.

An act for rasing 8,000,000*l.* by loan or exchequer bills.

An act for indemnifying the bank of England for moneys advanced on the credit of exchequer bills.

An act for raising 1,500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills for the service of Great Britain.

An act for reducing the excise duties on hops the growth of Great Britain.

An act for securing the duties on stamped paper, used for paper hangings, &c. in Ireland.

An act for charging additional duties on Spanish red wines in Ireland.

An act for continuing the premiums allowed to ships employed in the southern whale fishery.

An act for extending the provisions of the laws for the punishment of forgery of bank-notes, bills of exchange, &c.

An act for increasing the drawbacks on linens exported to the West Indies.

An act for encouraging the duties in the Isle of Man, and for preventing smuggling to and from that island.

An act for better explaining the several bounties on the importation or exportation of grain.

An act for appointing additional commissioners for the better auditing of the public accounts.

An act for amending the laws relating to the speedy apprehension and punishment of criminals who may have escaped from one part of the kingdom to another.

An act for increasing the bounty granted to the pilchard fishery.

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

College Life of Mr. Cumberland.

[From his own Memoirs of his Life and Writings.]

'WHEN the time came for me to commence my residence in college, my father accompanied me and put me under the care of the Rev. Dr. Morgan, an old friend of our family, and a senior fellow of that society. My rooms were closely adjoining to his, belonging to that staircase which leads to the chapel bell; he was kind to me when we met, but as tutor I had few communications with him, for the gout afforded him not many intervals of ease; and with the exception of a few trifling readings in Tully's Offices, by which I was little edified, and to which I paid little or no attention, he left me and one other pupil, my friend and intimate Mr. William Rudd of Durham, to choose and pursue our studies, as we saw fit. This dereliction of us was inexcusable, for Rudd was a youth of fine talents and a well-grounded scholar. In the course of no long time, however, doctor Morgan left college, and went to reside upon his living of Gainford in the bishoprick of Durham, and I was turned over to the reverend doctor Philip Young, professor of oratory in the university, and afterwards bishop of Norwich. What Morgan made a very light concern, Young made an absolute sinecure; for from him I never received a single lecture; and I hope his lordship's conscience was not much disturbed on my account; for, though he gave me free leave to be idle, I did not make idleness my choice.

"In the last year of my being under-graduate, when I commenced soph, in the very first act that was given out to be kept in the mathematical schools, I was appointed to an opponency, when at that time I had not read a single proposition in Euclid; I had now been just turned over to Mr. Backhouse, the Westminster tutor, who gave regular lectures, and fulfilled the duties of his charge ably and conscientiously. Totally unprepared to answer the call now made upon me, and acquit myself

in the schools, I resorted to him in my distress, and through his interference my name was withdrawn from the act; in the mean time I was sent for by the master doctor Smith, the learned author of the well known Treatises upon Optics and Harmonics, and the worthy successor to my grandfather Bentley, who strongly reprobated the neglect of my former tutors, and recommended me to lose no more time in preparing myself for my degree, but to apply closely to my academical studies for the remainder of the year; which I assured him I would do.

"As I did not belong to Mr. Backhouse till I had commenced soph, but nominally to those who left me to myself, I had hitherto pursued those studies that were familiar to me, and indulged my passion for the classics with an ardour that rarely knew any intermission or relief. I certainly did not wantonly misuse my time, or yield to any even of the slightest excesses that youth is prone to: I never frequented any tavern, neither gave nor received entertainments, nor partook of any parties of pleasure, except now and then in a ride to the hills, so that I thank God I have not to reproach myself with any instances of misconduct towards a generous father, who at this tender age committed me to my own discretion and confided in me. I look back therefore upon this period of my life with a tranquil conscience; I even dwell upon it with peculiar delight, for within those maternal walls I passed years given up to study and those intellectual pure enjoyments, which leave no self-reproach, whilst with the works of my ancestors in my hands, and the impression of their examples on my heart, I flattered myself in the belief that I was pressing forward ardently and successfully to follow them in their profession, and peradventure not fall far behind them in their fame. This was the great aim and object of my ambition; for this I laboured, to this point I looked, and all my world was centred in my college. Every scene brought to my mind the pleasing recollection of times past, and filled it with the animating hope of times to come: as my college duties and attendances were occupations that I took pleasure in, punctuality and obedience did not put me to the trouble of an effort; for when to be employed is our amusement, there is no self-denial in not being idle. If I had then had a tutor, who would have systematized and arranged my studies, it would have been happy for me; but I had no such director, and with my books before me (poets, historians and philosophers) sate down as it were to a *cœna dubia*, with an eager, rather than a discriminating, appetite; I am now speaking of my course of reading from my admission to my commencing soph, when I was called off to my academical studies. In that period my stock of books was but slender, till doctor Richard Bentley had the goodness to give me a valuable parcel of my grandfather's books and papers, containing his correspondence with many of the foreign literati upon points of criticism, some letters from sir Isaac Newton, a pretty large body of notes for an edition of Lucan's Pharsalia, which I gave to my uncle Bentley, and were published under his inspection by Dodsley at Mr. Walpole's press, with sundry other manuscripts, and a considerable number of Greek and Latin books, mostly collated by him, and their margins filled with

with alterations and corrections in his own hand, neatly and legibly written in a very small character. The possession of these books was most gratifying and acceptable to me; some few of them were extremely rare, and in the history I have given in The Observers of the Greek writers, more particularly of the comic poets now lost, I have availed myself of them, and I am vain enough to believe no such collection of the scattered extracts, anecdotes and remains of those dramatists is any where else to be found. The donor of these books was the nephew of my grandfather, and inherited by will the whole of his library, which at his death was sold by auction in Leicestershire, where he resided in his latter years on his rectory of Nailstone: he was himself no inconsiderable collector, and it is much to be regretted that his executors took this method of disposing of his books, by which they became dispersed in small lots amongst many country purchasers, who probably did not know their value. He was an accurate collater, and for his judgment in editions much resorted to by doctor Mead, with whom he lived in great intimacy. During the time that he resided in college, for he was one of the senior fellows of Trinity, he gave me every possible proof, not only in this instance of his donation, but in many others, of his favour and protection.

"At the same time, doctor Richard Walker, the friend of my grandfather, and vice-master of the college, never failed to distinguish me by every kindness in his power. He frequently invited me to his rooms, which I had so often visited as a child, and which had the further merit with me, as having been the residence of sir Isaac Newton, every relick of whose studies and experiments were respectfully preserved to the minutest particular, and pointed out to me by the good old vice-master with the most circumstantial precision. He had many little anecdotes of my grandfather, which to me at least were interesting; and an old servant Deborah, whom he made a kind of companion, and who was much in request for the many entertaining circumstances she could narrate of sir Isaac Newton, when she waited upon him as his bedmaker, and also of doctor Bentley, with whom she lived for several years after sir Isaac left college, and at the death of my grandfather was passed over to doctor Walker, in whose service she died.

"My mind in these happy days was so tranquil, and my time passed in so uniform a tenor of study and retirement, that though it is a period pleasing to me to reflect upon, yet it furnishes little that is worthy to be recorded. I believe I hardly ever employed myself upon English composition, except on the event of the Prince of Wales's death, when amongst others I sent in my contribution of elegiac verses to the university volume, and very indifferent ones they were. To my Latin declamations I paid my best attention; for these were recited publicly in the chapel after evening prayers on Saturdays, when it was open to all who chose to resort thither, and we were generally flattered by pretty full audiences.

"The year of trial now commenced, for which, through the neglect of my tutors, I was, as an academical student, totally unprepared. Determined to use every effort in my power for redeeming my lost time, I began a course of

study so apportioned as to allow myself but six hours sleep, to which I strictly adhered, living almost entirely upon milk, and using the cold bath very frequently. As I was then only seventeen years old, and of a frame by no means robust, many of my friends remonstrated against the severity of this regimen, and recommended more moderation; but the encouragement I met in the rapidity of my progress through all the dry and elementary parts of my studies determined me to persist with ardour, and made me deaf to their advice. In the several branches of the mechanics, hydrostatics, optics and astronomy, I consulted the best treatises, and made myself master of them; I worked all my propositions, formed all my minutes, and even my thoughts, in Latin, whereby I acquired a facility of expounding, solving and arguing in that language, in which I may presume to say I had advantages, which some of the best of my contemporaries in our public disputations were but too sensible of; for so long as my knowledge of a question could supply matter for argument, I never felt any want of terms for explanation.

"When I found myself prepared to take my part in the public schools, I thirsted for the opportunity, which I no longer dreaded; and with this my ambition was soon gratified, being appointed to *keep an act*, and three respectable opponents singled out against me, the first of which was looked up to as the best of the year. When his name was given out for disputation the schools never failed to be crowded, and as I had drawn my questions from Newton's Principia, I gave him fair scope for the display of his superiority, and was by all considered (for his fame was universal) as a mere child in his hands, justly to be punished for my temerity, and self-devoted to complete confutation. I was not only a mere novice in the schools, but also a perfect stranger to the gentlemen opposed to me: when therefore mounted on a bass in the rostrum, which even then I could scarcely overtop, I contemplated, in the person of my antagonist, a north-country black-bearded philosopher, who at an advanced age had been admitted at Saint John's to qualify for holy orders (even at that time a finished mathematician and a private lecturer in those studies), I did not wonder that the contrast of a beardless boy, pale and emaciated as I was then become, seemed to attract every body's curiosity; for after I had concluded my thesis, which precedes the disputation, when he ascended his seat under the rostrum of the moderator—

With grave
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
A pillar of strength; deep in his front engraven
Deliberation sate—sage he stood
With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest argument——

"Formidable as he appeared, I did not feel my spirits sink; for I had taken a very careful survey of the ground I was upon, and thought myself prepared against any attack he could devise against me. I also saw that all advantages, resulting from the unequal terms on which we engaged, were on my side; I might obtain glory from him, and he could but little profit by his triumph over me. My heart was in my cause, and proudly measuring its importance by the crowd it had collected, armed, as I believed myself to be, in the full understanding of my questions, and a perfect

perfect readiness in the language in which our disputations were to be carried on, I waited his attack amidst the hum and murmur of the assembly. His argument was purely mathematical, and so enveloped in the terms of his art, as made it somewhat difficult for me to discover where his syllogism pointed, without those aids and delineations which our process did not allow of; I availed myself of my privilege to call for a repetition of it, when at once I caught the fallacy and pursued it with advantage, keeping the clue firm in hand till I completely traced him through all the windings of his labyrinth. The same success attended me through the remaining seven arguments, which fell off in strength and subtlety, and his defence became sullen and morose, his latinity very harsh, inelegant, and embarrassed, till I saw him descend with no very pleasant countenance, whilst it appeared evident to me that my whole audience were not displeased with the unexpected turn which our controversy had taken. He ought in course to have been succeeded by a second and third opponent; but our disputation had already been prolonged beyond the time commonly allotted, and the schools were broken up by the moderator with a compliment addressed to me in terms much out of the usual course on such occasions.

"If it is allowable for me to speak on such trifling events circumstantially, and with the importance which at that time I attached to them, when I knew nothing of this great world beyond the walls of my college, I hope this passage will be read with candour, and that I shall be pardoned for a long tale told in my old age, of the first triumph of my youth, earned by extreme hard labour, and gained at the risque and hazard of my health, by a perseverance in so severe a course of study as brought me ultimately to the very brink of the grave.

"Four times I went through these scholastic exercises in the course of the year, keeping two acts and as many first opponencies. In one of the latter, where I was pitched against an ingenious student of my own college, I contrived to form certain arguments, which by a scale of deductions so artfully drawn, and involving consequences, which, by mathematical gradations (the premises being once granted), led to such unforeseen confutation, that even my tutor Mr. Backhouse, to whom I previously imparted them, was effectually trapped, and could as little parry them as the gentleman who kept the act, or the moderator, who filled the chair.

"The last time I was called upon to keep an act in the schools, I sent in three questions to the moderator, which he withstood as being all mathematical, and required me to conform to the usage of proposing one metaphysical question in the place of that which I should think fit to withdraw. This was ground I never liked to take, and I appealed against his requisition: the act was accordingly put by, till the matter of right should be ascertained by the statutes of the university, and in the result of that inquiry it was given for me, and my questions stood. This litigation between the moderator and an under-graduate, whose interest in the distribution of honours at the ensuing degree laid so much at the mercy of his report, made a considerable stir, and gave rise to much

conversation; so that when this long suspended act took place, not only the floor of the schools was filled with the juniors, but many of high standing in the university assembled in the gallery. The moderator had nominated the same gentleman as my first opponent, who no doubt felt every motive to renew the contest, and bring me to a proper sense of my presumption. The term was now drawing near to its close, and I began to feel very sensibly the effects of my too intense application, my whole frame being debilitated in a manner that warned me I had not long to continue my course of labour without the interruption of some serious attack; I had in fact the seeds of a rheumatic fever lurking in my constitution, and was led between two of my friends and fellow collegians to the schools in a very feeble state. I was, however, intellectually alive to all the purposes of the business we were upon; and when I observed that the moderator exhibited symptoms of indisposition by resting his head upon the cushion on his desk, I cut short my thesis to make way for my opponent, who had hardly brought his argument to bear, when the moderator, on the plea of sudden indisposition, dismissed me with a speech, which, though tinctured with some petulance, had more of praise in it than I expected to receive.

"I yielded now to advice, and paid attention to my health, till we were cited to the senate house to be examined for our bachelor's degree. It was hardly ever my lot, during that examination, to enjoy any respite. I seemed an object singled out as every man's mark, and was kept perpetually at the table under the process of question and answer. My constitution had just held me up to the expiration of the scrutiny, and I immediately hastened to my own home to alarm my parents with my ghastly looks, and soon fell ill of a rheumatic fever, which for the space of six months kept me hovering between life and death. The skill of my physician, the aforementioned doctor Wallis, of Stamford, and the tender attention of the dear friends about me, rescued me at length, and I recovered under their care. Whilst I was in this state I had the pleasure of hearing from Cambridge of the high station, which had been adjudged to me amongst *the wranglers* of my year, and I further understood how much I was indebted to the generous support of that very moderator, whom I had thwarted in the matter of my questions, for this adjudication so much in my favour and perhaps above my merits, for my knowledge had been hastily attained: a conduct so candid on the part of the reverend Mr. Ray (fellow of Corpus Christi, and the moderator, of whom I have been speaking), was ever remembered by me with gratitude and respect: Mr. Ray was afterwards domestic chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, and when I was resident in town, I waited upon him at Lambeth palace to express my sensibility of the very liberal manner in which he had protected me.

"I now found myself in a station of ease and credit in my native college, to which I was attached by every tie that could endear it to me. I had changed my under-graduate's gown, and obtained my degree of bachelor of arts with honours hardly earned by pains the more severe because so long postponed: and now if I have been seemingly too elaborate

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in tracing my own particular progress through these exercises, to which the candidate for a degree at Cambridge must of necessity conform, it is not merely because I can quote my privilege for my excuse, but because I would most earnestly impress upon the attention of my reader the extreme usefulness of these academical exercises and the studies appertaining to them, by which I consider all the purposes of an university education are completed; and so convinced am I of this, that I can hardly allow myself to call that an education, of which they do not make a part: if therefore I am to speak for the discipline of the schools, ought I not first to show that I am speaking from experience, without which opinions pass for nothing? Having therefore first demonstrated what my experience of that discipline has been, I have the authority of that, as far as it goes, for an opinion in its favour, which every observation of my life has since contributed to establish and confirm. What more can any system of education hold out to those, who are the objects of it, than public honours to distinguish merit, public exercises to awaken emulation, and public examinations, which cannot be passed without extorting some exertion even from the indolent, nor can be avoided without a marked disgrace to the *compounder?* Now if I have any knowledge of the world, any insight into the minds and characters of those, whom I have had opportunities of knowing (and few have lived more and longer amongst mankind), all my observations tend to convince me that there is no profession, no art, no station or condition in life, to which the studies I have been speaking of will not apply and come in aid with profit and advantage. That mode of investigation, step by step, which crowns the process of the student by the demonstration and discovery of positive and mathematical truth, must of necessity so exercise and train him in the habits of following up his subject, be it what it may, and working out his proofs, as cannot fail to find their uses, whether he, who has them, dictates from the pulpit, argues at the bar, or declaims in the senate; nay, there is no lot, no station (I repeat it with confidence), be it either social or sequestered, conspicuous or obscure, professional or idly independent, in which the man, once exercised in these studies, though he shall afterwards neglect them, will not to his comfort experience some mental powers and resources, in which their influence shall be felt, though the channels that conducted it may from disuse have become obscure, and no longer to be traced.

"Hear the crude opinions, that are let loose upon society in our table conversations; mark the wild and wandering arguments, that are launched at random without ever hitting the mark they should be levelled at: what does all this noise and nonsense prove, but that the talker has indeed acquired the fluency of words, but never known the exercise of thought, or attended to the development of a single proposition? Tell him that he ought to hear what may be said on the other side of the question—he agrees to it, and either begs leave to wind up with a few words more, which he winds and wiredraws without end; or having paused to hear, hears with impatience a very little, foreknows every thing you had further to say, cuts short your

your argument, and bolts in upon you with—an answer to that argument?—No; with a continuation of his own gabble; and, having stifled you with the torrent of his trash, places your contempt to the credit of his own capacity, and foolishly conceives he talks with reason because he has not patience to attend to any reasoning but his own.

"What are all the quirks and quibbles, that skirmishers in controversy catch hold of to escape the point of any argument, when pressed upon them? If a laugh, a jeer, a hit of mimickry, or buffoonery cannot parry the attack, they find themselves disarmed of the only weapons they can wield, and then, though truth should stare them in the face, they will affect not to see it: instead of receiving conviction as the acquirement of something, which they had not themselves and have gained from you, they regard it as an insult to their understandings, and grow sullen and resentful; they will then tell you they shall leave you to your own opinions, they shall say no more, and with an air of importance wrap themselves up in a kind of contemptuous indifference, when their reason for saying nothing is only because they have nothing more to say. How many of this cast of character are to be met with in the world every man of the world can witness.

"There are also others, whose vivacity of imagination having never felt the trammels of a syllogism is for ever flying off into digression and display—

Quo teneam nodo mutantem Protea formas?

"To attempt at hedging in these cuckows is but lost labour. These gentlemen are very entertaining as long as novelties with no meaning can entertain you; they have a great variety of opinions, which, if you oppose, they do not defend, and if you agree with, they desert. Their talk is like the wild notes of birds, amongst which you shall distinguish some of pleasant tone, but out of which you compose no tune or harmony of song. These men would have set down Archimedes for a fool when he danced for joy at the solution of a proposition, and mistaken Newton for a madman, when in the surplice, which he put on for chapel over night, he was found the next morning in the same place and posture, fixed in profound meditation on his theory of the prismatic colours. So great is their distaste for demonstration, they think no truth is worth the waiting for; the mountain must come to them, they are not by half so complaisant as Mahomet. They are not easily reconciled to truisms, but have no particular objection to impossibilities. For argument they have no ear; it does not touch them; it fetters fancy, and dulls the edge of repartee; if by chance they find themselves in an untenable position, and wit is not at hand to help them out of it, they will take up with a pun, and ride home upon a horse-laugh: if they can't keep their ground, they won't wait to be attacked and driven out of it. Whilst a reasoning man will be picking his way out of a dilemma, they, who never reason at all, jump over it, and land themselves at once upon new ground, where they take an imposing attitude, and escape pursuit. Whatever these men do, whether they talk, or write, or act, it is without deliberation, without consistency, without plan. Having no expanse of mind, they can comprehend only in part; they will

will promise an epic poem, and produce an epigram. In short, they glitter, pass away and are forgotten; their outset makes a show of mighty things, they stray out of their course into by-ways and obliquities, and when out of sight of their contemporaries, are for ever lost to posterity.

"When characters of this sort come under our observation, it is easy to discover that their levities and frivolities have their source in the errors and defects of education, for it is evident they have not been trained in any principles of right reasoning. Therefore it is that I hold in such esteem the academical studies pursued at Cambridge, and regard their exercises in the mathematical schools, and their examinations in the theatre, as forming the best system which this country offers for the education of its youth. Persuaded as I am of this, I must confess I have ever considered the election of scholars from the college of Eton to that of King's in Cambridge, as a bar greatly in their disfavour, forasmuch as by the constitution of that college they are not subjected to the same process for attaining their degrees, and of course the study of the mathematics makes no part of their system, but is merely optional. I leave this remark to those who may think it worthy of their consideration. Under-graduates of Trinity college, whether elected from Westminster or not, have no such exemptions."

ANECDOTES of Mr. CUMBERLAND in SUBSEQUENT LIFE.

[From the Same.]

"I RETURN to my narrative—I had a house in Queen-Anne-Street-West, at the corner of Wimpole-street, I lived there many years; my friend Mr. Fitzherbert lived in the same street, and Mr. Burke nearly opposite to me. I was surprised one morning at an early hour by a visit from an old clergyman, the reverend Decimus Reynolds. I knew there was such a person in existence, and that he was the son of bishop Reynolds by my father's aunt, and of course his first cousin; but I had never seen him to my knowledge in my life, and he came now at an hour when I was so particularly engaged, that I should have denied myself to him but that he had called once or twice before and been disappointed of seeing me. I had my office papers before me, and my wife was making my tea, that I might get down to Whitehall in time for my business, and the coach was waiting at the door. He was shown into the room; a more uncouth person, habit and address was hardly to be met with: he advanced, stopped, and stood staring with his eyes fixed upon me for some time, when, putting his hand into a pocket in the lining of the breast of his coat, he drew out an old packet of paper, rolled up and tied with whip-cord, and very ceremoniously desired me to peruse it. I begged to know what it was; for it was a work of time to unravel the knots—he replied—'My will.'—And what am I to do with your will, sir?—'My 'heir—' Well, sir, and who is your heir? (I really did not understand him)—

him) — 'Richard Cumberland— 'look at the date—left it to you 'twenty years ago—my whole es- 'tate—real and personal—come 'to town on purpose—brought up 'my title deeds—put them into 'your hands—sign a deed of gift, 'and make them over to you hard 'and fast.'

"All this while I had not looked at his will; I did not know he had any property, or, if he had, I had no guess where it lay, nor did I so much as know whereabouts he lived. In the mean time he delivered himself in so strange a style, by starts and snatches, with long pauses and strong sentences, that I suspected him to be deranged, and I saw by the expression of my wife's countenance, that she was under the same suspicion also. I now cast my eye upon the will; I found my name there as his heir under a date of twenty years past; it was therefore no sudden caprice, and I conjured him to tell me if he had any cause of quarrel or displeasure with his nearer relations. Upon this he sate down, took some time to compose himself (for he had been greatly agitated), and having recovered his spirits, answered me deliberately and calmly, that he had no immediate matter of offence with his relations, but he had no obligations to them of any sort, and had been entirely the founder of his own fortune, which by marriage he had acquired and by œconomy improved. I stated to him that my friend and cousin, Mr. Richard Reynolds of Paxton in Huntingdonshire, was his natural heir, and a man of most unexceptionable worth and good character: he did not deny it, but he was wealthy and childless, and he had bequeathed it to me, as his will would testify, twenty years ago, as being the representative of the maternal branch of his family: in fine, he required of me to accompany him to my conveyancer, and direct a positive deed of gift to be drawn up, for which purpose he had brought his title deeds with him, and should leave them in my hands. He added, in further vindication of his motives, that my father had been ever his most valued friend, that he had constantly watched my conduct and scrutinized my character, although he had not seen occasion to establish any personal acquaintance with me. Upon this explanation, and the evidence of his having inherited no atom of his fortune from his paternal line, I accepted his bounty so far as to appoint the next morning for calling on Mr. Heron, who then had chambers in Gray's Inn, when I would state the case to him, and refer myself to his judgment and good counsel. The result of my conference with the lately deceased sir Richard Heron was the insertion of a clause of resumption, empowering the donor to revoke his deed at any future time when he should see fit, and this clause I particularly pointed out to my benefactor when he signed the deed.

"It was with difficulty I prevailed upon him to admit it, and can witness to the uneasiness it gave him, whilst he prophetically said I had left him exposed to the solicitations and remonstrances of his nephews, and that the time might come, when in the debility of age and irresolution of mind, he might be pressed into a revocation of what he had decided upon as the most deliberate act of his life.

"My kind old friend stood a long siege before he suffered his prediction to take place; for it was not

not till after nearly ten years of uninterrupted cordiality, that, weak and wearied out by importunity, he capitulated with his besiegers, and sending his nephew into my house in Queen-Anne-street unexpectedly one morning, surprised me with a demand, that I would render back the whole of his title deeds: I delivered them up exactly as I had received them; his messenger put them into his hackney coach and departed.

"In consequence of this proceeding I addressed the following letter to the reverend Mr. Decimus Reynolds at Clophill in Bedfordshire.

"'Queen-Anne-street,
'Monday 13th Jan. 1779.

'Dear sir,

'I received your letter by the 'conveyance of major George Reynolds, and, in obedience to your 'commands, have resigned into his 'hands all your title deeds, in-'trusted to my custody. I would 'have had a schedule taken of them 'by Mr. Kipling for your better 'satisfaction and security; but as 'your directions were peremptory, 'and major Reynolds, who was 'ill, might have been prejudiced 'by any delay, I thought it best 'to put them into his hands with-'out further form, which be as-'sured I have done without the 'omission of one, for they have 'lain under seal at my banker's 'ever since they have been com-'mitted to my care.

'Whatever motives may govern 'you, dear sir, for recalling either 'your confidence, or your bounty, 'from me and my family, be assured 'you will still possess and retain my 'gratitude and esteem. I have only 'a second time lost a father, and 'I am now too much in the habit 'of disappointment and misfor-'tune, not to acquiesce with pa-'tience under the dispensation.

'You well can recollect, that 'your first bounty was unexpected 'and unsolicited: it would have 'been absolute, if I had not thought 'it for my reputation to make it 'conditional, and subject to your 'revocation: perhaps I did not be-'lieve you would revoke it, but 'since you have been induced to 'wish it, believe me I rejoice in 'the reflection, that every thing 'has been done by me for your 'accommodation, and I had rather 'my children should inherit an 'honourable poverty, than an am-'ple patrimony, which caused the 'giver of it one moment of regret.

'I believe I have some few pa-'pers still at Tetworth, which I 'received from you in the country. 'I shall shortly go down thither, 'and will wait upon you with them. 'At the same time, if you wish 'to have the original conveyance 'of your lands, as drawn up by sir 'Richard Heron, I shall obey you 'by returning it: the uses being 'cancelled, the form can be of lit-'tle value, and I can bear in me-'mory your former goodness with-'out such a remembrancer.

'Mrs. Cumberland and my 'daughters join me in love and re-'spects to you and Mrs. Reynolds, 'whom by this occasion I beg to 'thank for all her kindness to me 'and mine. I spoke yesterday to 'sir Richard Heron' [*sir Richard 'Heron was chief secretary in Ire-'land.*] 'and pressed with more 'than common earnestness upon 'him to fulfil your wishes in fa-'vour of Mr. Decimus Reynolds 'in Ireland. It would be much 'satisfaction to me to hear the deeds 'came safe to hand, and I hope 'you will favour me with a line to 'say so.

'I am, &c. &c.

'R. C.'"

"I have

"I have been the more particular in the detail of this transaction, because I had been unfairly represented by a relation, whom in the former part of these memoirs I have recorded as the friend of my youth; a man, whom I dearly loved, and towards whom I had conducted myself through the whole progress of this affair with the strictest honour and good faith, voluntarily subjecting myself, the father of six children, to be deprived of a valuable gift, which the bestower of it wished to have been absolute and irrevocable.

"That relation is yet living, and by some few years an older man than I am. Though I may have ceased to live in his remembrance, he has not lost his place in my affection and regard. I wish him health and happiness for the remainder of his days, and, in the perfect consciousness of having merited more kindness than I have received, bid him heartily farewel.

"There was more celebrity attached to the success of a new play in the days of which I am speaking, than in the present time, when

Portents and prodigies are grown so frequent,
That they have lost their name.

"The happy hit of The West Indian drew a considerable resort of the friends and followers of the Muses to my house. I was superlatively blest in a wife, who conducted my family with due attention to my circumstances, yet with every elegance and comfort that could render it a welcome and agreeable rendezvous to my guests. I had six children, whose birth-days were comprised within the period of six years, and they were by no means trained and educated with that laxity of discipline, which renders so many houses terrible to the visitor, and almost justifies Foote in his professed veneration for the character of Herod. My young ones stood like little soldiers to be reviewed by those who wished to have them drawn up for inspection, and were dismissed like soldiers at a word. Few parents had more excuse for being vain than my wife and I had; for I may be allowed to say my daughters even then gave promise of that grace and beauty, for which they afterwards became so generally and so conspicuously noticed; and my four boys were not behind them in form or feature, though hot climates and hard duty by sea and land, in the service of their king and country, have laid two of them in distant graves, and rendered the survivors war-worn veterans before their time. Even poor Fitzherbert, my unhappy and lamented friend, with all his fond benignity of soul, could not with his caresses introduce a relaxation of discipline in the ranks of our small infantry; and though Garrick could charm a circle of them about him whilst he acted the turkey-cocks, and peacocks, and water-wagtails to their infinite and undescribable amusement, yet at the word, or even look of the mother, *hi motus animorum* were instantly composed, and order re-established, whenever it became time to release their generous entertainer from the trouble of his exertions.

"Ah! I would wish the world to believe, that they take but a very short and impartial estimate of that departed character, who only appreciate him as the best actor in the world: he was more and better than that excellence alone could make him by a thousand estimable qualities, and much as I enjoyed his company, I have been more gratified by the emana-

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tions of his heart than by the sallies of his fancy and imagination. Nature had done so much for him, that he could not help being an actor; she gave him a frame of so manageable a proportion, and from its flexibility so perfectly under command, that by its aptitude and elasticity he could draw it out to fit any sizes of character, that tragedy could offer to him, and contract it to any scale of ridiculous diminution, that his Abel Drugger, Scrub or Fribble could require of him to sink it to. His eye in the mean time was so penetrating, so speaking; his brow so moveable, and all his features so plastic, and so accommodating, that wherever his mind impelled them they would go, and before his tongue could give the text, his countenance would express the spirit and the passion of the part he was encharged with.

"I always studied the assortment of the characters, who honoured me with their company, so as never to bring uncongenial humours into contact with each other. How often have I seen all the objects of society frustrated by inattention to the proper grouping of the guests! The sensibility of some men of genius is so quick and captious, that you must first consider whom they can be happy with, before you can promise yourself any happiness with them. A rivalry in wit and humour will oftentimes render both parties silent, and put them on their guard; if a chance hit, or lucky sally, on the part of a competitor, engrosses the applause of the table, ten to one if the stricken cock ever crows upon the pit again: a matter-of-fact man will make a pleasant fellow sullen, and a sullen fellow, if provoked by raillery, will disturb the comforts of the whole society.

"It is tiresome listening to the nonsense of those who can talk nothing else; but nonsense talked by men of wit and understanding, in the hour of relaxation, is of the very finest essence of conviviality, and a treat delicious to those who have the sense to comprehend it. I have known, and could name, many who understood this art in its perfection; but as it implies a trust in the company, not always to be risked, their practice of it was not very frequent.

"Raillery is of all weapons the most dangerous and two-edged; of course it ought never to be handled, but by a gentleman, and never should be played with, but upon a gentleman: the familiarity of a low-born vulgar man is dreadful; his raillery, his jocularity, like the shaking of a water-spaniel, can never fail to soil you with some sprinkling of the dunghill, out of which he sprung.

"A disagreement about a name or a date will mar the best story that was ever put together. Sir Joshua Reynolds luckily could not hear an interrupter of this sort; Johnson would not hear, or, if he heard him, would not heed him; Soame Jenyns heard him, heeded him, set him right, and took up his tale, where he had left it, without any diminution of its humour, adding only a few more twists to his snuff-box, a few more taps upon the lid of it, with a preparatory grunt or two, the invariable forerunners of the amenity that was at the heels of them. He was the man who bore his part in all societies with the most even temper and undisturbed hilarity, of all the good companions whom I ever knew.

knew. He came into your house at the very moment you had put upon your card; he dressed himself to do your party honour in all the colours of the jay; his lace indeed had long since lost its lustre, but his coat had faithfully retained its cut since the days when gentlemen wore embroidered figured velvets with short sleeves, boot cuffs and buckram skirts: as nature had cast him in the exact mould of an ill-made pair of stiff stays, he followed her so close in the fashion of his coat, that it was doubted if he did not wear them: because he had a protuberant wen just under his pole, he wore a wig, that did not cover above half his head. His eyes were protruded like the eyes of the lobster, who wears them at the end of his feelers, and yet there was room between one of these and his nose for another wen that added nothing to his beauty; yet I heard this good man very innocently remark, when Gibbon published his History, that he wondered any body so ugly could write a book.

"Such was the exterior of a man, who was the charm of the circle, and gave a zest to every company he came into; his pleasantry was of a sort peculiar to himself; it harmonized with every thing; it was like the bread to our dinner; you did not perhaps make it the whole, or principal part, of your meal, but it was an admirable and wholesome auxiliary to your other viands. Soame Jenyns told you no long stories, engrossed not much of your attention, and was not angry with those that did; his thoughts were original, and were apt to have a very whimsical affinity to the paradox in them: he wrote verses upon dancing, and prose upon the origin of evil, yet he was a very indifferent metaphysician and a worse dancer; ill-nature and personality, with the single exception of his lines upon Johnson, I never heard fall from his lips; those lines I have forgotten, though I believe I was the first person to whom he recited them; they were very bad, but he had been told that Johnson ridiculed his metaphysics, and some of us had just then been making extemporary epitaphs upon each other: though his wit was harmless, yet the general cast of it was ironical; there was a terseness in his repartees, that had a play of words as well as of thought, as when speaking of the difference between laying out money upon land, or purchasing into the funds, he said, 'One was principal without 'interest, and the other interest 'without principal.' Certain it is he had a brevity of expression, that never hung upon the ear, and you felt the point in the very moment that he made the push. It was rather to be lamented that his lady Mrs. Jenyns had so great a respect for his good sayings, and so imperfect a recollection of them; for though she always prefaced her recitals of them with—*as Mr. Jenyns says*—it was not always *what* Mr. Jenyns said, and never, I am apt to think, *as* Mr. Jenyns said; but she was an excellent old lady, and twirled her fan with as much mechanical address as her ingenious husband twirled his snuff-box.

"The brilliant vivacity of Garrick was subject to be clouded; little flying stories had too much of his attention, and more of his credit than they should have had; and certainly there were too many babblers, who had access to his ear. There was some precaution necessary as to the company you associated with him at your table;

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Fitzherbert understood that in general admirably well, yet he told me of a certain day, when Garrick, who had perhaps been put a little out of his way, and was missing from the company, was found in the back yard acting a turkey-cock to a black-boy, who was capering for joy, and continually crying out —'Massa Garrick, do so make 'me laugh: I shall die with laugh-'ing—" The story I have no doubt is true; but I rather think it indicates the very contrary from a ruffled temper, and marks good humour in its strongest light. To give amusement to children, and to take pleasure in the act, is such a symptom of suavity as can never be mistaken.

"I made a visit with him, by his own proposal, to Foote at Parson's Green; I have heard it said he was reserved and uneasy im his company; I never saw him more at ease and in a happier flow of spirits than on that occasion.

"Where a loud-tongued talker was in company, Edmund Burke declined all claims upon attention, and Samuel Johnson, whose ears were not quick, seldom lent them to his conversation, though he loved the man, and admired his talents: I have seen a dull damping matter-of-fact man quell the effervescence even of Foote's unrivalled humour.

"But I remember full well, when Garrick and I made him the visit above mentioned poor Foote had something worse than a dull man to struggle with, and matter of fact brought home to him in a way, that for a time entirely overthrew his spirits, and most completely *frighted him from his propriety*. We had taken him by surprise, and of course were with him some hours before dinner, to make sure of our own if we had missed of his. He seemed overjoyed to see us, engaged us to stay, walked with us in his garden, and read to us some scenes roughly sketched for his Maid of Bath. His dinner was quite good enough, and his wine superlative: Sir Robert Fletcher, who had served in the East Indies, dropt in before dinner and made the fourth of our party: when we had passed about two hours in perfect harmony and hilarity, Garrick called for his tea, and sir Robert rose to depart. There was an unlucky screen in the room that hid the door, and behind which sir Robert hid himself for some purpose, whether natural or artificial I know not; but Foote, supposing him gone, instantly began to play off his ridicule at the expence of his departed guest. I must confess it was (in the cant phrase) *a way that he had*, and just now a very unlucky way, for sir Robert, bolting from behind the screen, cried out— 'I am not gone, Foote; spare 'me till I am out of hearing; and 'now with your leave I will stay 'till these gentlemen depart, and 'then you shall amuse me at their 'cost, as you have amused them 'at mine.'

"A remonstrance of this sort was an electric shock, that could not be parried. No wit could furnish an evasion, no explanation could suffice for an excuse. The offended gentleman was to the full as angry as a brave man ought to be with an unfortunate wit, who possessed very little of that quality, which he abounded in. This event, which deprived Foote of all presence of mind, gave occasion to Garrick to display his genius and good-nature in their brightest lustre: I never saw him in a more amiable light; the infinite address and ingenuity, that he exhibited, in soft-

ening the enraged guest, and reconciling him to pass over an affront, as gross as could well be put upon a man, were at once the most comic and the most complete I ever witnessed. Why was not James Boswell present to have recorded the dialogue and the action of the scene? My stupid head only carried away the effect of it. It was as if Diomed (who being the son of Tydeus was I conclude a great hero in a small compass) had been shielding Thersites from the wrath of Ajax; and so wrathful was our Ajax, that if I did not recollect there was a certain actor at Delhi, who in the height of the massacre charmed away the furious passions of Nadir Shaw, and saved a remnant of the city, I should say this was a victory without a parallel. I hope Foote was very grateful; but when a man has been completely humbled, he is not very fond of recollecting it."

CHARACTER of Dr. RICHARD BENTLEY.

[From the same.]

"OF Doctor Richard Bentley, my maternal grandfather, I shall next take leave to speak. Of him I have perfect recollection. His person, his dignity, his language and his love fixed my early attention, and stamped both his image and his words upon my memory. His literary works are known to all, his private character is still misunderstood by many; to that I shall confine myself, and, putting aside the enthusiasm of a descendant, I can assert, with the veracity of a biographer, that he was neither cynical, as some have represented him, nor overbearing and fastidious in the degree, as he has been described by many. Swift, when he foisted him into his vulgar *Battle of the Books*, neither lowers Bentley's fame nor elevates his own; and the petulant poet, who thought he had hit his manner, when he made him haughtily call to *Walker* for his *hat*, gave a copy as little like the character of Bentley, as his translation is like the original of Homer. That doctor Walker, vice-master of Trinity-college, was the friend of my grandfather, and a frequent guest at his table, is true; but it was not in doctor Bentley's nature to treat him with contempt, nor did his harmless character inspire it. As for the *hat*, I must acknowledge it was of formidable dimensions, yet I was accustomed to treat it with great familiarity, and if it had ever been further from the hand of its owner than the peg upon the back of his great arm-chair, I might have been dispatched to fetch it; for he was disabled by the palsy in his latter days; but the hat never strayed from its place, and Pope found an office for Walker, that I can well believe he was never commissioned to in his life.

"I had a sister somewhat elder than myself. Had there been any of that sternness in my grandfather which is so falsely imputed to him it may well be supposed we should have been awed into silence in his presence, to which we were admitted every day. Nothing can be further from the truth; he was the unwearied patron and promoter

of all our childish sports and sallies; at all times ready to detach himself from any topic of conversation to take an interest and bear his part in our amusements. The eager curiosity natural to our age, and the questions it gave birth to, so teazing to many parents, he, on the contrary, attended to and encouraged, as the claims of infant reason never to be evaded or abused; strongly recommending, that to all such enquiries answer should be given according to the strictest truth, and information dealt to us in the clearest terms, as a sacred duty never to be departed from. I have broken in upon him many a time in his hours of study, when he would put his book aside, ring his hand-bell for his servant, and be led to his shelves to take down a picture-book for my amusement. I do not say that his good-nature always gained its object, as the pictures which his books generally supplied me with were anatomical drawings of dissected bodies, very little calculated to communicate delight; but he had nothing better to produce; and surely such an effort on his part, however unsuccessful, was no feature of a cynic: a cynic *should be made of sterner stuff.* I have had from him at times, whilst standing at his elbow, a complete and entertaining narrative of his school-boy days, with the characters of his different masters very humorously displayed, and the punishments described, which they at times would wrongfully inflict upon him for seeming to be idle and regardless of his task, 'when the dunces,' he would say, 'could not discover that I 'was pondering it in my mind, and 'fixing it more firmly in my me-'mory, than if I had been bawling 'it out amongst the rest of my 'school-fellows.'

"Once, and only once, I recollect his giving me a gentle rebuke for making a most outrageous noise in the room over his library and disturbing him in his studies; I had no apprehension of anger from him, and confidently answered that I could not help it, as I had been at battledore and shuttlecock with master Gooch, the bishop of Ely's son. 'And I 'have been at this sport with his 'father,' he replied; 'but thine 'has been the more amusing game; 'so there's no harm done.'

"These are puerile anecdotes, but my history itself is only in its nonage; and even these will serve in some degree to establish what I affirmed, and present his character in those mild and unimposing lights, which may prevail with those who know him only as a critic and controversialist—

> As slashing Bentley with his desperate hook,

to reform and soften their opinions of him.

"He recommended it as a very essential duty in parents to be particularly attentive to the first dawnings of reason in their children; and his own practice was the best illustration of his doctrine; for he was the most patient hearer and most favourable interpreter of first attempts at argument and meaning that I ever knew. When I was rallied by my mother, for roundly asserting that I *never slept*, I remember full well his calling on me to account for it; and when I explained it by saying I never knew myself to be asleep, and therefore supposed I never slept at all, he gave me credit for my defence, and said to my mother, 'Leave your boy in possession of

'his opinion; he has as clear a 'conception of sleep, and at least as 'comfortable an one, as the phi- 'losophers who puzzle their brains 'about it, and do not rest so well.'

"Though bishop Lowth, in the flippancy of controversy, called the author of *The Philoleutherus Lipsiensis* and detector of Phalaris *aut caprimulgus aut fossor*, his genius has produced those living witnesses, that must for ever put that charge to shame and silence. Against such idle ill-considered words, now dead as the language they were conveyed in, the appeal is near at hand; it lies no further off than to his works, and they are upon every reading-man's shelves; but those, who would have looked into his heart, should have stepped into his house, and seen him in his private and domestic hours; therefore it is that I adduce these little anecdotes and trifling incidents, which describe the man, but leave the author to defend himself.

"His ordinary style of conversation was naturally lofty, and his frequent use of *thou* and *thee* with his familiars carried with it a kind of dictatorial tone, that savoured more of the closet than the court; this is readily admitted, and this on first approaches might mislead a stranger; but the native candour and inherent tenderness of his heart could not long be veiled from observation, for his feelings and affections were at once too impulsive to be long repressed, and he too careless of concealment to attempt at qualifying them. Such was his sensibility towards human sufferings, that it became a duty with his family to divert the conversation from all topics of that sort; and if he touched upon them himself he was betrayed into agitations, which if the reader ascribes to paralytic weakness, he will very greatly mistake a man, who to the last hour of his life possessed his faculties firm and in their fullest vigour; I therefore bar all such misinterpretations as may attempt to set the mark of infirmity upon those emotions, which had no other source and origin but in the natural and pure benevolence of his heart.

"He was communicative to all without distinction, that sought information, or resorted to him for assistance; fond of his college almost to enthusiam, and ever zealous for the honour of the purple gown of Trinity. When he held examinations for fellowships, and the modest candidate exhibited marks of agitation and alarm, he never failed to interpret candidly of such symptoms; and on those occasions he was never known to press the hesitating and embarrassed examinant, but oftentimes on the contrary would take all the pains of expounding on himself, and credit the exonerated candidate for answers and interpretations of his own suggesting. If this was not rigid justice, it was, at least in my conception of it, something better and more amiable; and how liable he was to deviate from the strict line of justice, by his partiality to the side of mercy, appears from the anecdote of the thief, who robbed him of his plate, and was seized and brought before him with the very articles upon him: the natural process in this man's case pointed out the road to prison; my grandfather's process was more summary, but not quite so legal. While commissary Greaves, who was then present, and of counsel for the college *ex officio*, was expatiating on the crime, and prescribing the measures obviously to be taken with the offend-

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er, doctor Bentley interposed, saying, 'Why tell the man he is a 'thief? he knows that well enough, 'without thy information, Greaves. '—Hark ye, fellow, thou see'st the 'trade which thou hast taken up 'is an unprofitable trade, therefore 'get thee gone, lay aside an occupa-'tion by which thou can'st gain no-'thing but a halter, and follow that 'by which thou may'st earn an 'honest livelihood.' Having said this, he ordered him to be set at liberty against the remonstrances of the bye-standers, and insisting upon it that the fellow was duly penitent for his offence, bade him go his way and never steal again.

"I leave it with those, who consider mercy as one of man's best attributes, to suggest a plea for the informality of this proceeding, and to such I will communicate one other anecdote, which I do not deliver upon my own knowledge, though from unexceptionable authority; and this is, that when *Collins* had fallen into decay of circumstances, doctor Bentley, suspecting he had written him out of credit by his *Philoleutherus Lipsiensis*, secretly contrived to administer to the necessities of his baffled opponent in a manner that did no less credit to his delicacy than to his liberality.

"A morose and over-bearing man will find himself a solitary being in creation; doctor Bentley on the contrary had many intimates: judicious in forming his friendships, he was faithful in adhering to them. With sir Isaac Newton, doctor Mead, doctor Wallis of Stamford, baron Spanheim, the lamented Roger Cotes, and several other distinguished and illustrious contemporaries, he lived on terms of uninterrupted harmony, and I have good authority for saying, that it is to his interest and importunity with sir Isaac Newton, that the inestimable publication of the *Principia* was ever resolved upon by that truly great and luminous philosopher. Newton's portrait by sir James Thornhill, and those of baron Spanheim and my grandfather by the same hand, now hanging in the master's lodge of Trinity, were the bequest of doctor Bentley. I was possessed of letters in sir Isaac's own hand to my grandfather, which together with the corrected volume of bishop Cumberland's *Laws of Nature*, I lately gave to the library of that flourishing and illustrious college.

"His domestic habits, when I knew him, were still those of unabated study: he slept in the room adjoining to his library, and was never with his family till the hour of dinner; at these times he seemed to have detached himself most completely from his studies; never appearing thoughtful and abstracted, but social, gay, and possessing perfect serenity of mind and equability of temper. He never dictated topics of conversation to the company he was with, but took them up as they came in his way, and was a patient listener to other people's discourse, however trivial or uninteresting it might be. When *The Spectators* were in publication I have heard my mother say he took great delight in hearing them read to him, and was so particularly amused by the character of sir Roger de Coverley, that he took his literary decease most seriously to heart. She also told me, that, when in conversation with him on the subject of his works, she found occasion to lament that he had bestowed so great a portion of his time and talents upon criticism instead of employing them upon original com-

position, he acknowledged the justice of her regret with extreme sensibility, and remained for a considerable time thoughtful and seemingly embarrassed by the nature of her remark; at last recollecting himself he said—'Child, I 'am sensible I have not always turned my talents to the proper use 'for which I should presume they 'were given to me; yet I have 'done something for the honour 'of my God and the edification 'of my fellow creatures; but the 'wit and genius of those old 'heathens beguiled me, and as I despaired of raising myself up to 'their standard upon fair ground, 'I thought the only chance I had 'of looking over their heads was 'to get upon their shoulders.'

"Of his pecuniary affairs he took no account; he had no use for money, and dismissed it entirely from his thoughts: his establishment in the mean time was respectable, and his table affluently and hospitably served. All these matters were conducted and arranged in the best manner possible by one of the best women living; for such, by the testimony of all who knew her, was Mrs. Bentley, daughter of sir John Bernard of Brampton in Huntingdonshire, a family of great opulence and respectability, allied to the Cromwells and Saint-Johns, and by intermarriages connected with other great and noble houses. I have perfect recollection of the person of my grandmother, and a full impression of her manners and habits, which, though in some degree tinctured with hereditary reserve and the primitive cast of character, were entirely free from the hypocritical cant and affected sanctity of the Oliverians. Her whole life was modelled on the purest principles of piety, benevolence and christian charity; and in her dying moments, my mother being present and voucher of the fact, she breathed out her soul in a kind of beatific vision, exclaiming in rapture as she expired—*It is all bright, it is all glorious!*

"I was frequently called upon by her to repeat certain scriptural texts and passages, which she had taught me, and for which I seldom failed to be rewarded, but by which I was also frequently most completely puzzled and bewildered; so that I much doubt if the good effects of this practice upon immature and infantine understandings will be found to keep pace with the good intentions of those who adopt it. One of these holy apothegms, viz:—*The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good*, I remember to have cost me many a struggle to interpret, and the result of my construction was directly opposite to the spirit and meaning of the text. I was also occasionally summoned to attend upon the readings of long sermons and homilies of Baxter, as I believe, and others of his period; neither by these was I edified, but, on the contrary, so effectually wearied, that by noises and interruptions I seldom failed to render myself obnoxious, and obtain my dismission before the reading was over.

"The death of this exemplary lady preceded that of my grandfather by a few years only, and by her he had one son, Richard, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Joanna. Richard was a man of various and considerable accomplishments; he had a fine genius, great wit and a brilliant imagination, he had also the manners and address of a perfect gentleman, but there

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was a certain eccentricity and want of worldly prudence in my uncle's character, that involved him in distresses, and reduced him to situations uncongenial with his feelings, and unpropitious to the cultivation and encouragement of his talents. His connection with Mr. Horace Walpole, the late lord Orford, had too much of the bitter of dependance in it to be gratifying to the taste of a man of his spirit and sensibility; the one could not be abject, and the other, I suspect, was not by nature very liberal and large-minded. They carried on, for a long time, a sickly kind of friendship, which had its hot fits and its cold; was suspended and renewed, but I believe never totally broken and avowedly laid aside. Walpole had by nature a propensity, and by constitution a plea, for being captious and querulential, for he was a martyr to the gout. He wrote prose and published it; he composed verses and circulated them, and was an author, who seemed to play at *hide-and-seek* with the public. There was a mysterious air of consequence in his private establishment of a domestic printing-press, that seemed to augur great things, but performed little. Walpole was already an author with no great claims to excellence. Bentley had those powers in embryo, that would have enabled him to excel, but submitted to be the projector of gothic embellishments for Strawberry Hill, and humble designer of drawings to ornament a thin folio of a meagre collection of odes by Gray, the most costive of poets, edited at the Walpolian press. In one of these designs Bentley has personified himself as a monkey, sitting under a withered tree with his pallet in his hand, while Gray reposes under the shade of a flourishing laurel in all the dignity of learned ease. Such a design with figures so contrasted might flatter Gray and gratify the trivial taste of Walpole; but in my poor opinion it is a satire in copper plate, and my uncle has most completely libelled both his poet and his patron without intending so to do.

"Let this suffice at present for the son of doctor Bentley; in the course of these memoirs I shall take occasion to recall the attention of my readers to what I have further to relate of him.

"Elizabeth Bentley, eldest daughter of her father, first married Humphry Ridge esquire, and after his decease the reverend doctor Favell, fellow of Trinity college, and after his marriage with my aunt, rector of Witton near Huntingdon, in the gift of sir John Bernard of Brampton. She was an honourable and excellent lady; I had cause to love her, and lament her death. She inherited the virtues and benignity of her mother, with habits more adapted to the fashions of the world.

"Joanna, the younger of doctor Bentley's daughters, and the Phœbe of Byron's pastoral, was my mother. I will not violate the allegiance I have vowed to truth in giving any other character of her, than what in conscience I regard as just and faithful. She had a vivacity of fancy and a strength of intellect, in which few were her superiors: she read much, remembered well and discerned acutely: I never knew the person, who could better embellish any subject she was upon, or render common incidents more entertaining by the happy art of relating them; her invention was so fertile, her ideas so original, and the points

of humour so ingeniously and unexpectedly taken up in the progress of her narrative, that she never failed to accomplish all the purposes, which the gaiety of her imagination could lay itself out for: she had a quick intuition into characters, and a faculty of marking out the ridiculous, when it came within her view, which of force I must confess she made rather too frequent use of. Her social powers were brilliant, but not uniform; for on some occasions she would persist in a determined taciturnity to the regret of the company present, and at other times would lead off in her best manner, when perhaps none were present who could taste the spirit and amenity of her humour. There hardly passed a day, in which she failed to devote a portion of her time to the reading of the Bible; and her comments and expositions might have merited the attention of the wise and learned. Though strictly pious, there was no gloom in her religion, but on the contrary such was the happy faculty which she possessed, of making every doctrine pleasant, every duty sweet, that what some instructors would have represented as a burden and a yoke, she contrived to recommend as a recreation and delight. All that son can owe to parent, or disciple to his teacher, I owe to her."

EDUCATION and EARLY HABITS of LEO the TENTH.

[From Mr. ROSCOE's HISTORY of his LIFE and PONTIFICATE.]

"GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI, afterwards supreme pontiff by the name of Leo the Tenth, was the second son of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent, by his wife Clarice, the daughter of Giacopo Orsino. He was born at Florence, on the eleventh day of December, 1475; and most probably received his baptismal name after his paternal great uncle, Giovanni, the second son of Cosmo de' Medici, who died in the year 1461; or from Giovanni Tornabuoni, the brother of Lucretia, mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then living.

"At the time of the birth of Giovanni, the age of portents was not yet past; and it has been recorded with all the gravity of history, that prior to that event, his mother dreamt that she was delivered of an enormous, but docile lion;—which was supposed to be a certain prognostic, not only of the future eminence of her son, but also of the name which he was to assume on arriving at the papal dignity. Whether the dream gave rise to the appellation, or the appellation to the dream, may admit of doubt; but althouth nothing appears in his infancy to justify his being compared to a lion, in his early docility he seems at least to have realized the supposed prognostics of his mother.

"The year in which Giovanni was born is distinguished in the annals of Italy as a year of peace and tranquillity, whilst almost all the rest of Europe was involved in the calamities of internal commotions or of foreign war. It was also solemnized as a year of Jubilee, which was thenceforwards celebrated once in twenty-five years.

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"At this period the pontifical chair was filled by Sixtus IV., who had not yet evinced that turbulent disposition which was afterwards so troublesome, not only to the family of the Medici and the city of Florence, but to all the states of Italy. The kingdom of Naples was governed by Ferdinand, the illegitimate son of Alfonso king of Naples, Aragon, and Sicily; who had bequeathed the first of these kingdoms to his son, but was succeeded in the two latter by his brother John II. the father of another Ferdinand, who now enjoyed them, and by his marriage with Isabella, the daughter of Henry IV. of Castile, united the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile under one dominion. The states of Milan were yet held by Galeazzo Maria, the son of the great Francesco Sforza. Frederick III. had long worn the Imperial crown. Louis XI. was king of France; Edward IV. of England; and the celebrated Mattia Corvino had lately been elected by the free voice of his countrymen to the supreme dominion of Hungary.

"The political system of Europe was as yet unformed. The despotic sovereign, governing a half-civilized people, had in general only two principal ends in view—the supporting his authority at home by the depression of his powerful nobles, and the extending his dominion abroad by the subjugation of his weaker neighbours. Devoted to these objects, which frequently required all their talents and all their resources, the potentates of Europe had beheld with the utmost indifference the destruction of the eastern empire and the abridgment of the christian territory, by a race of barbarians, who were most probably prevented only by their own dissensions, from establishing themselves in Italy and desolating the kingdoms of the west. It was in vain that Pius II. had called upon the European sovereigns to unite in the common cause. The ardour of the crusades was past. A jealousy of each other, or of their own subjects, was an insuperable obstacle to his entreaties; and the good pontiff was at length convinced that his eloquence would be better employed in prevailing on the Turkish emperor to relinquish his creed and embrace christianity, than in stimulating the princes of Europe to resist his arms.

"The establishment and long uninterrupted continuance of the papal government, may justly be considered as among the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind. To the sincere catholic this indeed is the great evidence of the truth of the religion which he professes, the perpetual miracle, which proves a constant extension of the divine favour to that church, *against which the gates of hell shall not prevail;* but they who conceive that this phænomenon like other events of the moral world is to be accounted for from secondary causes and from the usual course of nature, will perhaps be inclined to attribute it to the ductility and habitual subservience of the human mind, which when awed by superstition and subdued by hereditary prejudices, can not only assent to the most incredible propositions, but can act in consequence of these convictions with as much energy and perseverance, as if they were the clearest deductions of reason or the most evident dictates of truth. Whilst the other sovereigns of Europe held their dominions by lineal succession, by choice of election, or by what

politicians

politicians have denominated the right of conquest; the Roman pontiff claimed his power as the immediate vicegerent of God; and experience has shewn, that for a long course of ages his title was considered as the most secure of any in Europe. Nor has the papal government, in later times, received any great trouble from the turbulence of its subjects, who instead of feeling themselves degraded, were perhaps gratified in considering themselves as the peculiar people of a sovereign, whose power was not bounded by the limits of his own dominions, but was as extensive as christianity itself.

"Without entering upon a minute inquiry into the origin of the temporal authority of the Roman pontiffs, it may be sufficient to observe, that even after they had emerged from their pristine state of poverty and humility, they remained for many ages in an acknowledged subordination to the Roman emperors, and to their delegates, the exarchates of Ravenna, to whom, when the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople, the government of Italy was intrusted. As the power of the emperors declined, that of the popes increased; and in the contests of the middle ages, during which the Huns, the Vandals, the Imperialists, and the Franks, were successively masters of Italy, a common veneration among these ferocious conquerors for the father of the faithful, and the head of the christian church, not only secured his safety, but enlarged his authority. From the time of the emperor Constantine, various grants, endowments, and donations of extensive territories are said to have been conferred by different princes on the bishops of Rome; insomuch that there is scarcely any part of Italy to which they have not at some period asserted a claim. That many of these grants are supposititious, is generally acknowledged; whilst the validity of others, which are admitted to have existed, frequently rests merely on the temporary right of some intruder, whose only title was his sword, and who, in many instances, gave to the pontiff what he could no longer retain for himself. Under the colour however of these donations, the popes possessed themselves of different parts of Italy, and among the rest, of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, extending along a considerable part of the Adriatic coast, to which they gave the name of Romania, or Romagna. The subsequent dissensions between the popes and the emperors, the frequent schisms which occurred in the church, the unwarlike nature of the papal government, and above all the impolitic transfer of the residence of the supreme pontiffs from Rome to Avignon, in the fourteenth century, combined to weaken the authority which the popes had in the course of so many ages acquired; and in particular the cities of Romagna, throwing off their dependence on the papal see, either formed for themselves peculiar and independent governments, or became subject to some successful adventurer, who acquired his superiority by force of arms. No longer able to maintain an actual authority, the Roman pontiffs endeavoured to reserve at least a paramount or confirmatory right; and as the sanction of the pope was not a matter of indifference to these subordinate sovereigns, he delegated to them his power on easy conditions, by investing them with the title of vicars of the church. It was thus the family of Este obtained the dominion

dominion of Ferrara, which they had extended, in fact, to an independent principality. Thus the cities of Rimini and Cesena were held by the family of Malatesta; Faenza and Imola by the Manfredi; and many other cities of Italy became subject to petty sovereigns, who governed with despotic authority, and by their dissensions frequently rendered that fertile, but unhappy country, the theatre of contest, of rapine, and of blood.

"From this period the temporal authority of the popes was chiefly confined to the district entitled the patrimony of St. Peter, with some detached parts of Umbria, and the *Marca d' Ancona*. The claims of the church were not however suffered to remain dormant, whenever an opportunity of inforcing them occurred, and the recovery of its ancient possessions had long been considered as a duty indispensably incumbent on the supreme pontiff. But although for this purpose he scrupled not to avail himself of the arms, the alliances, and the treasures of the church, yet, when the enterprise proved successful, it generally happened that the conquered territory only exchanged its former lord for some near kinsman of the reigning pontiff, who during the life of his benefactor, endeavoured to secure and extend his authority by all the means in his power.

"The Roman pontiffs have always possessed an advantage over the other sovereigns of Europe, from the singular union of ecclesiastical and temporal power in the same person, which long experience had taught them to use with the same dexterity, with which the heroes of antiquity availed themselves by turns of the shield and the spear. When schemes of ambition and aggrandizement were to be pursued, the pope, as a temporal prince, could enter into alliances, raise supplies, and furnish his contingent of troops, so as effectually to carry on an offensive war; but no sooner was he endangered by defeat, and alarmed for the safety of his own dominions, than he resorted for shelter to his pontifical robes, and loudly called upon all christendom to defend from violation the head of the holy church. That these characters were successively assumed with great address and advantage, will sufficiently appear from the following pages; and although some difficulties might occasionly arise in the exercise of them, yet, notwithstanding the complaint of one of the ablest apologists of the Roman pontiffs, the world has, upon the whole, been sufficiently indulgent to their situation; nor has even the shedding of christian blood been thought an invincible objection to the conferring on a deceased pontiff the honour of adoration, and placing him in the highest order of sainthood conferred by the church.

"It is not however to be denied, that the papal government, although founded on so singular a basis, and exercised with despotic authority, has been attended with some advantages peculiar to itself, and beneficial to its subjects. Whilst the choice of the sovereign, by the decision of a peculiar body of electors, on the one hand preserves the people from those dissensions which frequently arise from the disputed rights of hereditary claimants; on the other hand, it prevents those tumultuous debates which too frequently result from the violence of a popular election. By this system the dangers of a minority in the governor are avoided, and the sovereign

vereign assumes the command at a time of life, when it may be presumed that passion is subdued by reason, and experience matured into wisdom. The qualifications by which the pope is supposed to have merited the supreme authority, are such as would be most likely to direct him in the best mode of exercising it. Humility, chastity, temperance, vigilance, and learning, are among the chief of these requisites; and although some of them have confessedly been too often dispensed with, yet few individuals have ascended the pontifical throne without possessing more than a common share of intellectual endowments. Hence the Roman pontiffs have frequently displayed examples highly worthy of imitation, and have signalized themselves, in an eminent degree, as patrons of science, of letters, and of art. Cultivating, as ecclesiastics, those studies which were prohibited or discouraged among the laity, they may in general be considered as superior to the age in which they have lived; and among the predecessors of Leo X. the philosopher may contemplate with approbation the eloquence and courage of Leo I. who preserved the city of Rome from the ravages of the barbarian Attila; the beneficence, candour, and pastoral attention of Gregory I. unjustly charged with being the adversary of liberal studies; the various acquirements of Silvester II. so extraordinary in the eyes of his contemporaries as to cause him to be considered as a sorcerer; the industry, acuteness, and learning of Innocent III. of Gregory IX. of Innocent IV. and of Pius II. and the munificence and love of literature so strikingly displayed in the character of Nicholas V.

"Notwithstanding the extensive influence acquired by the Roman see, that circumstance had not, for a long course of time, induced the princes of Europe to attempt to vest the pontifical authority in any individual of their own family. Whether this forbearance was occasioned by an idea that the long course of humiliation by which alone this dignity could be obtained, was too degrading to a person of royal birth, or by a contempt for every profession but that of arms, may be a subject of doubt; but from whatever cause it arose, it appears to have been, in the fifteenth century, completely removed; almost every sovereign in Italy, and perhaps in Europe, striving with the utmost ardour to procure for their nearest relations a seat in the sacred college, as a necessary step to the pontifical chair. What the European princes endeavoured to accomplish in the persons of their own kindred, the popular governments attempted in those of their most illustrious citizens; and the favours bestowed by Paul II. upon his countrymen the Venetians, may reasonably be supposed to have operated upon the sagacious and provident mind of Lorenzo de' Medici, to induce him to attempt the establishment of the chief ecclesiastical dignity in one of his own family. Nor is it improbable, that whilst he was actuated by this motive, he was impelled by another of no less efficacy. By the resentment of the papal see he had lost a much-loved brother; and although he had himself escaped with his life from the dagger of the assassin, yet he had experienced, from the same cause, a series of calamities, from which he was only extricated by one of the most daring expedients recorded in history. To prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence

currence of a circumstance which had nearly destroyed the authority of his family, and to establish his children in such situations as might render them a mutual support and security to each other, in the high departments for which they were intended, were doubtless some of the motives which occasioned the destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the church, and produced those important effects upon the religion, the politics, and the taste of Europe, which are so conspicuous in the pontificate of Leo X.

"That it was the intention of Lorenzo, from the birth of his son, to raise him eventually to the high dignity which he afterwards acquired, cannot be doubted; and the authority which he possessed in the affairs of Italy, enabled him to engage in this undertaking with the fairest prospects of success. Soon after he had attained the seventh year of his age, Giovanni de' Medici had received the tonsura, and was declared capable of ecclesiastical preferment. At this early period his father applied to Louis XI. to confer upon him some church living. In the reply of the French king, which bears date the seventeenth day of February, 1482, he thus expresses himself:—'I understand from your letter of the 'thirtieth of January, the intentions you have formed respecting 'your son, which, if I had known 'them before the death of the cardinal of Rohan, I should have endeavoured to have accomplished; 'but I have no objection, on the 'next vacancy of a benefice, to do 'for him whatever lies in my 'power.' Accordingly, Giovanni was, in the following year, appointed by the king, abbot of Fontedolce; and this was speedily followed by the investiture of the rich monastery of Passignano, bestowed upon him by Sixtus IV. who, towards the close of his days, seemed desirous of obliterating from the minds of the Medici the remembrance of his former hostility. The particulars of this singular instance of ecclesiastical promotion, and of the additional honours bestowed upon Giovanni de' Medici, are given by Lorenzo himself, in his *Ricordi*, with great simplicity. 'On 'the nineteenth day of May, 1483,' says he, 'we received intelli-'gence, that the king of France 'had, of his own motion, present-'ed to my son Giovanni, the abbey 'of Fonte-dolce. On the thirty-'first, we heard from Rome, that 'the pope had confirmed the grant, 'and had rendered him capable of 'holding a benefice, he being now '*seven* years of age. On the first 'day of June, Giovanni accom-'panied me from Poggio to Flo-'rence, where he was confirmed 'by the bishop of Arezzo, and re-'ceived the tonsura; and from thenceforth was called *Messire Gio-'vanni*. The before-mentioned cir-'cumstances took place in the cha-'pel of our family. The next morn-'ing he returned to Poggio. On the 'eighth day of June, Jacopino, a 'courier, arrived with advices from 'the king of France, that he had 'conferred upon Messire Giovanni 'the archbishoprick of Aix, in Pro-'vence; on which account a mes-'senger was dispatched, on the 'same evening, to Rome, with let-'ters from the king to the pope 'and the cardinal di Macone. At 'the same time dispatches were 'sent to count Girolamo, which 'were forwarded by Zenino the 'courier to Forli. On the eleventh, 'Zenino returned from the count, 'with letters to the pope and 'the cardinal *S. Giorgio*, which

'were

'were sent to Rome by the Milanese 'post. On the same day, after 'mass, all the children of the family 'received confirmation, excepting 'Messire Giovanni. On the fif-'teenth, at the sixth hour of the 'night, an answer was received 'from Rome that the pope had 'some difficulty in giving the arch-'bishoprick to Messire Giovanni, on 'account of his youth. This answer 'was immediately dispatched to the 'king of France. On the twentieth, 'we received news from Lionetto '*that the archbishop was not dead!* On 'the first day of March, 1484, the 'abbot of Passignano died, and a 'message was dispatched to Gio-'vanni Vespucci, the Florentine 'ambassador at Rome, that he 'should endeavour to prevail on the 'pope to give the abbey to Messire 'Giovanni. On the second, he 'took possession of it under the au-'thority of the state, by virtue of 'the reservation granted to him by 'Sixtus IV. and which was after-'wards confirmed by Innocent 'VIII. when my son Piero went to 'pay him obedience at Rome, on 'his elevation to the pontificate.' It would not be difficult to declaim against the corruptions of the Roman see, and the absurdity of conferring ecclesiastical preferments upon a child; but, in the estimation of an impartial observer, it is a matter of little moment whether such preferment be bestowed upon an infant, who is unable, or an adult, who is unwilling, to perform the duties of his office, and who, in fact, at the time of his appointment, neither intends, nor is expected, ever to bestow upon them any share of his attention.

"The death of Sixtus IV. which happened on the thirteenth day of August 1484, and the elevation to the pontificate of Giambattista Cibò, by the name of Innocent VIII. opened to Lorenzo the prospect of speedy and more important advancement for his son. Of the numerous livings conferred on this young ecclesiastic, a particular account has been preserved; but the views of Lorenzo were directed towards still higher preferment. In the month of November he dispatched his eldest son Piero to Rome, accompanied by his uncle Giovanni Tornabuoni, with directions to promote as much as possible the interests of his brother Giovanni. In the instructions of Lorenzo to his envoys at Rome, the same object was strongly insisted on; and such arguments were constantly suggested, as were most likely to induce the pope to nominate Giovanni de' Medici, on the first opportunity, a member of the sacred college.

"In the mean time, Lorenzo thought it advisable to strengthen the friendly connexion which already subsisted between himself and the pope, by an union between their families. Before his adopting an ecclesiastical life, Innocent had several children, the eldest of whom, Francesco Cibò, was married in the year 1487, to Maddalena, one of the daughters of Lorenzo, a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, and who lived to share the honours enjoyed by her family in the elevation of her brother. Besides the inducements to this measure, which the pope probably found in the increasing influence and authority of Lorenzo de' Medici, the near relationship which subsisted between Maddalena and the family of the Orsini, was a powerful motive with him to conclude the match. The event was such as the pope expected. The hostility between him and the Orsini speedily subsided;

subsided; and he found on many subsequent occasions the high importance of their attachment and their services.

"As the advancement of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of the purple, was the fortunate event which led the way to his future elevation, and to the important consequences of that elevation to the christian world, it may not be uninteresting to trace the steps by which he acquired, so early in life, that high rank. This we are enabled to do with great accuracy, from the letters of Lorenzo and his confidential correspondents, the originals of which are preserved in the archives of Florence, and which exhibit such a degree of policy and assiduity on the part of that great man, as could scarcely fail of success.

"From these it appears, that early in the year 1488, the pope, who had not before received any additional members into the college, had formed the intention of making a promotion of cardinals, and had communicated his purpose to Lorenzo, to whom he had also transmitted a list of names for his remarks and approbation. Such however was the inactivity of the pontiff, that he delayed from time to time the execution of his plan. From the age and infirmities of the pope, Lorenzo was fearful that this measure might be wholly frustrated; and as he had already formed the design of procuring the name of his son to be included among those of the new cardinals, he directed his envoy at Rome, Giovanni Lanfredini, to lose no time in prevailing upon the pope to carry his intentions into effect. 'I 'observe,' says he, in a letter which bears date the sixteenth day of June 1488, 'what you mention respecting the promotion of cardinals, 'to which I shall briefly reply, that 'this event ought not to be delayed 'longer than can be possibly avoided; for when his holiness has completed it, he will be another pope 'than he has hitherto been—because he is yet a head without 'limbs, surrounded by the creatures of others; whereas he will 'then be surrounded by his own. 'You will therefore importune and 'exhort him to adopt this determination as soon as possible, because there is danger in delay. '* * As to the persons nominated, I approve all those whose 'names are marked with a point; 'they are the same as you before 'mentioned to me. It seems better to lay before him many, that 'he may have an opportunity of 'selection. He may also gratify 'me if he thinks proper.'

"A few months afterwards, when a promotion of cardinals was positively determined on, Lorenzo became more strenuous in his exertions, and omitted no solicitations or persuasions which might obtain the favour, not only of the pontiff himself, but of the cardinals, whose concurrence was, it appears, indispensable. In a letter to the pope, which bears date the first day of October, 1488, he most earnestly intreats, that if he is ever to receive any benefit from his holiness, it may be conceded to him on that occasion, and requests his favour with no less fervency than he would from God the salvation of his soul. With equal eagerness, and to this or a similar effect, he addressed himself to all the members of the sacred college, whose interest he thought essential to his success. Where he could not obtain an absolute promise of support, he considered it as of great importance to have prevented opposition.

sition. 'You appear to me,' says he to Lanfredini, 'to have done no 'little in removing the objections of '* * *. If you cannot induce 'him to proceed further, I wish 'you to thank him for this; and 'assure him, that knowing his in-'clination, I shall owe to him the 'same obligation for it, as I shall 'to others for their positive favours. 'At the same time, if it were pos-'sible, I should be highly gratified 'by his assistance.' On this important occasion Lorenzo availed himself greatly of the services of the cardinal Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, and of Roderigo Borgia, then vice-chancellor of the holy see. 'I reply,' says he, addressing himself to Lanfredi, 'in 'a letter under my own hand to 'the vice-chancellor and Monsig. 'Ascanio. The letter which they 'have written me, and the trouble 'which, as you inform me, Monsig. 'Ascanio takes every day on my 'behalf, merit other returns than 'words. I well know, both from 'your information and my own re-'flections, where my honour and 'my hopes would have remained, 'had they not been brought to life 'by him, and by those whom his 'relationship, friendship and con-'nexions, have obtained for me. 'The difficulty of this business, 'and his constant diligence and at-'tention, render the benefits he has 'conferred on us so important, that 'they oblige not only me and M. 'Giovanni, but all those who be-'long to us; for I consider this fa-'vour in no other light than if I 'were raised from death to life.' He expresses himself respecting the vice-chancellor with equal gratitude, desiring Lanfredini to assure him of the sense he entertains of his favours, which he cannot do himself, 'because in effect he feels the 'obligation too strongly, and is 'more desirous of repaying it, 'when in his power, than he can 'possibly express.'

"At this critical juncture, when every hour was pregnant with expectation, the hopes of Lorenzo were cruelly, though unintentionally, disappointed by Lanfredini, who, having a confidence of success, wished to be informed by Lorenzo in what manner he should announce the great event. To this end, he enclosed to Lorenzo the form of a public letter, which it might be proper to send, on such an occasion, for the inspection of the citizens at large. Lorenzo replies, 'You will 'have time enough to send for the 'form in which it may be proper 'to announce the news. The me-'thod you took had however nearly 'given rise to a great error; for, as 'I read your inclosure before your 'letter, and there did not appear 'either the word *copy*, or any other 'indication to that effect, I thought 'the information true, and was 'very near making it public. It 'seems to me of little consequence 'in what manner you communicate 'it. The business is here so pub-'licly spoken of, that it cannot be 'more so. You can therefore send 'no intelligence that is not expected 'by every one except myself; for, 'I know not how it is, I have never 'been able to confide in the event.'

"This however seems to have been the last agony which Lorenzo had to sustain in this long conflict; for, on the ninth day of the same month, he received the consolatory intelligence, that his son was elevated to the dignity of a cardinal, under the title of S. Maria in Domenica. His feelings on this occasion are best expressed in his own words, addressed to his envoy at Rome. 'Thanks be to

'God

'God for the good news which I 'received yesterday at the ninth 'hour, respecting Messire Gio- 'vanni, and which appeared to me 'so much the greater, as it was 'the less expected; it seeming so 'far above my merits, and so dif- 'ficult in itself, as to be esteemed 'impossible. I have reason to hold 'in remembrance all those who 'have assisted me in this business, 'and shall leave a charge that 'they be not forgotten by those 'who may succeed me; this being 'the greatest honour that ever our 'house experienced.' * * * 'I 'know not whether his holiness 'may be displeased with the de- 'monstrations of joy and festivity 'which have taken place in Flo- 'rence on this occasion; but I 'never saw a more general or a 'more sincere exultation. Many 'other expressions of it would have 'occurred, but I did all in my power 'to prevent them, although I 'could not wholly succeed. I 'mention this, because the eleva- 'tion of M. Giovanni was intended 'to have remained for the present 'a secret; but you have made it 'so public in Rome, that we can 'scarcely incur blame in following 'your example; nor have I been 'able to decline the congratulations 'of the city even to the lowest 'ranks. If what I have done be 'improper, I can only say that it 'was impossible for me to prevent 'it, and that I greatly wish for 'instructions how to conduct my- 'self in future, as to what kind of 'life and manners M. Giovanni 'ought to observe, and what his 'dress and his attendants ought to 'be; for I should be extremely 'sorry to begin to repay this im- 'mense debt by doing any thing 'contrary to the intentions of his 'holiness. In the mean time M. 'Giovanni remains with me in the 'house, which from yesterday has 'been continually full of people. 'Advise me therefore what is to be 'done with him. Inform me also, 'when you next write, what sig- 'nature or seal he ought to use. 'In expediting the bull, you will, 'I am sure, use all due diligence, 'and will transmit it as soon as 'possible for the satisfaction of our 'friends. I send you herewith the 'measure of his height, but in my 'eyes he appears to have grown and 'changed since yesterday. I trust 'in God you will receive due ho- 'nour for your exertions, and that 'his holiness will be pleased with 'what he has done. I wish for 'your opinion whether I should 'send my son Piero, as I intended; 'because it seems to me that a 'favour of this magnitude calls for 'no less, than that I should pay a 'visit to Rome myself.'

"Politiano, to whom the early education of Giovanni de' Medici had been intrusted, thought it also incumbent on himself, upon this occasion, to address to the pope a letter, in which he has exhibited the character and early acquirements of his pupil in a very favourable light. Some allowance must however be made for the partiality of the tutor, and perhaps for the blandishments of the courtier; nor are we implicitly to believe, either that Louis XI. was the most pious of kings, or that Giovanni de' Medici, although from various circumstances his proficiency was beyond his years, had realized in himself

'That faultless monster which the world [ne'er saw.'

Agnolo Politiano to the supreme pontiff, Innocent VIII.

"'Although the mediocrity of 'my fortune, and the insignificance 'of my station in life, might justly 'deter-

'deter me from addressing myself 'to your holiness, the vicar of 'God, and chief of the human race; 'yet, amidst the public exultation 'of this city, and the peculiar sa-'tisfaction which I myself expe-'rience, I cannot refrain from ex-'pressing my joy, and returning 'thanks to your holiness, for hav-'ing adopted into the sacred col-'lege, Giovanni, the son of Lo-'renzo de' Medici, and the de-'served favourite of his country; 'and for having thereby conferred 'on this flourishing community, 'and on so noble a family, such 'high honour and dignity. Allow 'me also to congratulate your 'holiness, that by this exertion of 'your own discriminating judg-'ment, you have added to your 'other great distinctions immortal 'honour. Not to mention Lo-'renzo himself, whose favour you 'have perpetually secured by this 'instance of your regard, where 'shall we find a person more ac-'complished, in every respect, 'than our young cardinal? I shall 'neither indulge my own feelings, 'nor flatter the choice of your ho-'liness. What I shall say is known 'to and testified by all. He has 'had the happiness to be so born 'and constituted by nature, so 'educated and directed as to his 'manners, so instituted and taught 'as to his literary acquirements, 'that in his genius he is inferior to 'no one, neither is he surpassed by 'any of those of his own time of 'life in industry, by his preceptors 'in learning, or by mature age in 'gravity and seriousness of de-'portment. The native goodness 'of his disposition has been so in-'dustriously cultivated by his fa-'ther, that he has never incurred 'censure by the slightest levity or 'impropriety of speech. In his 'whole conduct and deportment 'there is nothing that it is possible 'to blame. At his early period of 'life he has attained such a ma-'turity, that the aged recognise in 'him the genius of the venerable 'Cosmo, whilst we, who are young-'er, acknowledge in him the very 'spirit of his father. His dispo-'sition to religion and piety he may 'be said to have imbibed with the 'milk that nourished him. From 'his cradle he has meditated on 'the sacred offices of the church, 'to which he was destined by his 'provident father, even before his 'birth; and the hopes entertained 'of him have been encouraged by 'many favourable presages. Such 'was the specimen which he had 'given, whilst yet a child, of his 'virtues and talents, that the repu-'tation of them induced that most 'wise and most pious king, Louis 'XI. to judge him not unworthy 'of the high dignity of an arch-'bishop. You have therefore the 'king as your precursor in the fa-'vours you have bestowed. He 'began the web which your holi-'ness has thought proper to finish. '* * * *. It is not requisite 'that you should number his years. 'He has attained his virtues before 'his time. Doubt not but he will 'fill the august purple. He will 'not faint under the weight of the 'hat, nor be dazzled by the splen-'dour that surrounds him. You 'will find in him a person not un-'qualified for such a senate, not 'unequal to such a burthen. Al-'ready he appears in full majesty, 'and seems to exceed his usual sta-'ture.' * * *

"Whatever credit the foregoing letter may confer on the rhetorical talents of Politiano, it must be confessed that it is not calculated to increase our favourable opinion of his

his judgment; as in attempting with too much earnestness to convince the pope of the rectitude of his conduct, it betrays a suspicion that such conduct stands in need of justification. Lorenzo himself appears to have regarded this laboured production with no great approbation. In one of his letters to Lanfredini he thus adverts to it: 'Messire Agnolo da Monte-Pulciano writes an epistle to his holiness, which is sent herewith, superscribed by Ser Piero, returning him thanks, &c. It is pretty long—He would have been glad, had it been received in time, to have had it read in the consistory, and not merely to his holiness. I think we should proceed cautiously in delivering it to the pope, to say nothing of the rest. I submit it, however, to your judgment.' As no answer to this letter appears in the works of Politiano, it is not improbable that it was suppressed, in consequence of these cautionary and well founded remarks.

"It must however be acknowledged, that if Lorenzo de' Medici was indefatigable in obtaining for his son the honours and emoluments of ecclesiastical preferment, he displayed an equal degree of assiduity in rendering him worthy of them. The early docility and seriousness of Giovanni, the proficiency which he had made in his studies, and the distinctions with which he had been honoured, intitled him to rank as an associate en those meetings of men of genius and learning, which continually took place in the palace of the Medici. Among the professors of the Platonic philosophy the chief place was held by Marsilio Ficino; the authority of Aristotle was supported by his countryman and warm admirer, Joannes Argyropylus; in classical and polite literature Politiano had revived the age of Augustus; whilst Giovanni Pico of Mirandula united in himself the various kinds of knowledge which were allotted to others only in distinct portions. Conversant, as Giovanni de' Medici was, with these men, and residing under the eye of his father, to whom every production of literature and of art was submitted as to an infallible judge, it was impossible that the seeds of knowledge and of taste, if indeed they existed, should not be early developed in his mind. Hence it is probable that the business of education was to him, as indeed it ought to be to every young person, the highest amusement and gratification; and that he never experienced those restraints and severities which create a disgust to learning instead of promoting it. Amidst the extensive collections of pictures, sculptures, medals, and other specimens of ancient and modern art, acquired by the wealth and long continued attention of his ancestors, he first imbibed that relish for productions of this nature, and that discriminating judgment of their merits, which rendered him, in his future life, no less the arbiter of the public taste in works of art, than he was of the public creed in matters of religion.

"The youthful mind of Giovanni de' Medici was not however wholly left to the chance of promiscuous cultivation. Besides the assistance of Politiano, who had the chief direction of his studies, he is said to have received instructions in the Greek language from Demetrius Chalcondyles and Petrus Ægineta, both of whom were Greeks by birth. His education was also promoted by Bernardo Michelozzi, who was one of the private secretaries of his

father, and eminently skilled both in ancient and modern literature; but his principal director, in his riper studies, was Bernardo Dovizi, better known by the name of Bernardo da Bibbiena. This elegant scholar and indefatigable statesman was born of a respectable family at Bibbiena, in the year 1470, and was sent at the age of nine years to pursue his studies in Florence. His family connexions introduced him into the house of the Medici; and such was the assiduity with which he availed himself of the opportunities of instruction there afforded him, that at the age of seventeen he had attained a great facility of Latin composition, and was soon afterwards selected by Lorenzo as one of his private secretaries. When the honours of the church were bestowed on Giovanni de' Medici, the principal care of his pecuniary concerns was intrusted to Bernardo; in the execution of which employment he rendered his patron such important services, and conducted himself with so much vigilance and integrity, that some have not hesitated to ascribe to him, in a considerable degree, the future eminence of his pupil. Notwithstanding the serious occupations in which Bernardo was engaged, in his temper and manners he was affable, and even facetious, as appears by the representation given of him by Castiglione, in his *Libro del Cortegiano*, in which he is introduced as one of the interlocutors. Nor did he neglect his literary studies, of which he gave a sufficient proof in his celebrated comedy, *La Calandra*, which although not, as some have asserted, the earliest comedy which modern times have produced, deservedly obtained great reputation for its author, and merits, even at this day, no small share of approbation. The high rank which Bernardo obtained in the church, and the distinguished part which he acted in the political transactions of the times, will frequently present him to our notice. Of his character and talents different opinions have indeed been entertained, but his title to eminent merit must be admitted, whilst he claims it under the sanction of Ariosto.

"But whilst it may be presumed, that the subsequent honours and success of Giovanni de' Medici are to be attributed in a great degree to his early education, and to the advantages which he possessed under his paternal roof, it must be allowed, that those defects in his ecclesiastical character, which were afterwards so apparent, were probably derived from the same source. The associates of Lorenzo de' Medici were much better acquainted with the writings of the poets, and the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, than with the dogmas of the christian faith. Of the followers of Plato, Lorenzo was at this time considered as the chief. He had himself arranged and methodized a system of theology which inculcates opinions very different from those of the Romish church, and in a forcible manner points out the object of supreme adoration as one and indivisible. Hence, it is not unlikely, that the young cardinal was induced to regard with less reverence those doctrinal points of the established creed, the belief of which is considered as indispensable to the clerical character; and hence he might have acquired such ideas of the supreme being, and of the duties of his intelligent creatures, as, in counteracting the spirit of bigotry, rendered him liable to the imputation of indifference in

matters

matters of religion. A rigid economy in his household was certainly not one of the first qualifications of Lorenzo, and the example of the father might perhaps counteract his precepts in the estimation of the son; whose liberality in future life, too often carried to profusion, reduced him to the necessity of adopting those measures for the supplying his exigencies, which gave rise to consequences of the utmost importance to the christian world. From the splendid exhibitions which were frequently displayed in the city of Florence, he probably derived that relish for similar entertainments which he is supposed to have carried, during his pontificate, to an indecorous, if not to a culpable excess; whilst the freedom and indecency of the songs with which the spectacles of Florence were accompanied, of many of which Lorenzo was himself the author, could scarcely have failed to banish at intervals that gravity of carriage which the young cardinal was directed to support, and to sow those seeds of dissipation which afterwards met with a more suitable climate in the fervid atmosphere of Rome.

"The nomination of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of cardinal, was accompanied by a condition that he should not assume the insignia of his rank, or be received as a member of the college for the space of three years. This restriction was considered by Lorenzo as very unfavourable to his views. His remonstrances were however ineffectual; and as the pontiff had expressed his wishes, that, during this probationary interval, Giovanni should pursue the studies of theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, the young cardinal left Florence, and repaired to Pisa, where by the exertions of Lorenzo, the academy had lately been re-established with great splendour. At this place he had the advantage of receiving instructions from Filippo Decio and Bartolommeo Sozzini, the most celebrated professors of civil and pontifical law in Italy. Whilst a resident in Florence, he had frequently visited the monastery of Camaldoli, where he formed an intimacy with Pietro Delfinio, and Paullo Justiniano; the former of whom he regarded as his model and instructor, the latter as a second parent. The advantages which he received in his youth from this society were not forgotten in his riper years, when he conferred many favours on the monastery, acknowledging with great satisfaction, that 'he had not only spent much of his 'time, but had almost received his 'education there.'

"Whilst Giovanni de' Medici, by a constant intercourse with men of rank, talents, and learning, was thus acquiring a fund of information, and a seriousness of deportment much beyond his years, his father was indefatigable in his endeavours to prevail on the pope to shorten the period of his probation. Piero Alamanni, one of the Florentine envoys at Rome, in a letter which bears date the eighth day of January, 1490, thus addresses Lorenzo: 'I made my acknowledg-'ments to his holiness for the fa-'vours received from him in the 'person of M. Giovanni, giving 'him to understand how agreeable 'they were to all the citizens of 'Florence, and how highly they 'esteemed the obligation. I then 'ventured, in terms of the utmost 'respect and civility, to touch upon 'that part of the business, the ac-'complishment of which is so ear-

'nestly desired, the public assumption of M. Giovanni; alleging 'all the reasons which you suggested to me, but at the same 'time assuring him that the city of 'Florence, and you in particular, 'would be perfectly satisfied with 'his determination. In reply he 'spoke at considerable length; in 'the first place observing, that the 'mode which he had prescribed 'was intended to answer the best 'purposes, as he had before explained by means of Pier Filippo '(Pandolfini). He then entered 'on the commendation of M. Giovanni, and spoke of him as if he 'had been his own son, observing, 'that he understood that he had 'conducted himself with great propriety at Pisa, and had obtained 'the superiority in some disputation, which seemed to give his 'holiness great pleasure. At last 'he expressed himself thus: Leave 'the fortunes of M. Giovanni to 'me, for I consider him as my own 'son, and shall perhaps make his 'promotion public when you least 'expect it; for it is my intention 'to do much more for his interest 'than I shall now express.' In order to promote this business, and to try the temper of the cardinals, Lorenzo dispatched to Rome his kinsman Rinaldo Orsini, archbishop of Florence, but he derived no advantage from this measure; and indeed from the letters of the good prelate on this subject, it appears, that he was but ill qualified for the intrigues of a court. The motives which induced Innocent to persevere in the terms which he had prescribed, are more fully disclosed in a letter from Pandolfini to Lorenzo, dated the nineteenth day of October, 1490; from which it appears, that the pope could not admit Giovanni into the college of cardinals without either giving offence to others who had not been received, or receiving the whole, which he did not think proper to do; as he considered the state of suspense in which the college was kept, as favourable to his views and interests.

"During the early years of Giovanni de' Medici, he had a constant companion and fellow student in his cousin Giulio, the natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, who had been assassinated in the horrid conspiracy of the Pazzi. The disposition of Giulio leading him when young to adopt a military life, he had been early enrolled among the knights of Jerusalem; and as this profession united the characters of the soldier and the priest, he was soon afterwards, at the solicitation of Lorenzo de' Medici, endowed by Ferdinand, king of Naples, with the rich and noble priory of Capua. Grave in his deportment, steady in his family attachments, and vigilant in business, Giulio devoted himself in a particular manner to the fortunes of Giovanni, and became his chief attendant and adviser throughout all the vicissitudes of his early life. On the elevation of Giovanni to the pontificate, the services of Giulio, who was soon afterwards raised to the rank of cardinal, became yet more important; and he is, with great reason, supposed not only to have carried into execution, but to have suggested many of the political measures adopted by Leo, and to have corrected the levity and prodigality of the pope by his own austerity, prudence, and regularity. It did not however appear, on the subsequent elevation of Giulio to the pontificate by the name of Clement VII. that he possessed in so eminent a degree those qualities for which the world had

had given him credit; and, perhaps, the genius and talents of Leo had contributed no less towards establishing the reputation of Giulio, than the industry and vigilance of the latter had concurred in giving credit to the administration of Leo X.

" The long expected day at length arrived, which was to confirm to Giovanni de' Medici his high dignity, and to admit him among the princes of the christian church. The ceremonial of the investiture was intrusted to Matteo Bosso, superior of the monastery at Fiesole, whose probity and learning had recommended him to the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici, and who has thus recorded the particulars of the investiture which took place on the ninth day of March, 1492: 'On 'the evening of the preceding day, 'Giovanni ascended the hill of 'Fiesole to the monastery, simply 'clad, and with few companions. 'In the morning, being Sunday, 'Giovanni Pico of Mirandula and 'Jacopo Salviati, who had married 'Lucretia, one of the daughters of 'Lorenzo, arrived at the monastery 'with a notary, and accompanied 'the young cardinal to the cele-'bration of mass, where he took 'the holy sacrament with great de-'votion and humility. The su-'perior then bestowed his benedic-'tion on the sacred vestments, and, 'receiving the bull or brief of the 'pope, declared that the time there-'in limited for the reception of the 'cardinal was expired; expressing 'at the same time his most fervent 'vows for the honour of the church, 'and the welfare of the cardinal, 'his father, and his country. He 'then invested him with the *pallium*, 'or mantle, to which he added the '*biretum*, or cap usually worn by 'cardinals, and the *galerus*, or hat, 'the distinctive emblem of their 'dignity, accompanying each with 'appropriate exhortations, that he 'would use them to the glory of 'God and his own salvation; after 'which the friars of the monastery 'chaunted at the altar the hymn, '*Veni Creator*.' The cardinal having thus received a portion of the apostolic powers, immediately tried their efficacy, by bestowing an indulgence on all those who had attended at the ceremony, and on all who should, on the anniversary of that day, visit the altar at Fiesole. The company than retired to a repast; after which, Piero de' Medici, the elder brother of the cardinal, arrived from the city, accompanied by a party of select friends, and mounted on a horse of extraordinary size and spirit, caparisoned with gold. In the mean time an immense multitude, as well on horseback as on foot, had proceeded from the gate of S. Gallo towards Fiesole; but having received directions to stop at the bridge on the Mugnone, they were there met by the cardinal, who was conducted by the prelates and chief magistrates of the city towards the palace of the Medici. On his arrival at the church of the *Annunciata*, he descended from his mule, and paid his devotions at the altar. In passing the church of the *Reparata*, he performed the same ceremony, and proceeded from thence to his paternal roof. The crowds of spectators, the acclamations, illuminations, and fire-works, are all introduced by the good abbot into his faithful picture; and the rejoicings on this event may be supposed to be similar to those which celebrate, with equal delight, a royal marriage, a blood-stained victory, or a long-wished-for peace.

" On the twelfth day of March, 1492, the cardinal de' Medici quit-

ted Florence, for the purpose of paying his respects to the pope, and establishing his future residence at Rome. He was accompanied to the distance of two miles from the city by a great number of the principal inhabitants, and on the evening of the same day he arrived at his abbey of Pasignano, where he took up his abode for the night. His retinue remained at the neighbouring town of Poggibonzo, whence they proceeded the next morning, before the cardinal, to Siena. The inhabitants of that place being thus apprised of his approach, sent a deputation to attend him into the city, where, for several days, he experienced every possible mark of attention and respect; which he returned with a degree of urbanity and kindness that gained him the esteem and affection of all who saw him. From Siena he proceeded by easy stages towards Rome, having on his way been entertained by his relations of the Orsini family. At Viterbo he was met by his brother-in-law Francesco Cibò, son to the pope, who with many attendants had waited his approach, and accompanied him to Rome, where he arrived on the twenty-second day of March, in the midst of a most abundant shower of rain. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, he was met by many persons of rank, who attended him to the monastery of *S. Maria in Popolo*, where he reposed the first night after his arrival. On the following morning, all the cardinals then in Rome came to visit him, and immediately led him to the pope, who received him in full consistory, and gave him the holy kiss; after which he was greeted with a similar mark of respect from each of the cardinals, and his attendants were permitted to kiss the feet of the pope. On his return to his residence, the rain still continued to pour down in copious torrents; and as the luxurious convenience of a modern chariot was then unknown, the cardinal and his numerous attendants were almost overwhelmed in their peregrinations. In the performance of these ceremonies, we are assured by one of his countrymen, that he surpassed the expectations of the spectators; and that in his person and stature, no less than by the decorum of his behaviour, and the propriety of his language, he displayed the gravity of a man, and supported the dignity of a prelate. Such are the authentic particulars of the first entry into Rome, of one who was destined to revive her ancient splendour. The dignity of history may perhaps reject the unimportant narrative of processions and ceremonials; but the character of an individual is often strongly marked by his conduct on such occasions; and the interest which that conduct generally excites, is a sufficient proof, that it is considered by the public as no improbable indication of his future life and fortunes.

"Notwithstanding the numerous avocations which engaged the cardinal on his arrival at Rome, he did not fail to communicate to his father every particular which occurred. In reply, Lorenzo transmitted to him that excellent and affectionate letter of paternal advice, which may with confidence be referred to as a proof of the great talents and uncommon sagacity of its author; and which, as having been written only a very short time before his death, has been, not inelegantly, compared to the last musical accents of the dying swan.

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"At the time when Giovanni de' Medici took his seat in the sacred college, it was filled by many men of acknowledged abilities, but of great diversity of character; several of whom afterwards acted an important part in the affairs of Europe. The eldest member of the college was Roderigo Borgia, who had enjoyed upwards of thirty-five years the dignity of the purple, to which he had, for a long time past, added that of vice-chancellor of the holy see. He was descended from the Lenzuoli, a respectable family of the city of Valencia in Spain; but on the elevation to the pontificate of his maternal uncle, Alfonso Borgia, by the name of Calixtus III. he was called to Rome, where changing his name of Lenzuoli to that of Borgia, he was first appointed archbishop of Valencia, and afterwards cardinal of S. Nicolo, being then only twenty-five years of age. The private life of Roderigo had been a perpetual disgrace to his ecclesiastical functions. In adhering to his vow of celibacy, he had alleviated its severity by an intercourse with a Roman lady of the name of Vanozza, who, by the beauty of her person, and the attractions of her manners, had long possessed the chief place in his affections. His attachment to her appears however to have been sincere and uniform; and although his connexion was necessarily disavowed, he regarded her as a legitimate wife. By her he had several children, to whose education and advancement he paid great attention. Notwithstanding the irregularity of his private life, his acquaintance with the civil law, and with the politics of the times, had procured him the honour of many important embassies, on one of which he had been deputed by the pope, to accommodate the differences that had arisen between the kings of Portugal and of Aragon, in respect of their claims on the crown of Castile. Roderigo was not, however, formed by nature for a mediator; and returning without having effected the object of his mission, he had nearly perished by shipwreck in the vicinity of Pisa, one of the vessels which accompanied him having been wholly lost in a violent storm, with one hundred and eighty persons on board, among whom were three bishops, and many other men of rank and learning. If the character of Roderigo, who afterwards became supreme pontiff by the name of Alexander VI. is to be taken on the implicit credit of contemporary historians, this calamity was not greatly alleviated by the escape of the cardinal; on the contrary, had he shared the same fate, his destruction would have been a sufficient compensation to the world for the loss of all the rest.

"Another member of the college was Francesco Piccolomini, the nephew of Pius II. the celebrated Æneas Sylvius. He had also long enjoyed his dignity, having been created cardinal by his uncle in the year 1460, when only seventeen years of age. The purity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and his zeal in discharging the duties of his station, formed a striking contrast to the profligacy and effrontery of Roderigo Borgia, and occasioned him to be chosen by his colleagues to heal those wounds which Roderigo had, in the course of his pontificate, inflicted on the christian world: but the short space of time in which he administered the affairs of the church, under the name of Pius III. frustrated the hopes which had been formed

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on his elevation. Among those who had been nominated by Sixtus IV. was Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of *S. Pietro in Vincola*. The ambition and military spirit of this prelate seemed to have marked him out for a different employment; but in those days the crozier and the sword were not incompatible, and Giuliano made his way by the latter, rather than the former, to the supreme dignity which he afterwards enjoyed, by the name of Julius II. By the same nomination there still sat in the college, Raffaelle Riario, cardinal of *S. Giorgio*, who, under the directions of his great uncle Sixtus IV. had acted a principal part in the bloody conspiracy of the Pazzi. In assuming his seat among the fathers of the christian church, Giovanni de' Medici, therefore, found himself associated with one who had assisted in the murder of his uncle, and attempted the life of his father; but the youth and inexperience of Riario had alleviated the enormity of a crime perpetrated under the sanction of the supreme pontiff, and subsequent transactions had occurred between the families of the pope and of the Medici, which might have obliterated the remembrance of this event, had not the pallid countenance of the cardinal occasionally called it to mind. Among those of royal or of noble birth, the principal rank, after the death of Giovanni d'Aragona, son of Ferdinand king of Naples, was due to Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, who supported the dignity of his office with great splendour. The families of the Orsini and the Colonna generally maintained a powerful interest in the consistory, and the noble family of the Caraffa, which has long ranked as one of the principal in the kingdom of Naples, had also a representative in the person of Oliviero Caraffa, who had been nominated by Paul II. and was one of the most respectable members in the college.

"Among the cardinals who had been nominated by Innocent VIII. at the same time with Giovanni de' Medici, was Pierre d'Aubusson, grand master of Rhodes, upon whom that honour had been conferred as a reward for having surrendered into the custody of the pope, an illustrious Turkish fugitive, who had been compelled, by the rage of fraternal resentment, to seek for safety among those of a different nation and a different faith. On the death of Mahomet, in the year 1482, that ferocious conqueror left his extensive dominions to his two sons, Bajazet and Zizim. Bajazet was tempted to avail himself of the powerful plea of primogeniture, to the exclusion of his brother, who had endeavoured by personal merit to compensate for the pretensions of seniority. The principal leaders of the Turkish troops were divided in their attachments to the two brothers; and perhaps that circumstance, rather than the courage or conduct of the duke of Calabria, delivered Italy from the devastation with which it was threatened by the Turks, when they had possessed themselves of the city of Otranto. After a struggle of some years and several bloody engagements, victory declared for the elder brother; and Zizim, to avoid the bow-string, threw himself into the hands of the grand master of Rhodes, whilst his wife and children sought a refuge in Egypt, under the protection of the Sultan. The reception which he met with was highly honourable both to himself and his protector; but the grand

grand master, conceiving that his longer continuance at Rhodes might draw down upon the island the whole power of the Turkish state, sent him to France, whence he was soon afterwards transferred to Rome, into which city he made his public entry on the thirteenth day of March, 1489. Considerations of policy, if not of humanity, induced Innocent to receive him with great kindness; and Francesco Cibò, with a long train of nobility, was deputed to attend him into the city. On his being admitted to an audience of the pope, in full consistory, he deranged the solemnity of the ceremony; for notwithstanding the instructions which he had received, to bend his knees, and kiss the feet of his holiness, he marched firmly up to him, and applied that mark of respect to his shoulder. A chamber in the apostolic palace was allotted for his residence, and a guard appointed, which, under the pretext of doing him honour, was directed to prevent his escape. In this situation an attempt was made to destroy the Turkish prince, by Cristoforo Castagno, a nobleman of the *Marca d' Ancona,* who having entered into stipulations for an immense reward, by the terms of which, among other advantages, he was to be invested with the government of the island of Negroponte, repaired to Rome, for the purpose of executing his treacherous task. Some suspicions, however, arose; and it being discovered that he had recently returned from Constantinople, he was apprehended by order of the pope, and confessed, upon the rack, his atrocious intentions. Those apprehensions which Bajazet could not extinguish whilst his brother was living, he endeavoured to alleviate by prevailing on the pope to retain him in secure custody, for which he repaid him by the bribery of christian relicks, and the more substantial present of considerable sums of money; and Zizim accordingly remained a prisoner at Rome until the ensuing pontificate of Alexander VI.

"Notwithstanding the tranquillity which Italy had for some time enjoyed, the rumours of approaching calamities were not unfrequent. Those alarms and denunciations which have generally preceded great public commotions, although they may not arise from any supernatural interposition, are not always to be wholly disregarded. On the approach of the storm, the cattle, by a native instinct, retire to shelter; and the human mind may experience a secret dread, resulting from a concurrence of circumstances, which although not amounting to demonstration, may afford strong conviction of approaching evils, to a person of a warm and enthusiastic temperament. Those impressions which he is ready to impart, the public is prepared to receive; and the very credulity of mankind is itself a proof of impending danger. Whilst the city of Florence trembled at the bold and terrific harangues of Savonarola, who was at this time rising to the height of his fatal popularity, a stranger is said to have made his appearance at Rome, who in the habit of a mendicant, and with the appearance of an idiot, ran through the streets, bearing a crucifix, and foretelling, in a strain of forcible eloquence, the disasters that were shortly to ensue; particularly to Florence, Venice, and Milan. With a precision, however, which a prudent prognosticator should always avoid, he ventured to fix the exact time when these disorders were to commence; and

and had the still greater folly to add, that an angelic shepherd would shortly appear, who would collect the scattered flock of true believers into the heavenly fold. But the period prescribed having elapsed, the predictions of the enthusiast were disregarded; and he had the good fortune to sink into his original obscurity, without having experienced that fate, which has generally attended alike the prophets and pseudo-prophets of all ages and all nations."

Death and Character of Leo the Tenth.

[From the same.]

"WHEN the intelligence arrived of the capture of Milan, and the recovery of Parma and Piacenza, Leo was passing his time at his villa of Malliana. He immediately returned to Rome, where he arrived on Sunday the twenty-fourth day of November, for the purpose of giving the necessary directions to his commanders, and partaking in the public rejoicings on this important victory. It was at first rumoured that the cardinal de' Medici had prevailed upon Francesco Sforza to cede to him the sovereignty of Milan; in consideration of which he had agreed to surrender to the duke his cardinal's hat, with the office of chancellor of the holy see, and all his benefices, amounting to the annual sum of fifty thousand ducats; and it was supposed to be on this account that the pope expressed such symptoms of joy and satisfaction as he had on no other occasion evinced, and gave orders that the rejoicings should be continued in the city during three days. On being asked by his master of the ceremonies whether it would not also be proper to return solemn thanks to God on such an occasion, he desired to be informed of the opinion of this officer. The master of the ceremonies told the pope, that when there was a war between any of the christian princes, it was not usual for the church to rejoice upon any victory, unless the holy see derived some benefit from it; that if the pope therefore thought that he had obtained any great advantages, he should manifest his joy by returning thanks to God; to which the pope smiling replied, 'that he had indeed obtained a 'great prize.' He then gave directions that a consistory should be held on Wednesday the twenty-seventh day of November; and finding himself somewhat indisposed, he retired to his chamber, where he took a few hours rest.

"The indisposition of the pontiff excited at first but little alarm, and was attributed by his physicians to a cold caught at his villa. The consistory was not, however, held; and on the morning of Sunday, the first day of December, the pope suddenly died. This event was so unexpected, that he is said to have expired without those ceremonies which are considered as of such essential importance by the Roman church. Paullus Jovius relates, that a short time before his death, he returned thanks to God with his hands clasped together, and his eyes raised to heaven; and expressed his readiness to submit to his

his approaching fate, after having lived to see the cities of Parma and Piacenza restored to the church, and the French effectually humbled; but this narrative deserves little further credit, than such as it derives from the mere probability of such a circumstance. In truth, the circumstances attending the death of the pontiff are involved in mysterious and total obscurity; and the accounts given of this event by Varillas, and similar writers in subsequent times, are the spurious offspring of their own imagination. Some information on this important event might have been expected from the diary of the master of the ceremonies, Paris de Grassis; but it is remarkable, that from Sunday the twenty-fourth day of November, when the pope withdrew to his chamber, to the same day in the following week, when he expired, no notice is taken by this officer of the progress of his disorder, of the particulars of his conduct, or of the means adopted for his recovery. On the last mentioned day, Paris de Grassis was called upon to make preparations for the funeral of the pontiff. He found the body already cold and livid. After having given such directions as seemed to him requisite on the occasion, he summoned the cardinals to meet on the following day. All the cardinals then in Rome, being twenty-nine in number, accordingly attended; but the concourse of the people was so great in the palace, that it was with difficulty they could make their way to the assembly. The object of this meeting was to arrange the ceremonial of the funeral, which it was ordered should take place on the evening of the same day.

"Such is the dubious and unsatisfactory narrative of the death of Leo X. which occurred when he had not yet completed the forty-sixth year of his age; having reigned eight years eight months and nineteen days. It was the general opinion at the time, and has been confirmed by the suffrages of succeeding historians, that his death was occasioned by the excess of his joy, on hearing of the success of his arms. If, however, after all the vicissitudes of fortune which Leo had experienced, his mind had not been sufficiently fortified to resist this influx of good fortune, it is probable at least, that its effects would have been more sudden. On this occasion it has been well observed, that an excess of joy is dangerous only on a first emotion, and that Leo survived this intelligence eight days. It seems therefore not improbable, that this story was fabricated merely as a pretext, to conceal the real cause of his death; and that the slight indisposition and temporary seclusion of the pontiff, afforded an opportunity for some of his enemies to gratify their resentment, or promote their own ambitious views by his destruction. Some circumstances are related which give additional credibility to this supposition. Before the body of the pope was interred, Paris de Grassis, perceiving it to be much inflated, inquired from the consistory whether they would have it opened and examined; to which they assented. On performing this operation, the medical attendants reported that he had certainly died by poison. To this it is added, that during his illness the pope had frequently complained of an internal burning, which was attributed to the same cause; 'whence,' says Paris de Grassis, 'it is certain 'that the pope was poisoned.' In confirmation of this opinion, a singular

gular incident is also recorded by the same officer, who relates in his diary, that a few days before the indisposition of the pontiff, a person unknown, and disguised, called upon one of the monks in the monastery of S. Jerom, and requested him to inform the pope, that an attempt would be made by one of his confidential attendants to poison him; not by his food, but by his linen. The friar, not choosing to convey this intelligence to the pope, who was then at Malliana, communicated it to the datary, who immediately acquainted the pope with it. The friar was sent for to the villa; and having there confirmed, in the presence of the pontiff, what he had before related, Leo with great emotion observed, 'that if it was the will of God that 'he should die, he should submit to 'it; but that he should use all the 'precaution in his power.' We are further informed, that in the course of a few days he fell sick, and that with his last words he declared that he had been murdered, and could not long survive.

"The consternation and grief of the populace, on the death of the pontiff, was unbounded. On its being rumoured that he died by poison, they, in the first emotions of their fury, seized upon Bernabò Malespina, one of the pope's cupbearers, who had excited their suspicions by attempting to leave the city, at this critical juncture, on the pretext of hunting, and dragged him to the castle of S. Angelo. On his examination it was alleged against him, that the day before the pope became indisposed, he had received from Malespina a cup of wine, and, after having drunk it, had asked in great anger, what he meant by giving him so disagreeable and bitter a potion. No sufficient proofs appearing of his guilt, he was, however, soon afterwards liberated; and the cardinal-legate de' Medici arriving at the city, prohibited any further examination on the subject. He could not, however, prevent the surmises of the people, some of whom conjectured that Francis I. had been the instigator of the crime; a supposition wholy inconsistent with the ingenuous and open character of that monarch. It has since been suggested, that the duke of Ferrara, whose dominions were so immediately endangered by the hostile attempts of the pontiff, or the exiled duke of Urbino, might have resorted to these insidious means of revenge; but of these individuals the weightier suspicion would fall on the latter, who, by his assassination of the cardinal of Pavia, had given a decisive proof, that in the gratification of his resentment he knew no bounds; and who had, by his complaints and representations to the sacred college, succeeded in exciting a considerable enmity against the pontiff, even within the limits of the Roman court.

"The obsequies of the pope were performed in the Vatican, without any extraordinary pomp; the avowed reason of which was the impoverished state of the Roman treasury, exhausted, as it was alleged, by his profuse liberality, and by the wars in which he had been engaged. The recent successes with which his efforts had been crowned, might, however, have supplied both the motives and the resources for a more splendid funeral, if other circumstances, arising from the peculiar and suspicious manner of his death, had not rendered it improper or inexpedient. His funeral panegyric

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was pronounced by his chamberlain, Antonio da Spello, in a rude and illiterate manner, highly unworthy of the subject, for which reason his oration has not been preserved; but in the academy *della Sapienza* at Rome, a discourse is annually pronounced in praise of Leo X. Many of these have been printed, and are occasionally met with in rare collections. For several years no monument distinguished the place of his sepulture; but after the death of Clement VII. the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, having removed his remains from the Vatican to the chapel of *S. Maria ad Minervam*, employed the eminent sculptor Alfonso Lombardi to erect suitable memorials to the memory of the two pontiffs to whom he stood so nearly related. Lombardi accordingly formed the models after sketches furnished by Michelagnolo, and repaired to Carrara to procure the marble requisite for the purpose: but, on the untimely death of the cardinal, he was deprived of this favourable opportunity of displaying his talents; and through the influence of Lucrezia Salviati, the sister of Leo X., the erection of the monument of that pontiff was intrusted to Baccio Bandinelli, who had made a model of it during the life of Clement VII. and who completed it in the church of *S. Maria ad Minervam*, where it is yet to be seen in the choir behind the great altar, and near to it is that of Clement VII. The statue of Leo is the work of Raffaello da Monte Lupo; and that of Clement VII. is by the hand of Giovanni Bigio. Another monument of Leo X. is said to have been erected in the church of *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, under an arch near the famous sculpture of a charity by Michelagnolo; where however it is now no longer to be found."——

"Were we to place implicit confidence in the opinions of many authors, who have taken occasion to refer to the character of Leo X., we must unavoidably suppose him to have been one of the most dissolute, irreligious, profane, and unprincipled of mankind. By one writer we are told that Leo led a life little suited to one of the successors of the apostles, and entirely devoted to voluptuousness; another has not scrupled to insert the name of this pontiff in a list which he has formed of the supposed atheists of the time. John Bale, in his satirical work, entitled, *The Pageant of Popes*, in which, in his animosity against the church of Rome, he professes it to be his intention to *give her double according to her works*, has informed us, that when Bembo quoted to Leo X. on some occasion, a passage from one of the evangelists, the pope replied, It is well known to all ages how profitable this fable of Christ has been to us; a story, which, it has justly been remarked, has been repeated by three or four hundred different writers, without any authority whatsoever, except that of the author above referred to. Another anecdote of a similar nature is found in a Swiss writer; who, as a proof of the impiety and atheism of the pontiff, relates, that he directed two of the buffoons whom he admitted to his table, to take upon them the characters of philosophers, and to discuss the question respecting the immortality of the soul; when, after having heard the arguments on both sides, he gave his decision by observing, that he who had maintained the affirmative of the question had given excellent reasons for his opinion, but that his

adversary had the better cause. This story rests only on the authority of Luther, who on such an occasion can scarcely be admitted as a sufficient evidence. We are told by another protestant author, that at the time 'when Leo was thun-'dering out his anathemas against 'Luther, he was not ashamed to 'publish a bull in favour of the 'profane poems of Ariosto; me-'nacing with excommunication all 'those who criticised them, or de-'prived the author of his emolu-'ment:' a circumstance which has been adduced by innumerable writers, and even by the dispassionate Bayle, as an additional proof of the impiety of the pontiff, and of the disgraceful manner in which he abused his ecclesiastical authority. But in answer to this, it may be sufficient to observe, that the privilege to Ariosto was granted long before Luther had signalized himself by his opposition to the Romish church, and that such privilege is in fact nothing more than the usual protection granted to authors, to secure to them the profits of their works. That it contains any denunciations against those who censure the writings of Ariosto, is an assertion wholly groundless; the clause of excommunication extending only to those who should surreptitiously print and sell the work without the consent of the author; a clause which is found in all licenses of the same nature, frequently much more strongly expressed, and which was intended to repress, beyond the limits of the papal territories, those literary pirates, who have at all time since the invention of printing, been ready to convert the industry of others to their own emolument.

" Nor has the moral character of Leo X. wholly escaped those disgraceful imputations, which affix a stain of all others the most readily made, and the most difficult to expunge. These accusations arise from Paullus Jovius, who in alluding to the apparent familiarity that subsisted between Leo X. and some of his attendants, seems much more inclined to consider this implied offence of the pontiff, as a matter of slight importance in a great prince, than to inquire whether the charges against him were well founded. Such, however, is the loose morality, such the equivocal testimony of this author, that little reliance is to be placed on him; and it is not without sufficient reason that Rabelais has assigned him a station in his hall of *Oui-dire*. But although this circumstance has frequently been referred to in subsequent times, for the purpose of disgracing the Roman see, by the crimes of its chief officer, yet it may with confidence be regarded as one of those slanders, which are handed down from age to age, without any other authority than the unprincipled pen of a flippant author. With respect to the moral conduct of Leo X. in private life, the most satisfactory evidence remains, that he exhibited, not only in his early years but after his elevation to the pontificate, an example of chastity and decorum, the more remarkable, as it was the more unusual in the age in which he lived. Nor can it be supposed, that so many writers would, in commending the pontiff for virtues which he was known, or suspected not to possess, have incurred the double risk of degrading their own characters in the eye of the world, and giving the pontiff reason to suppose, that they had ironically or impertinently alluded to so dangerous a subject.

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"But whilst we reject these unfounded and scandalous imputations, it must be allowed that the occupations and amusements in which the pontiff indulged himself, were not always suited either to the dignity of his station, or to the gravity of his own character. 'It seems 'to have been his intention,' says one of his biographers, 'to pass his 'time cheerfully, and to secure 'himself against trouble and anx-'iety by all the means in his power. 'He, therefore, sought all oppor-'tunities of pleasure and hilarity, 'and indulged his leisure in amuse-'ments, jests, and singing; either 'induced by a natural propensity, 'or from an idea, that the avoid-'ing vexation and care might con-'tribute to lengthen his days.' On some occasions, and particularly on the first day of August in every year, he was accustomed to invite such of the cardinals as were admitted to his more intimate acquaintance, to play cards with him; and of this opportunity he always availed himself to display his liberality, by distributing pieces of gold among the crowd of spectators, whom he allowed to be present at these entertainments. In the game of chess he was a thorough proficient, and could conduct its most difficult operations with the utmost promptitude and success; but gaming with dice he always reproved, as equally inconsistent with prudence, and injurious to morals.

"His knowledge of music was not only practical but scientific. He had himself a correct ear and a melodious voice, which had been cultivated in his youth with great attention. On the subject of harmony, and the principles of musical notation, he delighted to converse, and had a musical instrument in his chamber, by the assistance of which he was accustomed to exemplify and explain his favourite theory. Nor were the professors of music less favoured by him than those who excelled in other liberal arts. To the cultivation and encouragement of this study, he was more particularly led by the consideration of its essential importance to the due celebration of the splendid rites of the Romish church. In the magnificence of his preparations, the propriety of his own person and dress, and the solemnity and decorum of his manner on these occasions, he greatly excelled all his predecessors. In order to give a more striking effect to these devotional services, he sought throughout all Europe for the most celebrated musical performers, both vocal and instrumental, whom he rewarded with the utmost liberality. As a proof of the high estimation in which these professors were held by him, he conferred on Gabriel Merino, a Spaniard, whose chief merit consisted in the excellence of his voice, and his knowledge of church music, the archbishopric of Bari. Another person, named Francesco Paolosa, he promoted, for similar qualifications, to the rank of an archdeacon; and the pontifical letters of Bembo exhibit various instances of the particular attention paid by him to this subject.

"That a mind, which, like that of the pontiff, could discriminate all the excellencies of literature and of art, could, as we are told was the fact, also stoop to derive its pleasures from the lowest species of buffoonery, is a singular circumstance, but may serve to mark that diversity and range of intellect which distinguished not only Leo X. but also other individuals of this extraor-

extraordinary family. To such an extreme was this propensity carried, that his courtiers and attendants could not more effectually obtain his favour, than by introducing to him such persons, as by their eccentricity, perversity, or imbecility of mind, were likely to excite his mirth. On one occasion this well-known disposition of the pontiff is said to have subjected him to an unexpected intrusion. A person having waited in vain for several days, in the hope of speaking to him, addressed himself at length to the chamberlain, assuring him that he was a great poet, and would astonish the pope by the most admirable verses he had ever heard; a stratagem which procured him immediate admission, although to the chagrin and disappointment of the pontiff. That Leo could bear a jest with a good grace, is, however, evinced by another incident: a person having presented him with some Latin verses in hopes of a great reward, the pope, instead of gratifying his expectation, repeated to him an equal number of lines with the same terminations; whereupon the disappointed poet exclaimed:

'Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dedisset,
Non esset capiti tanta corona tuo.'

'Had fortune your verses with verses repaid,
The tiara would ne'er have encircled your head.'

And the pope, instead of being offended, opened his purse, and rewarded him with his usual liberality.

"There is reason to believe that the pleasure which Leo X. derived from the sumptuous entertainments so frequently given within the precincts of the Roman court, arose not so much from the gratification of his own appetite, in the indulgence of which he was very temperate, as from the delight which he took in ridiculing the insatiable gluttony of his companions. Dishes of an uncommon kind, or composed of animals not usually considered as food, but so seasoned as to attract the avidity of his guests, were occasionally introduced, and, by the discovery of the fraud, gave rise to jocular recrimination, and additional mirth. It is not however improbable that these accounts have been either invented, or exaggerated, by the fertile imagination of the narrator; and it is certain that they are greatly at variance with others, which are entitled at least to equal credit. The severe rules of abstinence which the pope constantly imposed upon himself, and the attention to his studies, even during his meals, which has before been noticed, are circumstances not easily to be reconciled to the riot and dissipation which he is supposed to have so indecorously encouraged. To these may be added the evidence of a contemporary writer, who appears to have been one of his guests, and to have formed an opinion very different from that of Jovius, as to the conduct of the pontiff on these occasions. 'Such was the attention 'of Leo X. to improvement,' says this writer, 'that he would not al-'low even the time of his meals to 'elapse without some degree of 'utility to his guests. Nor could 'all the splendour of the table, and 'the apparatus of the feast, en-'gage our attention, or prevent 'our entering into conversation, not 'indeed on light and trifling topics, 'but on the most sacred and inte-'resting subjects, and such as in 'their discussion required the great-

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'est erudition, and the most per-
'spicacious mind.'

"When Leo occasionally retired from the tumults of the city to his villa of Malliana, about five miles from Rome, he dedicated a considerable portion of his time to the amusements of fowling and hunting, in which he engaged with such earnestness, as to disregard all the inclemencies of weather, and the inconveniencies arising from want of accommodation. To these active exercises, he was most probably led to accustom himself, from an idea that they were conducive to his health, in correcting his natural tendency to a corpulent habit. Having from his youth been devoted to these sports, he was well skilled in conducting them; and was highly offended with any of his companions, whatever their rank might be, who through ignorance or carelessness spoiled the expected diversion. An unsuccessful chase seemed to be one of the heaviest misfortunes that could befal him, whilst those who were hunting for the pontifical favour, rather than the beasts of the field, always found that it was the best time to obtain it, when the exertions of the pontiff had been crowned with success. Towards the decline of the year, when the heat of the season began to be mitigated by the rains, he visited the warm baths of Viterbo, the vicinity of which abounded with partridges, quails, and pheasants, and where he frequently took the diversion of hawking. Thence he passed to the beautiful lake of Bolsena, where he spent his time in fishing on the island in the midst of the lake, or at the entrance of the river Marta. In this neighbourhood he was always splendidly received and entertained by the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, afterwards Paul III. who had erected there superb villas and palaces, and by extensive plantations of fruit- and forest-trees had ornamented and enriched the surrounding country. After quitting these confines, he usually pursued his journeys along the Tuscan territories, until he arrived at the shore of the sea, near Civita Vecchia. Here an entertainment of the most acceptable kind was provided for him. In a large plain, surrounded with hills, like an amphitheatre, and overspread with underwood for covert, a great number of wild boars and deer were collected, and the Roman pontiff, forgetful of both church and state, enjoyed the pleasures of the chase in their highest perfection. From Civita Vecchia he returned about the month of November, by Palo, and the forest of Cervetri, to Rome, which, however, he soon quitted for his villa at Malliana; a place with which he was so delighted, notwithstanding the insalubrity of the air, occasioned by the exhalations of the surrounding fens, that it was with difficulty he could be prevailed on to return to the city, unless a meeting of the consistory, or some important occasion, required his presence. His arrival here was welcomed by the peasantry, with no less joy than the appearance of an abundant harvest. His bounty was showered down alike on the old and the young, who surrounded him on the road to present to him their rustic offerings. But not satisfied with indiscriminate generosity, he frequently entered into conversation with them, inquired into their wants, paid the debts of the aged, unfortunate, or infirm; bestowed marriage portions upon the damsels, and assisted those who had to pro-

vide for a numerous family; there being, in his opinion, nothing so becoming a great prince, as to alleviate distress, and to send away every person satisfied and cheerful from his presence.

"After all, however, it must be confessed, that the claims of Leo X. to the applause and gratitude of after times, are chiefly to be sought for in the munificent encouragement afforded by him to every department of polite literature and of elegant art. It is this great characteristic, which, amidst two hundred and fifty successive pontiffs, who, during the long space of nearly twenty centuries, have occupied the most eminent station in the christian world, has distinguished him above all the rest, and given him a reputation, which, notwithstanding the diversity of political, religious, and even literary opinions, has been acknowledged in all civilized countries, and by every succeeding age. It is true, some modern authors have endeavoured to throw doubts even upon this subject, and have indirectly questioned, or boldly denied, the superiority of his pretensions as a patron of letters, to those of the other sovereigns of the age. 'It is well known,' says one of these writers, 'what censure attaches to the character of Leo 'X. for having favoured and rewarded musicians and poets, in 'preference to theologians and professors of the law; whilst the 'glory of having revived and promoted the studies of polite literature, is to be attributed rather to 'the pontiffs his predecessors, and 'to his own ancestors, than either 'to himself or to his cousin Clement VII.' 'I observe,' says another eminent literary historian, 'that these times are generally distinguished as the age of Leo the 'Tenth; but I cannot perceive 'why the Italians have agreed to 'restrict to the court of this pontiff, that literary glory which was 'common to all Italy.' 'It is not 'my intention,' adds he, 'to detract a single particle from the 'praises due to Leo X. for the 'services rendered by him to the 'cause of literature. I shall only 'remark, that the greater part of 'the Italian princes of this period 'might with equal right pretend 'to the same honour; so that there 'is no particular reason for conferring on Leo the superiority 'over all the rest.' After the pages which have been already devoted to enumerate the services rendered by Leo X. to all liberal studies, by the establishment of learned seminaries, by the recovery of the works of the antient writers, and the publication of them by means of the press, by promoting the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and by the munificent encouragement bestowed by him on the professors of every branch of science, of literature, and of art, it would surely be as superfluous to recapitulate his claims, as it would be unjust to deny his pretensions to an eminent degree of positive merit. How far he was rivalled in his exertions in these commendable pursuits, by the other princes of his time, is a question which has not hitherto been particularly discussed. If, however, for this purpose, we take a general view of the states of Italy, or even of Europe, and compare the efforts made by their sovereigns with those of Leo X., we shall find little cause to accede to the opinion so decisively advanced. In Naples, with the expulsion of the family of Aragon, and the introduction

troduction of the Spanish government, the literary constellation which had shone so bright at the close of the preceding century, had suddenly disappeared, and had left that unfortunate and distracted country in almost total darkness. The vicissitudes to which the city and territories of Milan had been exposed, and the frequent change of its sovereigns, had effectually prevented that place from being considered as a safe asylum for either the muses or the arts; and even the character of the princes of the house of Sforza, in the time of Leo X. as displayed during the short period in which they held the sovereignty, exhibited few proofs of that predilection for literature, by which some of their ancestors had been distinguished. Although the city of Venice was further removed from the calamities of the time, yet the continental territories of that state had suffered all the horrors of warfare; and even the capital derives more celebrity, in the estimation of the present day, from its having been fixed upon by Aldo for the establishment of his press, than from the literary character of its inhabitants. The family of Gonzaga, the sovereigns of Mantua, have justly been distinguished as eminent patrons of learning; but the scantiness of their resources, which were exhausted by military expeditions, and the narrow limits of the theatre of their exertion, prevent their being placed in any degree of competition with Leo X. On the death of Guidubaldo, duke of Urbino, in the year 1508, and the accession of his successor Francesco Maria della Rovere, that court changed its character; and after the expulsion of the duke by Leo X. in the year 1516, the duchy of Urbino may be considered as composing, like the Tuscan state, a part of the dominions of Leo X. Of all the principalities of Italy, Ferrara is the only one that had any pretensions to contend with the pontifical see in the protection and encouragement afforded to men of talents, learning, and wit, and the possession of Ariosto alone is an advantage not to be counterbalanced by any individual of the Roman court; yet the patronage conferred on this great man by the family of Este, was so scanty, as to have supplied him with frequent subjects of remonstrance and complaint. As a patron of learning, Alfonso was greatly inferior to many of his predecessors, and he was indebted for his glory rather to his military exploits, than to his successful cultivation of the arts of peace. During his avocations or his absence, the encouragement of literature devolved, with the care of his states, on his duchess, Lucrezia Borgia, to whom is to be attributed no small share of the proficiency made in liberal studies during the times in which she lived. Nor is there any person of the age who is better entitled to share with Leo X. in the honours due to the restorers of learning, than the accomplished but calumniated daughter of Alexander VI.

"Still less pretensions than the Italian potentates have the other sovereigns of Europe, to participate in or to diminish the glory of Leo X. The cold and crafty policy of Ferdinand of Spain, and the vanity, imbecility, and bigotry, of the emperor elect, Maximilian, were ill-adapted to the promotion, or the toleration of liberal studies; and their youthful successor Charles V. and his rival Francis I. were too much engaged in hostilities against each other, to allow them at this

time to afford that encouragement to letters and to arts, which they manifested at a subsequent period. The most munificent, as well as the most learned monarch of his time, was Henry VIII. under whose auspices England vigorously commenced her career of improvement; but the unaccountable versatility, and unrelenting cruelty of his disposition, counteracted in a great degree the effects of his liberality; and it was not until the more tranquil days of his daughter Elizabeth, that these kingdoms rose to that equality with the other states of Europe, in the cultivation of science and of literature, which they have ever since maintained.

"That an astonishing proficiency in the improvement of the human intellect occurred during the pontificate of Leo X. is universally allowed. That such proficiency is principally to be attributed to the exertions of that pontiff, will now perhaps be thought equally indisputable. Of the predominating influence of a powerful, an accomplished, or a fortunate individual on the character and manners of the age, the history of mankind furnishes innumerable instances; and happy is it for the world, when the pursuits of such individuals, instead of being devoted, through blind ambition, to the subjugation or destruction of the human race, are directed towards those beneficent and generous ends, which, amidst all his avocations, LEO THE TENTH appears to have kept continually in view."

CONDUCT and CHARACTER of LUTHER.

[From the Same.]

"IN order to form a proper estimate of the conduct and character of Luther, it is necessary to consider him in two principal points of view. First, as an opponent to the haughty assumptions and gross abuses of the Roman see; and secondly, as the founder of a new church, over which he may be said to have presided until the time of his death, in 1546, an interval of nearly thirty years. In the former capacity we find him endeavouring to substitute the authority of reason and of scripture for that of councils and of popes, and contending for the utmost latitude in the perusal and construction of the sacred writings, which, as he expressed it, could not be chained, but were open to the interpretation of every individual. For this great and daring attempt he was peculiarly qualified. A consciousness of his own integrity, and the natural intrepidity of his mind, enabled him not only to brave the most violent attacks of his adversaries, but to treat them with a degree of derision and contempt, which seemed to prove the superiority of his cause. Fully sensible of the importance and dignity of his undertaking, he looked with equal eyes on all worldly honours and distinctions; and emperors, and pontiffs, and kings, were regarded by him as men and as equals, who might merit his respect or incur his resentment, according as they were inclined to promote or obstruct his views. Nor was he more firm against the stern

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voice of authority, than against the blandishments of flattery, and the softening influence of real or of pretended friendship. The various attempts which were made to induce him to relax in his opposition, seem in general to have confirmed rather than shaken his resolution; and if at any time he shewed a disposition towards conciliatory measures, it was only a symptom that his opposition would soon be carried to a greater extreme. The warmth of his temperament, seldom, however, prevented the exercise of his judgment; and the various measures to which he resorted for securing popularity to his cause, were the result of a thorough knowledge of the great principles of human nature, and of the peculiar state of the times in which he lived. The injustice and absurdity of resorting to violence instead of convincing the understanding by argument, were shewn by him in the strongest light. Before the imperial diet he asserted his own private opinion, founded as he contended on reason and scripture, against all the authorities of the Roman church; and the important point which he incessantly laboured to establish, was the right of private judgment in matters of faith. To the defence of this proposition, he was at all times ready to devote his learning, his talents, his repose, his character, and his life; and the great and imperishable merit of this reformer, consists in his having demonstrated it, by such arguments, as neither the efforts of his adversaries, nor his own subsequent conduct, have been able either to refute or invalidate.

"As the founder of a new church, the character of Luther appears in a very different light. After having effected a separation from the see of Rome, there yet remained the still more difficult task of establishing such a system of religious faith and worship, as, without admitting the exploded doctrines of the papal church, would prevent that licentiousness which, it was supposed, would be the consequence of a total absence of all ecclesiastical restraints. In this task, Luther engaged with a resolution equal to that with which he had braved the authority of the Romish church; but with this remarkable difference, that in the one instance he effected his purpose by strenuously insisting on the right of private judgment in matters of faith, whilst in the other he succeeded by laying down new doctrines, to which he expected that all those who espoused his cause should implicitly submit. The opinions of Luther on certain points were fixed and unalterable. The most important of these were, the doctrine of the real presence in the eucharist, and the justification of mankind by faith alone. Whoever assented not to these propositions was not of his church; and although he was ready on all occasions to make use of arguments from scripture for the defence of his tenets, yet, when these proved insufficient, he seldom hesitated to resort to more violent measures. This was fully exemplified in his conduct towards his friend Carlostadt, who not being able to distinguish between the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation and that of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, had, like Zuinglius, adopted the idea that the bread and the wine were only the symbols, and not the actual substance of the body and blood of Christ. Luther, however, maintained his opinion

with the utmost obstinacy; the dispute became the subject of several violent publications, until Luther, who was now supported by the secular power, obtained the banishment of Carlostadt, who was at length reduced to the necessity of earning his bread by his daily labour. The unaccommodating adherence of Luther to this opinion, placed also an effectual bar to the union of the Helvetic and German reformers; and to such an uncharitable extreme did he carry his resentment against those who denied the real presence, that he refused to admit the Swiss, and the German cities and states, which had adopted the sentiments of Zuinglius and Bucer, into the confederacy for the defence of the protestant church; choosing rather to risque the total destruction of his cause, than to avail himself of the assistance of those who did not concur with him in every particular article of belief.

"Nor did Luther adhere less pertinaciously to the doctrine of predestination, and of justification by faith alone, than to that of the real presence in the eucharist. In support of these opinions he warmly attacked Erasmus, who had attempted to maintain the freedom of the human will; and when that great scholar and candid christian replied in his *Hyperaspistes*, Luther increased his vehemence to scurrility and abuse. 'That exasperated 'viper, Erasmus,' says he, 'has 'again attacked me; what elo-'quence will the vain-glorious ani-'mal display in the overthrow of 'Luther!' In defending his opinion as to the all-sufficiency of faith, he suffered himself to be carried to a still further extreme; and after having vindicated his doctrines against the authority of councils, and popes, and fathers, he at length impeached the authority of one of the apostles, asserting that the Epistle of James, in which the necessity of good works to a perfect faith is expressly stated and beautifully illustrated, was, in comparison with the writings of Peter and of Paul, a mere book of straw.

"It would too far exceed the necessary limits of these pages to dwell upon the dissensions to which this inflexible adherence of Luther to certain opinions gave rise, or on the severity with which he treated those who unfortunately happened to believe too much on the one hand or too little on the other, and could not walk steadily on the hair-breadth line which he had prescribed. Without attributing to the conduct of Luther all those calamities which a diversity of religious opinions occasioned in Europe, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, and in which thousands of innocent and conscientious persons were put to death, many of them with the most horrid torments, for no other reason than a firm adherence to those doctrines which appeared to them to be true, it is sufficient on the present occasion to remark the wonderful inconsistency of the human mind, which the character of Luther so strongly exemplifies. Whilst he was engaged in his opposition to the church of Rome, he asserted the right of private judgment in matters of faith with the confidence and courage of a martyr; but no sooner had he freed his followers from the chains of papal domination, than he forged others, in many respects equally intolerable, and it was the employment of his latter years, to counteract the beneficial effects produced by his former labours. The great example of free-

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dom which he had exhibited, could not, however, be so soon forgotten, and many who had thrown off the authority of the Romish see, refused to submit their consciences to the controul of a monk, who had arrogated to himself the sole right of expounding those scriptures, which he had contended were open to all. The moderation and candour of Melancthon in some degree mitigated the severity of his doctrines; but the example of Luther descended to his followers, and the uncharitable spirit evinced by the Lutheran doctors, in prescribing the articles of their faith, has often been the subject of just and severe reprehension. Happy indeed had it been for mankind, had this great reformer discovered, that between perfect freedom and perfect obedience, there can be no medium; that he who rejects one kind of human authority in matters of religion, is not likely to submit to another; and that there cannot be a more dangerous nor a more odious encroachment on the rights of an individual, than officiously and unsolicited to interfere with the sacred intercourse that subsists between him and his God.

"As the progress of literature had concurred with other causes in giving rise to the reformation; so that great event produced in its turn a striking effect on the studies and the taste of Europe. Many of the reformers, and especially Luther and Melancthon, were men of sound learning and uncommon industry; and the latter in particular, if he had not engaged in the reformation and devoted himself to theological studies, would undoubtedly have been one of the best critics and most elegant scholars of the age. In the Latin tongue, Luther was a great proficient; but his style, though expressive and masculine, has little pretensions to elegance, and appears to be better calculated for invective and abuse, than for the calm tenor of regular composition. He had a competent knowledge of the Greek, as appears by his translation of the New Testament, which he executed during his solitude in his Patmos, and published shortly afterwards. He also undertook the study of the Hebrew; a task of no inconsiderable difficulty; but which, however, he had the resolution to surmount. The intercourse that subsisted between him and the other reformers, particularly Zuinglius, Bucer, Reuchlin, and Hutten, and the controversies in which he engaged, as well with these, as with the supporters of the Romish church, called forth exertions beyond what the more tranquil spirit of literature could have inspired. The antient authors began not only to be studied for the charms of their composition, but were called in as auxiliaries by the contending parties, who, by affecting an intimate acquaintance with the writers of antiquity, supposed that they gave additional credit to their own cause; and the period which immediately succeeded the reformation, was that in which Europe saw the luminary of classical learning at a higher meridian than at any time either before or since. For some time the important discussions which took place, in both political and ecclesiastical concerns, afforded ample topics for the exercise of that eloquence and facility of composition, which were then so generally extended: but as the contests of the pen gave way to those of the sword, and subjects of great

and general interest were neglected as useless, or prohibited as dangerous, a new style of writing arose, like a weak scyon from the root of a tree felled by the axe, which ill compensates by elegance of form and luxuriance of foliage, for the loss of the more majestic trunk. To this state of literature the great lord Bacon has alluded, in what he denominates 'delicate learning,' the introduction of which he attributes to the effects of the reformation, which occasioned the 'admiration of antient authors, the 'hate of the schoolmen, the exact 'study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching;' the four causes that, according to him, brought in 'an affectionate study of eloquence, and *copia* of 'speech, which then began to flourish. This,' says he, 'grew speedily to an excess; for men began 'to hunt more after words than 'matter, and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round 'and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the 'clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with 'tropes and figures, than after the 'weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life 'of invention, or depth of judgment. Then grew the flowing 'and watery vein of Osorius the 'Portugal bishop, to be in price; 'then did Sturmius spend such 'infinite and curious pains upon 'Cicero the orator, and Hermogenes the rhetorician, besides his 'own books of periods, and imitation and the like. Then did Car 'of Cambridge, and Ascham, with 'their lectures and writings, almost 'deify Cicero and Demosthenes, 'and allure all young men that 'were studious unto that delicate 'and polished kind of learning. 'Then did Erasmus take occasion 'to make the scoffing echo, *Decem* '*annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone*; 'and the echo answered in Greek, 'ΩΝΕ, *Asine*. Then grew the 'learning of the schoolmen to be 'utterly despised as barbarous. In 'sum, the whole inclination and 'bent of those times was rather towards *copia* than weight.'

"Nor was the reformation of religion favourable in its consequences to the progress of the fine arts, which, extending themselves from Italy, had now begun to be cultivated with great attention in other parts of Europe. The effect of this struggle was to call off the public attention from these studies as useless and insignificant, and to fix it on those more important discussions which were supposed so nearly to affect both the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind. But the injurious consequences of the reformation on the arts, were yet more direct. Before this event the Roman religion had not only relinquished its hostility to the productions of the chisel or the pencil, but had become the foster mother of these pursuits, and supplied the noblest and most interesting subjects for the exercise of their powers. The artist whose labours were associated with the religion of his country, enjoyed a kind of sacred character; and as his compensation was generally derived from princes and pontiffs, from munificent ecclesiastics, or rich monastic institutions, the ample reward which he obtained, stimulated both himself and others to further exertions. To the complete success of the artist, a favourable concurrence of extraneous circumstances is often necessary; and the mind already impressed with religious awe by the silence and solemnity of the cloister,

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or the cathedral, dwells with additional interest on representations already in unison with its feelings, and which exemplify in the most striking manner the objects of its highest admiration and respect. Even the opportunity afforded the artist of a spacious repository for his productions, where they were likely to remain secure for ages, and where they might be seen with every advantage of position, were circumstances highly favourable to his success. The tendency of the reformation was to deprive him of these benefits, to exclude his productions from the place of worship as profane or idolatrous, to compel him to seek his subjects in the colder pages of history, and his patrons among secular, and less wealthy individuals. This effect is not, however, so much to be attributed to the opinions or the instigation of Luther himself, as to those of his over zealous followers, who on this head went far beyond what he conceived to be either necessary or expedient. During his retreat at his Patmos, his disciple Carlostadt, in a paroxysm of religious enthusiasm, had ordered the images and representations of the saints in the church of Wittemberg to be destroyed; a circumstance of which Luther was no sooner informed, than he quitted his retirement without the knowledge of his patron the elector, and, hastening to Wittemberg, effectually checked the further proceedings of Carlostadt and his adherents. From the sentiments of Luther on this head, as expressed in various parts of his works, it appears that he conceived such representations might be tolerated, provided they were not regarded as objects of worship; although he did not admit that there was any merit in encouraging them, and with true sectarian spirit, thought the cost of them would be better applied to the use of *the brethren*. The opinion of Erasmus in this, as in other respects, was much more liberal. 'They who have attacked 'the images of saints,' says he, 'although with immoderate zeal, 'have had some reason for their 'conduct; for idolatry, that is, 'the worship of images, is a horrible crime; and although it be 'now abolished, yet the arts of 'Satan are always to be guarded 'against. But when we reflect that 'statuary and painting, formerly 'regarded as liberal arts, are a 'kind of silent poesy, and have 'often an effect on the feelings of 'mankind beyond that produced 'by the most accomplished orator, 'it might have been well to have 'corrected their superstition without destroying their utility. I 'could, indeed, wish that the walls 'of all public places were decorated with representations of the 'incidents of the life of Christ, expressed in a becoming manner. 'But as it was decreed in the council of Africa, that in places of 'worship nothing should be recited but the scriptural canons, 'so it would be proper that no 'subjects should be exhibited in 'such places, except such as the 'scriptural canons supply. In the 'porches, vestibules, or cloisters, 'other subjects might be represented, taken from common history, 'so that they inculcated good morals; but absurd, obscene, or seditious pictures should be banished, not only from churches, 'but from all habitations; and 'as it is a kind of blasphemy 'to pervert the sacred writings to 'profane and wanton jests, so those 'painters deserve to be punished, 'who,

'who, when they represent subjects 'from the holy scriptures, mingle 'with them their own improper 'and ridiculous inventions. If they 'wish to indulge their folly, let them 'rather seek for their subjects in 'Philostratus; although the annals 'of heathenism afford many les-'sons which may be exhibited with 'great utility.' That observations so rational, and from which Luther himself would scarcely have dissented, have not been sufficient to prevent the almost total exclusion of picturesque representations from the reformed churches, is greatly to be regretted; not only as being an irreparable injury to the arts, but as depriving the people of one mode of instruction, not less calculated to interest their feelings and excite their piety, than that which is conveyed by means of speech. Whether mankind, in any state of society, were ever so ignorant as to make these visible representations the actual objects of their adoration, may well be doubted; but at all events there can now be no danger of such an error in the most uninformed part of Europe; and it may yet be hoped, that as the spirit of bigotry declines, religion may be allowed to avail herself of every aid which may engage her admirers, illustrate her precepts, or enforce her laws.

"The effects produced by the reformation on the political and moral state of Europe, are of a much more important nature. The destruction of the authority of the Romish see, throughout many flourishing and many rising nations, whilst it freed the monarch from the imperious interposition of an arrogant pontiff, released the people from that oppressive and undefined obedience to a foreign power, which exhausted their wealth, impeded their enjoyments, and interfered in all their domestic concerns. The abolition of the odious and absurd institutions of monastic life, by which great numbers of persons were restored to the common purposes of society, infused fresh vigour into those states which embraced the opinions of the reformers; and the restoration of the antient and apostolic usage of the christian church, in allowing the priesthood to marry, was a circumstance of the utmost advantage to the morals and manners of the age. To this may be added the destruction of many barbarous, absurd, and superstitious dogmas, by which the people were induced to believe that crimes could be commuted for money, and dispensations purchased even for the premeditated commission of sins.

"But perhaps the most important advantage derived from the reformation, is to be found in the great example of freedom of inquiry, which was thus exhibited to the world, and which has produced an incalculable effect on the state and condition of mankind. That liberty of opinion which was at first exercised only on religious subjects, was, by a natural and unavoidable progress, soon extended to those of a political nature. Throughout many of the kingdoms of Europe, civil and religious liberty closely accompanied each other; and its inhabitants, in adopting those measures which seemed to them necessary to secure their eternal happiness, have at least obtained those temporal advantages, which, in many instances, have amply repaid them for their sacrifices and their labours.

"That these and similar advantages were, however, in a great degree counterbalanced by the dread-

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ful animosities to which the reformation gave rise, as well between the reformers and the adherents to the antient discipline, as between the different denominations of the reformed churches, cannot be denied; and the annals of Europe exhibit a dreadful picture of war, desolation, and massacre, occasioned by the various struggles of the contending parties for the defence, or the establishment, of their respective opinions. Whoever adverts to the cruelties exercised on the Anabaptists, the Socinians, and various other sects of christians, who differ in some abstruse or controverted points from the established churches; whoever surveys the criminal code of the Lutheran and Calvinistic nations of Europe, and observes the punishments denounced against those who may dare to dissent, although upon the sincerest conviction, from the established creed, and considers the dangers to which they are exposed in some countries, and the disabilities by which they are stigmatized and oppressed in others, must admit, that the important object which the friends and promoters of rational liberty had in view, has hitherto been but imperfectly accomplished, and that the human mind, a slave in all ages, has rather changed its master, than freed itself from its servitude."

CHARACTER and WRITINGS of SIR WALTER RALEGH.

[From Mr. CAYLEY'S LIFE of Him.]

"THE rapid succession of conspicuous circumstances in the life of a celebrated public character, does not always afford us the leisure which we require for the due notice of other objects of biographical attention. Thus, although in the preceding chapters we have accompanied sir Walter Ralegh, as far as obtainable records have enabled us, through the eventful part which he supported on the theatre of public life, some attention is still due to his more private hours, as well as to other points of biographical interest, before we close the scene; and which perhaps could less conveniently have been afforded them in any other place.

"Of the manner in which many of these hours were employed, particularly those of his long imprisonment, we have very conspicuous testimonies in such of sir Walter's writings as have been committed to the press; among which the most extensive is his History of the World. It was published, as has been already observed, in the year 1614; and the eleventh and last edition, which is the best, was edited by Oldys, in folio, in 1736. Beginning with the creation, sir Walter has in this work given us the flower of recorded story to the end of the second Macedonian war; and having reviewed the three first monarchies of the world, he leaves Rome triumphant in the fourth, about a century and a half before the birth of our Saviour, comprehending a period of nearly 4000 years. Ranking in that class of historians who prefer the exercise of judgment in selection to that of genius in adorning, his industry and penetration are highly conspicuous,

cuous, and his style elegant and the best model of his age. His superior manner of treating Greek and Roman story, excites our regret that he has devoted so many pages to Jewish and Rabbinical learning, and that he has not permitted himself a greater latitude in those more fascinating subjects.

"The following letter, of which the orignal is preserved in the Cotton library, has been supposed by Dr. Thomas Smith to bear reference to a continuation of this history.

"'Sigebert's Chronicles; Vincentis Speculum Historiale; Gervasius Tilesberius; Philip Bergomus; Natalis Talipes; Amandus Zirexens; Caius Londinius; John Major de Gestis Scotorum; Lessabius of Henault; Alex. Evesham; Brute Book; Chronicle of Teuxberry; Peter de Icham.'"

"'Sir Robert Cotton,

'If you have any of these old books, or any manuscripts wherein I may find any of our British antiquities, if you please to lend them me for a little while, I will safely restore them and think myself much beholden unto you; or if you have any old French history wherein our nation is mentioned, or any else in what language soever.

'Your poor friend.

'W. RALEGH.'"

"In addition to this, a story is related, that a few days previously to his death, Ralegh sent for Walter Burre, who printed his History, and asking him how the work had sold, received for answer *so slowly that it had undone him.* Upon which sir Walter brought from his desk a continuation of the work to his own time, and throwing it into the fire, said to Burre, *The second volume shall undo no more, this ungrateful world is unworthy of it.*

"It must be remembered, however, that there is no satisfactory authority for the truth of this anecdote; and it appears more probable that the letter to sir Robert Cotton alludes to Ralegh's Breviary of the History of England, or to some other work which he never finished, than to the History of the World; a reference to the last lines of which, already quoted, may perhaps confirm the reader in this supposition.

"The subjects on which sir Walter exercised his pen, are not less various than the characters he united in himself; and beside the large historical work already noticed, he has bequeathed us many shorter pieces on miscellaneous topics. When we view his actions, we are astonished at the number of his writings; viewing his writings, we wonder he found time for so much action.

"Three years previously to the Spanish invasion, and when the designs of that court became apparent, he is supposed to have written Notes of Direction for the Defence of the Kingdom, and the best and most orderly Retreat of an Army, which were presented in manuscript to the privy-council. In this paper, after dwelling on the employment of our shipping in the first instance, he observed that, if in the absence or deficiency of the same the enemy effected a landing, it were better, by clearing the country of provisions and temporising, to endeavour to gain strength and weaken the enemy, than, in the usual manner, to hazard all by a confused and disorderly descent to oppose the first landing. Thomas Digges, esq. muster-master-general of queen Elizabeth's forces in the Low-coun-

ries, opposed this and other positions in a pamphlet which he published. This produced a rejoinder, also attributed to sir Walter, but not published till many years afterward, intituled A Military Discourse, whether it be better for England to give an Invader present Battle, or to temporise and defer the same.

"Of the greater part of sir Walter's miscellaneous pieces, sundry collections have been made at different periods; among which, that published by Dr. Birch in two volumes, octavo, in the year 1751, is justly the best esteemed. In addition to the tracts relative to Guiana, and some smaller pieces presented to the reader in this work, it contains:

"Maxims of State, a compendium of government, first published under the title, The Prince, Lond. 4to, 1642.

"The Cabinet Council; containing the chief arts of empire and mysteries of state discabineted, in political and polemical aphorisms, grounded on authority and experience, and illustrated with the choicest examples and historical observations. First published by the celebrated Milton, in 8vo, 1658.

"The Prerogative of Parliaments in England, proved in a dialogue between a counsellor of state and a justice of peace. Dedicated to King James, and first printed at Middleburg, 4to, 1628.

"A Discourse, touching a match propounded by the Savoyan, between the lady Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont. Written 1611.

"A Discourse, touching a marriage between prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy. Written in 1611.

"A Discourse, touching a war with Spain and of the protecting of the Netherlands. Addressed to James I. and first published with two more discourses by his grandson, Philip Ralegh, esq. 8vo, 1702.

"A Discourse, of the original and fundamental cause of natural, arbitrary, necessary, and unnatural war. First printed in his Essays, 8vo, 1650.

"A Discourse, of the invention of ships, anchors, compass, &c., the first natural war, the several uses, defects and supplies of shipping, the strength and defects of the sea-forces of England, France, Spain and Venice; together with the five manifest causes of the sudden appearing of the Hollanders. An unfinished piece, first printed in his Essays, as above.

"Observations concerning the royal navy and sea-service. Dedicated to prince Henry, and first printed in his Essays, as above.

"Observations touching trade and commerce with the Hollander and other nations, presented to king James; wherein is proved that our sea and land commodities serve to enrich and strengthen other countries against our own. Printed in 12mo, 1653.

"An Indroduction to a Breviary of the History of England, with the reign of king William I. entitled the Conqueror. Published in 8vo, 1693, by Dr. John Moore (afterward bishop of Ely) from the MSS. of archbishop Sancroft, with a preface, by Dr. Moore.

"The Seat of Government, upheld by the two great pillars thereof, viz. civil justice and martial policy, which are framed out of husbandry, merchandise and gentry of this kingdom. A fragment. First printed in his Remains, 12mo, 1651.

"Observations concerning the causes

causes of the magnificency and opulency of cities. A fragment, also printed in his Remains.

"The Sceptic. Founded on the doctrine of Pyrrho, and printed in his Remains, as above.

"These pieces are marked by those comprehensive and penetrating thoughts, that lively imagination, mature and exact judgment, which distinguish the productions of the knight. An evil destiny appears, however, to have attended the writings of this great man, as well as his actions. Even at the hands which presented the above pieces to the public, they cannot be said to have received that justice which a due attention to them might have afforded; and what is more to be regretted, it seems highly probable that many of sir Walter's writings are yet unpublished. David Lloyd in his Stateworthies informs us that 'Mr. Hampden, a little before the wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3452 sheets of *Ralegh's* MSS. as the amanuensis himself told *him*; who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to deliver him the originals and take his copies, as fast as he could write them.' I need not add, that the extant writings of sir Walter, at that time unpublished, with which we are acquainted, appear to bear a small proportion to this quantity.

"The following is a list of the pieces known and ascribed to the knight, yet omitted by Dr. Birch, which I have been able to collect the titles of:

"A Report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Azores, already noticed in chap. iii. of this work.

"A Relation of Cadiz-action in the year 1596, printed at length in chap. v. of this work.

"A Discourse of tenures which were before the conquest, namely, knight-service, soccage and frank-almoign; and the effect of those tenures, wards, reliefs, heriots, escuage or warfaring by tenure, reservations of rent or victuals, and provisions or purveyors in the Saxon times; that the same estates in the soil of this land were due unto the subjects by birthright of their ancestors, the inhabitants of the land, before duke William's time, namely, to have land in fee-simple, freeholders, copyholders, customary tenants and villains, before the year 1066; together with the resemblances or disresemblances of those, in outlandish, ancient or modern estates. Printed in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa from Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

"A Discourse how war may be made against Spain and the Indies. Referred-to in the Discourse touching a war with Spain, but not known either in print or MS.

"Memorial touching the port Dover, already noticed in chap. vi. note 78, of this work.

"Treatise of the West-Indies. Referred-to in the dedication to the first Guiana Voyage (see chap. iv.); but not known either in print or MS.

"Considerations of a Voyage to Guiana, MS. in the British Museum (see Ayscough's Catalogue p. 692, No. 1133).

"Journal of Second Voyage to Guiana. MS. in Cotton-library (Titus, B. VIII.) being notes from which the Apology was written.

"The present State of Spain with a most accurate account of his Catholic majesty's power and riches also

also the names and worth of the most considerable persons in that kingdom. MS. noticed by Anthony Wood, and in Shirley's Life of Ralegh.

"The present State of Things, as they now stand between the three kingdoms, France, England, and Spain. MS. in the Harleian Library (XXXVIII. B. 3).

"A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant, shewing how dangerous are their principles to Christian Princes. No. III. of Genuine Remains of sir Walter Ralegh, subjoined to an Abridgement of his History of the World, by Philip Ralegh, esq. only grandson of sir Walter, 8vo, 1700.

"A Discourse of the words Law and Right. MS. in the Ashmolean Library.

"A Treatise of the Soul. MS. in the same library.

"A Treatise of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals. MS. noticed by Anthony Wood.

"A Collection of Chemical and Medicinal Receipts. MS. in the British Museum (see Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 492, No. 359).

"A Discourse of the Spaniards' Cruelties to the English in Havanna. MS. formerly in the Collection of Henry earl of Clarendon.

"A Treatise of the Art of War, by Sea. Referred-to, as unfinished, in the History of the World (Lib. v. chap. 1. sect. 6.), but not known either in print or MS.

"A Discourse of a maritimal Voyage, and the passages and incidents therein, addressed to prince Henry. Referred-to in the Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea-service, but not known either in print or MS.

"From the specimens in our hands, it is plain that had sir Walter made poetry a serious study, the attainment of excellence was in his power. Among the contemporary criticisms of Puttenham, he finds for 'ditty and amorous ode, sir Walter Ralegh's vein most lofty, insolent, and passionate.' It is to be regretted that no collection was formerly made of the knight's poetry, as the authority on which some pieces are ascribed to him is questionable. Those, however, which are presented to the reader in the I. III. and X. chapters of this work, have been always looked-upon as his productions. To them might perhaps be added The Advice, The Lover's Maze, and Farewel to the Court, three pieces to be found in old printed collections subscribed W. R.; Erroris Responsio, Answer to the Lie, and other pieces in the Ashmolean Library; and Dulcina, The Excuse, and another short poem, printed as farther specimens of his poetry in the Appendix to this work.

"Among the verses inscribed by Spenser, at the end of his Fairy Queen, to several great men of Elizabeth's court, are the following 'to the noble and valorous knight sir Walter Ralegh.' Oldys infers from them, that sir Walter wrote a poem intituled Cynthia, in praise of the queen; a conclusion, in which, perhaps, few readers will think him warranted.

'To thee that art the summer's nightingale,
Thy sovereign goddess' most dear delight,
Why do I send this rustic madrigal
That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?
Thou only fit this argument to write,
In whose high thoughts pleasure hath built her bow'r,
And dainty love learnt sweetly to indite.
My rhimes I know unsavoury and sour,
To taste the streams, that like a golden show'r

Flow from thy fruitful head, of thy love's praise,
Fitter perhaps to thunder martial store
When so thee list thy lofty muse to raise.
Yet till that thou thy poem wilt make known,
Let thy fair Cynthia's praises be thus rudely shewn.'

"Osborn has preserved the following epitaph on Cecil, which, he adds, 'came from so smart a pen in the king's sense, that he said he hoped the author would die before him.' Shirley also repeats it in his Life of Ralegh, and asserts 'he was assured upon very good grounds,' that the knight wrote it.

'Here lies Hobinol, our pastor, while e'er,
That once in a quarter our fleeces did shear.
To please us, his cur he kept under clog,
And was ever after both shepherd and dog.
For oblation to Pan his custom was thus,
He first gave a trifle, then offer'd up us.
And through his false worship such power did gain
As kept him o' th' mountain and us on the plain;
Where many a horn-pipe he tuned to his Phyllis,
And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Amaryllis,
Till Atropos c— him, a p— on the drab,
For, spite of his tar-box, he died of the s—.'

"The sister art of music also appears to have had her share of sir Walter Ralegh's devotion. Oldys observes that an old book by an Oxonian, intituled The Praise of Music, is dedicated to him *not without propriety*; adding he had met with hints of the knight's proficiency in the art, and was of opinion that Spenser's expression

'Yet emuling my pipe,' &c.

already quoted in chap. iii. is to be understood in a literal sense.

"With a mind thus highly cultivated, we naturally expect to find sir Walter feeling an interest in every expansion and improvement of art or science. The ravages of time, however they may have impaired our information, have not been able to disappoint our expectations in this particular; and many testimonies still exist, of the esteem in which the knight was held in his day, abroad as well as at home, as a patron of science and improvement. In addition to the works inscribed to him by his countrymen, some of which have occurred to notice in these pages, the learned Martin Bassaniere of Paris, and Julius Cæsar, a citizen of Rome, dedicated to sir Walter, the former a History of the Discovery of Florida, which he published in French, the latter a book intituled Columbeados, alluding probably to his American expeditions. James Morgues, a French painter, appears to have experienced his patronage during his residence in London; and at the time of his greatest troubles, sir Walter contributed 50 *l.* toward improving the infant Bodleian Library. Of his encouragement of Hakluyt, the naval historian, we have several testimonies; and lastly, it may be noticed in this place, that the knight was a member of a society of antiquaries existing in his time.

"After this short survey of sir Walter's proficiency in, and patronage of, learning, it is incumbent on us to examine, more fully than we have hitherto had opportunity, into such aspersions as, like other distinguished characters, he has not escaped; and which, if substantiated, would retract from the merit with which, at a general view, he appears to posterity. Among these not the least conspicuous, is the reproach of impiety already hinted at.

"About the time of sir Walter's birth

birth, some gentlemen in France and Italy, desirous of disguising their opposition to christianity by a more honourable appellation than that of Atheists, assumed the name of Deists. The distinguishing character of this sect, subsequently so greatly enlarged, and distinguished also by the appellation of Freethinkers, is, not to profess any particular form or system of religion; but only to acknowledge the existence of a God, and to follow the light and law of nature, rejecting revelation and opposing christianity. Rare as these philosophers were in England during the lifetime of sir Walter Ralegh, he has not escaped the suspicion of being one of them, though the fact has never been proved; while the spleen of father Parsons (as we have seen in chap. III.), on account of the knight's probable instrumentality in framing queen Elizabeth's proclamation against popish seminaries abroad, went so far as to charge him with the propagation of atheism.

"The character of that Jesuit is too well known, to allow of the attachment of much credit to his assertion; especially in a case like this, where his bigotry was so likely to prevail. Ill-fame is, however, too adhesive, that such an opinion, once started, should speedily be forgotten; and it is perfectly natural, that, in the adversity of his fortune, this aspersion on the knight should be remembered, as we have seen it was at his trial. The circumstances too of sir Walter's Sherborne estate being formerly the property of the church, and assigned to queen Elizabeth from the see of Salisbury, is supposed to have contributed not a little to this scandal.

"'Sir Walter Ralegh (says Osborn) was the first, as I have heard, that ventured to tack-about, and sail aloof from the beaten track of the schools. Who, upon the discovery of so apparent an error as a torrid zone, intended to proceed in an inquisition after more solid truths. Till the mediation of some, whose livelihood lay in hammering shrines for this superannuated study, possessed queen Elizabeth that such doctrine was against God, no less than her father's honour; whose faith, if he owned any, was grounded upon school-divinity. Whereupon she chid him; who was, by his own confession, ever-after branded with the title of an atheist, though a known assertor of God and providence.'

"The ill-defined and unsupported state of this imputation, is, of itself, an argument that it originated in calumny and misrepresentation. But, under the difficulties in which we meet it at this remote period, what more striking vindication of the knight shall we seek, in addition to the manner in which he died, than that his writings contain no trace of such opinions; on the contrary, his History of the World, in particular, breathes a strong and genuine spirit of piety. I know no better conclusion to the enquiry, than the words of Sewell on the occasion, in the tragedy which he has formed on Ralegh's story.

'But 't is the curse and fashion of the times—
When prejudice and strong aversions work,
All whose opinions we dislike are atheists.
Now 't is a term of art, a bug-bear word,
The villain's engine and the vulgar's terror.
The man who thinks and judges for himself,
Unsway'd by aged follies, rev'rend errors,
Grown holy by traditionary dulness
Of school authority, he is an atheist.—

The man who, hating idle noise, preserves
A pure religion seated in his soul,
He is a silent, dumb, dissembling atheist.
* * * * * * * * * * *
——————So men judge at home,
Who never trac'd a providence at sea,
And saw his wonders in the mighty deep.
An atheist-sailor were a monstrous thing,
More wonderful than all old Ocean breeds.
But I will witness for my Ralegh's faith;
Yes, I have seen him when the tempest rag'd,
When from the precipice of mountain-waves
All hearts have trembled at the gulph below,
He, with a steady, supplicating look,
Display'd his trust in that tremendous pow'r
Who curbs the billows, and cuts short the wings
Of the rude whirlwind in its midway course,
And bids the madness of the waves to cease.'

" In examining the aspersions which have been cast on the character of sir Walter Ralegh, our attention is naturally attracted by a late celebrated writer, who, but too plainly discovers himself to have been a countryman of king James; and that he felt that monarch's conduct to the knight to have been a material blemish in his reign. With a just sense of Mr. David Hume's merit on many of the subjects which have engaged his attention, I fell bound on the present occasion, to avow my opinion, that the picture he has drawn of the reign of James I. is, to say the least of it, *a bad likeness*. My concern, however, is only with that part of it which bears reference to sir Walter Ralegh, whom I find Mr. Hume to have placed in a light peculiarly unfavourable; and as, from the popularity of his History, the knight's character may have suffered with posterity, by his representation, an inquiry into the justice of it may not be deemed improper in this place.

" It will be found by the foregoing pages, and the authorities which they refer to, that Mr. Hume, in his History of Elizabeth, has not always been accurate in his incidental notices of Ralegh; a circumstance which may easily have arisen from his not being at the pains, as a general historian, of entering minutely into the life of an individual. In the first chapter, however, of the reign of her successor, he is bold enough to inform us, 'it appears from Sully's Memoirs that Ralegh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador.' From which Mr. Hume presumes, that, 'meeting with a repulse,' Ralegh had recourse to the Flemish minister; yet he confesses, that on his trial there appeared no proof, nor any circumstance which could justify the knight's condemnation.

" Referring the reader to sir Walter's Introduction to Sully, in 1601, (noticed in chap. VI.) I transcribe the following passage, the only one in Sully's Memoirs which could lead Mr. Hume to his conclusion. I then request him to recollect Ralegh's enmity to Spain, and to decide for himself how far the historian was warranted in his imputation regarding France; also, whether this passage afford not a strong argument against the plot with Spain, of which the knight was accused.

" 'I now only wanted (the ambassador writes) to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils, as I was with those of Britain and the North. Or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown, what propositions she had already made to the king of England, how they had been received; and finally, what steps she intended to take for the accomplishment.

'plishment of her desires, For 'barely to understand that the king 'of Spain sought to detach Eng'land from France and the Low'countries, was knowing nothing, 'or at most very little. It was 'suspected that Spain meditated 'something of much greater im'portance. This might be con'jectured from the information 'which I have already received 'from the canon at Canterbury; 'and it appeared so much the less 'to be neglected, because Aërsens 'and Barneveldt both at the same 'time affirmed the certainty of it, 'the one at Paris, the other at 'London. I therefore used my ut'most endeavours to come at the 'truth. What I was told by my 'lord Cobham and sir Walter Ra'legh was conformable to this in'formation. But what made the 'greatest impression upon me was, 'that the earl of Northumberland, 'whom I had gained by the offer 'of a considerable pension, under 'the name of a present, with great 'secrecy one night, when I was 'going to bed, sent his secretary 'to acquaint me with the following 'particulars, &c.'

"Sir Walter's last voyage to Guiana, his return and death, are related by Mr. Hume at the beginning of the 48th chapter of his History, in a spirit of prejudice against the knight sufficient to fix his doom with every superficial reader. In a note, however, at the end of the volume, we are informed, that 'some of the facts in this narrative which seem to condemn Ralegh, are taken from the king's declaration,' which Mr. Hume concludes to be of *undoubted credit*. This assertion must astonish every reader, who reflects on the circumstances under which that paper was written. Would it not, on the contrary, be more just to assert, that Mr. Hume's use of it invalidates the whole of his narrative?

"Yet the historian stops not here, but proceeds to inform us in the same note, that the most material facts in his narrative 'are confirmed either by the nature and reason of the thing, or by sir Walter's own Apology, and his Letters.' This he is at much pains to prove by seventeen arguments, which, as the facts are said to be *thus* confirmed, I have, for the satisfaction of such readers as may feel curiosity on the subject, examined at length in the Appendix, and have there, I hope, sufficiently proved, that they are the offspring of prejudice, superficial information on the subject, or wilful misrepresentation of it.

"It is more difficult to appreciate with justice the character of sir Walter Ralegh, than to decry it upon a view thus prejudiced and confined. For, alas! no sooner do we attempt a more *intimate* inquiry into his life and actions, than here, as on many other occasions, we are astonished at the barrenness of the subject so important in biography, the detail of private life; and are speedily compelled to confess, that, however interesting his public transactions, the character under our contemplation has been handed-down to us in considerable ambiguity.

"'Sir Walter Ralegh (says Naun'ton) was one that, it seems, for'tune had picked out on purpose 'of whom to make an example and 'to use as her tennis-ball, there'by to shew what she could do; 'for she tossed him up of nothing, 'and to-and-fro to greatness, and 'from thence down to little more 'than to that wherein she found

'him, a bare gentleman.' Soldier, seaman, statesman, scholar, poet, and philosopher, we may challenge a similar instance in modern ages of that union of characters, more frequent among the ancients, which distinguished sir Walter Ralegh; a union on the excellence of which much might be written, were we not silenced by the reflexion, that the corresponding union of talent and opportunity can rarely occur. Master of every accomplishment requisite to defend a state in war as well as to adorn it in peace, a warlike reign was safety to him, a peaceful one destruction. He affords a memorable example that a martial spirit, under an active and adventurous prince, shall find honour and emulation; but if the prince be of a contrary character, his unfashionable virtue, unless it can mould itself to occasions, shall be criminal, and his courage of less security than cowardice.

"Amid the various interests arising by various favourites in the long reign of Elizabeth, no man enjoys the credit of being less immersed by the smiles of the court in the luxuries of it; while no one converted its frowns to greater utility, by being animated by them to enterprise the most honourable.

"'Though he gained much at the 'court, (says Naunton) he took it 'not out of the exchequer, or mere'ly out of the queen's purse, but 'by his wit and by the help of the 'prerogative. For the queen was 'never profuse in delivering out of 'her treasure, but paid most and 'many of her servants part in mo'ney and the rest with grace; 'which, as the case stood, was 'then taken for good payment.' That he could never condescend to court the people by the usual arts, is noticed by lord Burleigh, in a breath with Essex's affectation of popularity, among his Precepts to his son Cecil. 'Seek not (he writes) 'to be Essex, shun to be Ralegh.'

"In addition to the instances already noticed in the cases of Mr. Udall and sir Richard Greenville of the knight's zeal in the cause of friendship, we may presume many remain unrecorded. Having told Queen Elizabeth he had a favour to beg of her, 'When, sir Walter,' said her majesty, 'will you cease to be a beggar?'—'When your gracious majesty ceases to be a benefactor,' replied the gallant knight. A farther instance of this zeal occurs in the following letter from him to Mr. (afterwards sir) Michael Hicks, secretary to lord Burleigh.

"'Worthy Mr. Michael,

'I am most earnestly to entreat you for this gentleman, captain Spring, that, partly for love, partly for honest consideration, you will farther him with my lord-treasurer for a debt of 300*l.* which her Majesty doth owe him. It hath been long due, and he hath good warrant for it. Beside, he hath served her Majesty very long, and hath received many wounds in her service. These reasons delivered by a man of your utterance, and having his good angel at your elbow to instruct you, I doubt not but it will take good and speedy effect.——I never wrote unto you for any man or in any matter wherein you shall more bind me unto you, than for this bearer. And so, not doubting of your assured friendliness, I leave you to God, and remain,

'Your most assured,

'loving friend,

W. RALEGH.'"

From Sherborne,
July 12th.

"*P. S.*

" 'P. S. Always remember you must deal conscionably for my sake, and I will requite it.'

" On that remarkable incident in sir Walter's history, commonly called his conspiracy, I am inclined to concur with Dr. Welwood in the opinion he has given us in his ingenious notes upon Wilson's History. Though James forgot the death of his mother, he seems never to have forgiven the enemies of Essex; of which Cecil and Ralegh were probably both aware, but took contrary measures to avoid his resentment. While Cecil maintained his correspondence with James, Ralegh trusted in the justice of his conduct; and, content with the favour of Elizabeth, which he enjoyed to her death, took no steps to conciliate her successor. Knowing Cecil to have been at least equally concerned with himself in the fall of Essex, his great mind could perhaps not brook the distinction made by their new master on his accession; especially when heightened by the frowns of Cecil upon his once-intimate friend. With a temper impatient of injuries, and unequal, notwithstanding his excellent qualities, to a reverse of fortune like this, sir Walter was thus probably brought acquainted with others, discontent like himself, though of different religions and interests; and perhaps more conversations than one might arise relative to recourse to foreign powers to amend their fortunes, and even Arabella Stuart's name be mentioned by Ralegh as one who had a near title to the crown. But that he ever entered into the designs imputed to him at his trial, no person of competent judgment, at that time or since, can have believed.

" Singular talents, with great success in the assertion of them, gained sir Walter the distinction which might have been expected in the reign of queen Elizabeth; not however, as might likewise have been expected, without an host of opposition amid the various interests of her court. Although fortunate enough to combat that host with considerable success, yet a mighty favourite of both the monarchs in the reigns in which he lived, was not sacrificed by the former of them without a memorable impression upon the latter. In the reign of the second, a weak prince, the ascendency which the party adverse to him had gained by intrigue, founded in policy to a criminal extreme, was able to bring him to a legal trial for high-treason, and even to condemn him for the crime without proof of guilt. Too timorous either to execute him unjustly or to allow his innocence and grant his freedom, that monarch made him suffer more than death by his long imprisonment. Released at last in the hope that his country should be benefited by his experience and his spirit of enterprise, the failure of his expedition caused him to be sacrificed by a mean and corrupt court, to a foreign power holding an absolute ascendant in the councils over the true interests of the nation.

" By the paintings extant of sir Walter Ralegh, his stature was about six feet, and his person well proportioned. 'He had in the outward man (says Naunton) a good presence in a handsome and well-compacted person, a strong natural wit and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set-out his parts to the best advantage.' His profusion in dress on particular occasions, was perhaps in conformity with the custom of his age. We

are told that in queen Elizabeth's reign he possessed a suit of clothes beset with jewels to the value of sixty thousand pounds; and the Jesuit Drexellius informs us, that the precious stones on his court-shoes exceeded six thousand six hundred pieces of gold in value.

"Elizabeth, the only wife of sir Walter, appears, by an extant portrait of her, to have been a lady of considerable beauty. She is supposed to have been about eighteen years younger than the knight, and she survived him twenty-nine years. Two sons, Walter and Carew, are the only fruits of this marriage with which posterity are acquainted. Her strong and faithful attachment to her husband through life, it appears, was confirmed by her not entering again into wedlock after his death.

"Walter was born in 1594 and killed at twenty-three years of age, as we have seen, at St. Thome. At the age of twenty he was obliged to fly the kingdom, on account of a duel in which he had been engaged; and in the skirmish in which he lost his life, he appears to have behaved with great bravery.

"Carew was born in 1604-5, educated at Wadham-college, Oxford, and came to court about five years after his father's death under the patronage of the earl of Pembroke. King James disliking him, and saying he appeared to him like the ghost of his father, the earl advised him to travel till the king's death, which took place about a year afterward. Mr. Ralegh then petitioned parliament to be restored in blood. But, when his petition had been twice read in the house of lords, king Charles sent for him, received him kindly, and told him, that in his father's reign he had, for a consideration of 10,000*l.*, promised the earl of Bristol (formerly sir John Digby) to secure his title to Sherborne against sir Walter Ralegh's heirs; therefore, unless he resigned all right to that estate, he could not pass the bill for his restoration. The inconveniences attending his situation, promises of preferment, &c. induced the friendless and fortuneless Carew to submit to the king's will. An act was passed for his restoration, Sherborne was settled on the earl of Bristol, and a pension of 400*l.* a-year granted for his life to Mr. Ralegh after the death of his mother, who received that sum for her life in lieu of jointure.

"He married lady Philippa, relict of sir Antony Ashley, a rich young widow, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. Before the year 1635, he was made one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber; and in 1651, a committee being held for the sale of delinquents' estates, and the earl of Bristol being fled about the same time to France, Mr. Ralegh stated his case to the committee, and it was ordered to be reported to the house, with the addition, that they conceived him a fit object of their mercy. About the same time he drew-up his Brief Relation of his Father's Troubles, and addressed it to the parliament. His case and petition were, however, laid aside; for what reason, does not appear.

"By the favour of general Monk he was made governor of Jersey, in 1659. At the restoration of Charles II. His Majesty would have conferred some personal honour upon him, but he declined it in the hope of something better. The king therefore knighted his elder son Walter, who did not long survive the honour. Mr. Carew Ralegh died in 1666, and was buried, with his

his father's head in his coffin, at West Horsley, in Surry, where he had a seat. Sir Henry Wotton calls him 'a gentleman of dexterous abilities,' and honourable mention is made of him by other writers; 'but far, God wot,' says Anthony Wood, 'was he from his father's parts, either as to the sword or pen.'"

PARTICULARS of the EARLY LIFE of LORD NELSON.

[From CHARNOCK'S MEMOIRS of HIS LORDSHIP.]

"HORATIO, late lord viscount Nelson, was the third son of the reverend Edmund Nelson, rector of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, and Catharine, daughter of Maurice Suckling, D. D. rector of Barsham in Suffolk, Woodton in Norfolk, and one of the prebendaries of Westminster. He was born on the 29th of September, 1758, and received the first rudiments of education in the public school of Norwich, from whence he afterwards removed to North Walsham. His progress in scholastic learning was however necessarily interrupted at a very early age; for having fortunately, at least for his country, been destined by his father, though, as it is reported, not strictly in unison with his own inclination, for the sea service, he was, when only twelve years old, entered on board the Raisonnable, of sixty-four guns, a ship at that time commanded by his maternal uncle, captain Maurice Suckling. This circumstance took place in the year 1770, and the ship just mentioned was one of those ordered to be equipped, in consequence of the rupture at that time apprehended between the courts of London and Madrid, relative to the Falkland Islands. The matter in dispute being however speedily accommodated, the Raisonnable was put out of commission; and a life of indolence, even for a single day, being considered highly improper by captain Suckling, his nephew, by his advice, experienced a temporary transfer into the mercantile line of service, having made a voyage to the West Indies under the care of Mr. John Rathbone, who had formerly served under captain Suckling on board the Dreadnought, and who then commanded a ship employed in the trade to these colonies.

"During the absence of Mr. Nelson, captain Suckling had been appointed to command the Triumph of seventy-four guns, a guardship stationed at Chatham; and immediately on the arrival of the former, he returned into the king's service, under the protection and guidance of his uncle, being appointed a midshipman on board the ship just mentioned. It is said, and from such authority as can scarcely be doubted, that he had imbibed the strongest prejudice against serving in the navy, and that it was not without much difficulty that his uncle, than whom no person could be better qualified for such a task, was able to remove it. Gentle precept, and the force of example, having completed this purpose, this young navigator gave the earliest proofs of that enthusiastic attachment to his profession which very rarely fails to create renown, and lead

lead to the highest honours. It is reported, as an anecdote, that his uncle, who appears from this circumstance to have obtained very considerable knowledge of the workings of the human heart, as well as to have made himself completely master of his nephew's peculiar turn of mind, carried his point by judiciously appearing to place a confidence in him far beyond what his years and short time of service might be thought to justify, but which his conduct uniformly proved he fully merited.

"He continued in the Triumph no longer than till the month of April in the year ensuing; when it having been resolved to send out two vessels to the Northern Seas, on a voyage of discovery, and the office of a midshipman on board a guardship little according with his active turn of mind, he solicited an appointment, and was accordingly received on board the Carcase, as coxswain to captain Lutwidge, who was commander of that vessel. This application stands, among many others, a very convincing proof of that enthusiastic attachment to every branch of the service in which he was engaged, that has so strongly marked the character of this noble person through life. The expedition in which he so earnestly wished to engage, was attended with many disagreeable and dangerous considerations which do not usually fall to the share of voyages undertaken towards other quarters of the world. The principal object of it was to ascertain how near to the north pole navigation could possibly be carried, the Royal Society, and many learned persons, being of opinion that some advancement might be effected, through such a measure, towards the discovery of a north-west passage into the South Seas; and also that many astronomical observations might be taken in those high latitudes, which would afford a variety of data and deductions extremely useful to seamen.

"The peculiar dangers which it was supposed the vessels engaged in this undertaking would have to encounter, caused the Admiralty-board not only to take such extraordinary precautions in fitting out and preparing the vessels as might have intimidated a less ardent mind than that of Mr. Nelson from voluntarily exposing himself to them, but also to issue a positive order that no boys whatever should be received on board. The cause was obvious; but the eager and strenuous manner of the application overcame the difficulty, though our youthful adventurer was not then fifteen years old.

"His conduct through all the perils of this expedition, which were extremely numerous, fully justified the propriety of his application for the appointment, and answered the most sanguine expectations of his friends and professional relatives. In so high a degreee did he acquire the confidence of his commanding officer, that, when the vessels were in the most perilous situation, and all persons on board entertained the strongest apprehensions that they would be inclosed in the ice, Mr. Nelson, notwithstanding his youth, was appointed to command one of the boats sent out for the purpose of attempting to find a passage or channel into the open water.

"One anecdote is related of him during this expedition, which, though already repeatedly published and in some respects irregular with regard to the service, does too much honour to his filial attention

to

to be omitted here:—During the time the vessels were closely jammed up by the ice, Mr. Nelson was missed in the night, and no inconsiderable apprehensions were entertained on board for his safety; but he was at length discovered on the return of day at a considerable distance from the vessel, in pursuit of a large bear. He was armed only with a musket, the lock of which having been, by some accident, injured, was rendered of no further service to him than as a club; yet, thus weakly armed, he had the resolution and intrepidity to pursue the animal, in the hope of tiring it out, and knocking it down with the butt-end of his piece. When he returned, he was somewhat harshly reprimanded by the captain, who demanded, in a very peremptory tone, to know his reason for so inconsiderate and rash an undertaking; when his answer must have unbent the brow of the most unrelenting tyrant—'I was 'in hopes, sir,' said the young hero, 'of getting a skin for my father.'

"The farther prosecution of the voyage being given up soon after the anecdote just mentioned had taken place, the ships returned to England, and were paid off in the month of October following. A fresh opportunity, however, of indulging his thirst for rendering himself completely master of his profession occurred very soon afterwards. A small squadron was ordered to be fitted out for the East Indies; and our youthful adventurer entered on board the Seahorse, of twenty guns, which vessel was then commanded by the gallant captain Farmer, who, some years afterwards, lost his life on board the Quebec, in an engagement with the Surveillante, a French frigate of very superior force. The climate of India ill suiting Mr. Nelson's constitution, which, strange to say, was then, and ever afterwards continued to be, extremely delicate, Commodore Hughes, who commanded in chief on that station, thought proper to send him to England on board the Dolphin, a frigate, then under orders to sail for Europe; and gratitude, as well as justice, requires us to state, that the very humane attention he received when in his infirm state of health from captain J. Pigot, who then commanded the Dolphin, contributed in a great degree to the preservation of his life, which was for a considerable time in the most imminent danger.

"The air of his native country operated like a magical charm on the constitution of this enterprising young man. He recovered so speedily, that, though the Dolphin was not paid off till the 24th of December, 1776, on the 26th of the same month he was appointed, by order from sir James Douglas, then commander in chief at Portsmouth, to be acting lieutenant of the Worcester, a third rate, commanded by capt. Mark Robinson, which ship was then under sailing orders for Gibraltar, with a convoy. Mr. Nelson retained this station till the month of April following, and displayed during the whole of a very long and disagreeable winter's cruize in the Bay of Biscay, the same attention to his duty which had so deservedly acquired him the love and the esteem of every officer he had before sailed with. Captain Robinson is, in particular, said to have declared to his friends, that notwithstanding Mr. Nelson's youth, he being then little more than eighteen years old, he felt himself quite as easy in the most boisterous night, when it was his turn to command

mand the watch, as when it was that of the oldest officer in the ship.

"The necessary period of service in the subordinate station of midshipman or mate being expired, Mr. Nelson passed his examination on the 8th of April, 1777, and acquitted himself on the occasion with such high credit, that on the following day he received a commission as second lieutenant of the Lowestoffe, of thirty-two guns, a frigate, commanded by captain William Locker, afterwards lieutenant-governor of Greenwich hospital, who was appointed to that ship, on a three years station at the island of Jamaica. His new commander very soon found, experimentally, that his behaviour in every respect justified that character, which he before knew only from report. Immediately after his arrival, he was accordingly appointed to command a schooner, which was fitted out as a tender to the Lowestoffe. In this station he distinguished himself on a variety of occasions, which, in the memoirs of so active and great a character as his lordship's, it becomes needless to repeat. The narrative would afford nothing but a constant uniform repetition of valorous and noble acts, each vying with the other so closely, that it might be difficult to assign any particular one to which pre-eminence is due. We cannot however resist the temptation, even though we may incur the charge of literary piracy, by inserting an extract from his memoirs, published in the third volume of the Naval Chronicle, page 163, which, in just and honest tribute to the merits of that publication, we aver to contain the only genuine account of his lordship's life, so far as it goes, that has ever yet appeared.

"During Mr. Nelson's continuance in the Lowestoffe, as second-lieutenant, a circumstance occurred, which, as it strongly presaged his character, and conveys no invidious reflection on the officer to whom it alludes, deserves to be here recorded.

"In a strong gale of wind, and a heavy sea, the Lowestoffe captured an American letter of marque. The captain ordered the first-lieutenant to board her, which he accordingly attempted, but was not able to effect, owing to the tremendous sea running. On his return to the ship, captain Locker exclaimed, 'Have I then no officer 'who can board the prize?' On hearing this, the master immediately ran to the gang-way, in order to jump into the boat, when lieutenant Nelson suddenly stopped him, saying, 'It is my turn now,—if I 'come back, it will be yours.' Hence we perceive the indications of that intrepid spirit which no danger could ever dismay or appal; and also an early propensity for deeds of hardy enterprise. In the subsequent events of his glorious life, the reader will observe with pleasure, that whatever perils or difficulties Horatio Nelson had to encounter, they only called forth a greater energy of mind to surmount them.

"Captain Locker being, in 1779, compelled to return to England for the benefit of his health, Mr. Nelson was appointed by sir Peter Parker, then commander in chief on that station, to be third-lieutenant of the Bristol, which was his flag-ship. He rose from thence in regular rotation to be first in that rank, and was afterwards, as he had

had a very just claim to be, promoted to the command of the Badger sloop of war. Being ordered out to the Musquito shore for the better protection of the Baymen from the depredations of the American privateers, he there shewed himself no less attentive to the moral duties of private life, than he had before approved he was to those of his profession. By his care, his gentleness of manners, and conciliating conduct, he gained the entire love of all the settlers, who, when his time of service on that station expired, voted him their unanimous thanks for his conduct, and expressed their regret at his departure in the most affectionate terms.

"Soon after his arrival at Jamaica, his presence of mind and uncommon exertions proved the cause of preserving from destruction captain Lloyd, and all the crew of the Glasgow, a twenty-gun ship, commanded by that gentleman, which had unfortunately taken fire, owing to an accident by no means uncommon, occasioned by carelessness in drawing off a cask of rum. Captain Lloyd, to our certain knowledge, never mentioned the transaction alluded to, without uttering the warmest and most grateful acknowledgments of the coolness and the intrepidity displayed on so dreadful an occasion, by this youthful hero.

"On the 11th of June 1779, he was advanced to the rank of post-captain, and appointed to the Hinchinbrooke, of twenty guns. An attack upon the island of Jamaica being then daily apprehended, in consequence of the French fleet having arrived at Hispaniola from Martinico, under the command of that well known character the count d'Estaing, captain Nelson was appointed, both by the general and admiral, to command the important batteries which defended Port Royal, a post, than which a more honourable and important one, could not have been entrusted to him. At the commencement of the ensuing year, all apprehension of a visit from the enemy having passed away, an expedition was planned, and sent out against the Spanish settlements, situated on the river St. John, in the Gulf of Mexico. The chief command by sea was given to captain Nelson, who, not content with coldly fulfilling what the strict letter of his duty required, quitted his ship, and volunteering his services up the river, through a navigation then totally unknown to all Europeans, Spaniards excepted, contributed most essentially, by his exertions and gallantry, to the capture of Fort St. Juan. Captain Polson, the commanding officer by land, in his public dispatches, pays the following tribute to his conduct.

"'Captain Nelson, then of the 'Hinchinbrooke, came up with 'thirty-four seamen, one serjeant, 'and twelve marines. I want words 'to express the obligations I owe 'that gentleman; he was the first 'on every service, whether by day, 'or by night. There was scarcely a 'gun fired, but what was pointed by 'him, or lieutenant Despard, chief 'engineer, who has exerted himself on every occasion. I am persuaded, if our shot had held out, 'we should have had the fort a 'week sooner. As captain Nelson 'goes to Jamaica, he can inform 'you of every delay, and point of 'service, as well as I could, for he 'knows my very thoughts.

"'The bearer, lieutenant Mounsey, can inform your excellency 'of many things that may escape

"my

'my memory: he is a very good 'officer, and commanded the party 'I sent to reconnoitre the look-'out, and began the attack of 'it, in concert with captain Des-'pard and captain Nelson, who 'with his seamen volunteered that 'duty.'

"In the fort were found one brass mortar, of five inches and an half, twenty pieces of brass ordnance, mounted, besides swivels, ten or twelve iron ditto, dismounted, together with a proportionate quantity of military stores.

"The fatigue occasioned by such extraordinary exertions, added to the natural unwholesomeness of the climate on the Spanish main, and the delicacy of his own constitution, reduced him to the necessity of returning back to Jamaica as a passenger, on board the Victor sloop. On his arrival, he found himself to have been promoted during his absence, to the command of the Janus of forty-four guns, as successor to captain Bonnovier Glover, who had died on the 21st of March preceding. So much, however, was he debilitated, as to be incapable of profiting from this honourable testimony paid by the commander in chief to his conduct. It appears very doubtful, whether he ever proceeded to sea as captain of the Janus; having, during the greatest part of his time, being under the necessity of remaining, for the better preservation of his health, at the residence of sir Peter Parker, the commander in chief on that station; who paid him the kindest and most affectionate attention. These marks of friendship were unfortunately unproductive of the end to which they were applied; for captain Nelson's health still continuing much impaired, he was under the necessity of returning to England, at the close of the same year, with the honourable captain Cornwallis, as a passenger on board the Lion.

"After enduring a long and excruciating indisposition at Bath, whither he repaired immediately on his arrival in England, he happily received so much benefit, as to declare himself, on the approach of the ensuing summer, capable of undertaking a command. He was accordingly appointed, in the month of August 1781, to the Albemarle of twenty-eight guns, a merchant ship captured from the French at the close of the year 1779, and purchased into the king's service. After a long and fatiguing station, during the whole of the ensuing winter, in the North Seas, he was sent to Newfoundland, in company with captain Pringle, who commanded the convoy, sent thither with the outward-bound fleet, in the month of April 1782. Being ordered on a cruise off Boston, he distinguished himself very remarkably by his conduct, when chased by three French ships of the line, and a frigate. Finding, according to the seaman's phrase, that his pursuers had the heels of him, he resolved, as the case was desperate, to adopt a desperate, or at best a very dangerous remedy, and without hesitation pushed for the St. George's Bank; among the shoals of which he entertained hopes of entangling his enemies, or of inducing them to discontinue the chase, from the apparent hazard of pursuing it any farther. He was not disappointed in the latter part of his expectation, the larger ships having immediately shortened sail. The frigate, however, drawing less water, was not to be baffled so easily; she continued the chase till nearly the close of the day, when,

being almost up with the Albemarle, captain Nelson very resolutely ordered his ship to be hove-to, for the purpose of bringing the contest to a speedy decision. This instance of firmness, unexpectedly displayed by an inferior opponent, struck the pursuer with immediate dismay: he instantly put about, and made sail from the Albemarle, which, though it might possibly, by the bravery of its commander and crew, have been preserved from again reverting into the hands of the foe, was, from her force and equipment totally unfit to seek, or court an engagement, with so superior an antagonist.

"Having proceeded afterwards to Quebec, he was ordered from thence to New York with a convoy in the month of October; and being instructed to put himself, on his arrival there, under the orders of the commander in chief on that station, he accordingly proceeded from thence to the West Indies in the following month with lord Hood, and the squadron under his command. His lordship had just returned from a cruise off Boston, in search of captain Nelson's quondam pursuers, and was left to follow admiral Pigot, who had quitted America with the main body of the fleet. The exertions made by the French in the West Indies, ceased with the defeat they experienced, on the ever-memorable 12th of April preceding; so that the flame of war was sunk into a smothering ember, and served only to point out, by a mere harmless smoke, the devastation it had formerly caused. It therefore becomes a matter of no wonder, that though constantly employed on the most active service till the news arrived of peace being concluded, captain Nelson was not fortunate enough to meet with any opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. Having been ordered to attend his royal highness prince William Henry, now duke of Clarence, on a visit paid by him to the governor of the Havannah, he returned from thence to England, and was paid off at Portsmouth about the end of July. He immediately went over to France, as well for the purpose of relaxation, as for the more perfect re-establishment of his health.

"After continuing there till the ensuing spring, he returned to England, where, soon after his arrival, he was commissioned to the Boreas frigate, of twenty-eight guns, a ship then under orders of equipment for the Leeward islands, as a cruiser on the peace establishment. This service was by no means so easy as the public situation of affairs appeared to promise. The Americans, after having erected themselves into free and independant states, were extravagant enough to expect, notwithstanding their disseverment from the mother-country, that they should continue to enjoy the same privileges which they possessed when considered as colonies to it. The governors and inhabitants of the West-India islands supported this absurd claim; and captain Nelson having, in consequence of his adopting a firm opinion of its impropriety, declared that he would seize all American vessels which he found trading contrary to the rules established for that purpose with foreigners, was treated with much asperity.

"In a short time afterwards he demonstrated that his declaration was not an empty threat, intended merely to intimidate, and never to be followed up by the act itself. Having accordingly seized several

American

American vessels which he chanced to meet with, the outcry against him rose to so great an height throughout all the British islands and colonies in that quarter, that he was constrained, for a considerable time, to continue on board his ship, without going even on shore, fearing he might meet with some unpleasant conduct, which his spirit could neither brook, nor the station he held would permit him to endure. Much however as his behaviour might be reprobated by the parties interested, captain Nelson had the satisfaction to find it approved, in the most unqualified manner, by his sovereign, and his native country. He continued on the same station, till the month of June, 1787, and was then ordered to England; the term usually allotted to ships employed on such service, during the time of peace, being expired. In the month of March preceding, he married Mrs. Frances Herbert Nesbit, widow of Dr. Nesbit, daughter to William Herbert, esquire, senior judge, and niece to Mr. Herbert, president of the same island; his royal highness prince William, who served on the same station as captain of the Pegasus, gracing the nuptials with his presence, and acting as father to the truly amiable lady. Captain Nelson was put out of commission, soon after his arrival in England, the Boreas being paid off at Sheerness on the 30th of November. From this time he experienced the longest relaxation from the fatigues of public service which he had ever allowed himself since his first entrance into it: it was a period of five years; and never perhaps did any of equal length, since his mere childhood, appear half so long, or half so irksome."

EARLIER ENTERPRISES of LORD NELSON.

[From the Same.]

"ON the prospect of a rupture with Spain, relative to Nootka Sound, captain Nelson, who with the utmost impatience regretted passing so inactive a life, repaired immediately to London, and solicited an appointment in the strongest terms. His application was, however, ineffectual, owing to the multitude of officers, who being his seniors on the list, appeared to have a priority of claim to commissions, and the speedy manner in which the dispute terminated. Fortunately for his country, the sudden war in which Britain found itself involved with French anarchists was more favourable to his wishes. At the very commencement of it, he was appointed to the Agamemnon of sixty-four guns, by commission bearing date January 30th, 1793. This ship was then under orders of equipment for the Mediterranean, and having taken in its powder and stores, at Blackstakes, sailed in company with the Robust of seventy-four guns, commanded by the hon. captain Elphinstone, and proceeded to its station in the month of May. In this service captain Nelson continued for three years: foremost in the hour of danger and difficulty, while at the same time his bravery was happily mingled with

with the most consummate prudence, and profoundest judgment, it became rather a matter of public wonder, if any official report of an encounter passed him over in silence. He was entrusted as a negotiator, employed as a naval partizan, as a superintendant of transports, and as a general officer on shore; in all which multifarious offices he acquitted himself with such credit, that it were a difficult matter to decide on what occasion his services shone most conspicuously; whether at Genoa, or in his long communications with general De Vins; on the coast of Italy, where he was so frequently employed in expeditions against the French flotillas, which sought their safety by running into creeks, whither they thought it impossible gallantry could pursue them; on the coast of Corsica, where the embarkation and landing of troops was so happily confided to him; or at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi, where he displayed the knowledge of an able engineer, joined to the experience of a consummate general. It was on the latter occasion he had the misfortune to lose the sight of his right eye; a shot from one of the enemy's batteries having struck the ground near the spot where he stood, and driven up the small gravel with such violence, that a minute particle of it struck him on that tender part, and produced the irremediable mischief, which even his enemies must have in some sort lamented. In the encounters which took place in the months of March and July, 1795, between the French and the British fleets, which latter was at that time commanded by lord Hotham, he no less eminently distinguished himself, and in the first of those naval skirmishes had the happiness of contributing to the partial success then obtained, by the spirited attack he made on the 12th, in conjunction with the Inconstant frigate, on the Ca Ira, of eighty guns.

On the 4th of July captain Nelson was, as had frequently been the case on former occasions, detached from the fleet as senior officer of a squadron of observation, consisting of the Agamemnon, Meleager, Ariadne, Moselle, Mutine cutter; and being on the 7th of the ensuring month chased into St. Fiorenzo by the French fleet, which had put to sea from Toulon, that circumstance led to a second partial encounter, which ended without any further loss to the enemy than that of the Alcide of 74 guns, which took fire and blew up, after she had struck her colours, ere she could be properly taken possession of by the English. In the ensuing month he was detached by the commander in chief as senior officer of a light squadron, with which he was ordered to proceed to the Bays of Alassio and Languilia, both in the neighbourhood of Vado, and at that time not only in possession of the French army, but serving as the principal rendezvous for the transports and store-ships employed in the conveyance of stores and other necessaries applicable to the maintenance of war in that quarter of the world: in this service he displayed his customary diligence, and his activity experienced the reward it merited.

"It were difficult perhaps to decide which point of character was most conspicuous, the spirit and gallantry which he displayed in conducting the enterprise, or the modesty with which he described the events of it. His commander in chief, Mr. Hotham, bore the amplest testi-

mony to the former, and every individual under his command endeavoured to exceed each other in their honest suffrages as to the truth of the latter. Towards the close of the current year Mr. Hotham was superseded in his command by sir John Jervis, afterwards created earl of St. Vincent, who in the month of April, 1796, promoted captain Nelson to the rank of temporary commodore, with a distinguishing pendant, which he accordingly hoisted, in the first instance, on board his old ship the Agamemnon, but in the ensuing month removed into the Captain of seventy-four guns; and in the month of August following he was established in permanent rank, having a captain appointed to command under him in the ship just mentioned. The services on which he was employed till nearly the close of the year were extremely important, although they afforded him no opportunity of displaying that brilliancy of character which has so uninterruptedly marked the greater part of the enterprises in which he was engaged. The blockade of Leghorn, the capture of Porto Ferrajio, together with the island of Caprea, and the evacuation of Bastia, were each of them employments that required the most consummate abilities, the most spirited activity, and the soundest judgment; and where all were equally conspicuous, it would be derogating from one species of merit, to bestow any particular commendation on another.

"After having convoyed the British troops, which had been employed in garrisoning the island of Corsica, to Porto Ferrajio, commodore Nelson proceeded to St. Fiorenzo Bay, where he rejoined the commander in chief, and immediately afterwards accompanied him to Gibraltar. In the month of December he received instructions to remove his broad pendant on board La Minerve, a frigate of thirty-two guns, commanded by captain George Cockburn; and the Blanche frigate, of the same force, commanded by captain Preston, being put under his orders, he was directed to proceed to Porto Ferrajio, for the purpose of conveying from thence the depot of naval stores which had been formed there, during the time the British fleet was stationed in the Mediterranean, to Gibraltar, where they were much wanted, in consequence of the change of station necessarily occasioned by the commencement of the war with Spain. While on his passage thither, the commodore had the fortune to fall in with two large Spanish frigates, during the night of the 19th of December. The commanding ship carried a poop-light, and was immediately attacked by Mr. Nelson, who at the same time directed the Blanche to engage her consort. The encounter between the commodore and his antagonist commenced about forty minutes past ten at night; and after an unremitted as well as most spirited contest, which continued nearly three hours, the enemy's ship was compelled to surrender, having had one hundred and sixty-four men killed and wounded. Her mizzen-mast had fallen in the action; her main- and fore-masts were also so severely wounded that both of them went away on her first attempt to carry sail after her surrender. The prize was named La Sabina, a frigate of the first class, mounting forty guns; those on her main deck, being twenty-eight in number, were eighteen-pounders.

"While

"While the Minerve was thus engaged, captain Preston, in the Blanche, most gallantly bore his share in the encounter, and effectually silenced his antagonist, but was prevented from taking possession of his defeated enemy by the appearance of three other Spanish ships, which bore down on the conquerors. The commodore was on his part scarcely less unsuccessful; for, although possession was taken of his prize, the same cause which rescued that of captain Preston from his hands operated little less forcibly with respect to himself. The Sabina and the Minerve steered different courses, and the masts of the former not being able, as already related, to support a pressure of sail, they both fell by the board, and, as a natural consequence, the Sabina again reverted into the possession of her former masters. Owing, however, to the exertions of the commodore, together with the rest of the officers of the Minerve and Blanche, those ships were most gallantly and happily rescued from experiencing a fate equally grievous.

"Commodore Nelson, having executed the object of his mission, sailed from Porto Ferrajio in the Minerve, on the 29th of January, for the purpose of rejoining the commander in chief. Sir Gilbert Elliott, afterwards lord Minto, the late viceroy of Corsica, together with lieutenant-colonel Drinkwater, and divers other persons belonging to his suite, had taken their passage on board the Minerve; and the commodore, after having studiously endeavoured to obtain every possible information in his power, relative to the enemy's force and future intentions, by reconnoitring all the principal ports in the Mediterranean, proceeded for Gibraltar, where he arrived a few days after the Spanish fleet from Carthagena had passed through the Streights. Burning with impatience to assume a more active and useful station than the command of a frigate could possibly afford him, when a serious contest with the enemy appeared more than probable, he remained at Gibraltar only one day, and, in the course of his passage to the westward, towards the appointed place of rendezvous, was on the 11th of February not only chased by two Spanish line of battle ships, but was also in sight of their whole fleet off the entrance of the Streights. He was fortunate enough, however, to effect not only his escape, but his junction with the admiral, and the fleet, on the 13th of February. The important intelligence he brought was the prelude to the future success; and as he had been the happy means of first conveying to the admiral information of the near approach of the enemy, so did he, in the glorious contest which presently succeeded, prove the principal cause of effecting their discomfiture and defeat.

"Immediately on his arrival, he shifted his broad pendant on board his former ship the Captain; and, as it is reported, had not effected his removal many minutes, ere the signal was made that the British fleet should prepare for action; the ships which composed it being directed to keep in close and compact order during the night. As to the event of the action, few Englishmen can be ignorant; of the circumstances which led to that event, the greater part of them may be but partially informed, perhaps, notwithstanding a variety of documents have already been printed and re-printed in a multi-

tude of forms, each of them attempting to illustrate a period so interesting to the feelings of Britons, but unhappily, through an infinity of causes, all failing to produce the wished-for intention and the desired effect. Of these, according to the ordinary course of precedence, the official, or gazette account claims the first mention. No particular observation is made on the conduct of commodore Nelson: and that circumstance, perhaps, paradoxical as it may appear, is in itself a matter of the highest praise; for it is the natural infirmity of the human mind to be silent as to the promulgation of that worth, which it feels itself shrink as it were from the task of paying sufficient tribute to.

"The next account we shall beg leave to notice, as well as to insert, is a short memorandum made by the commodore himself, presently after the encounter, in which, with his customary delicacy with respect to himself, he attributes the highest possible praise to those employed under his orders, who aided in effecting the glorious achievement, but is totally silent as to those energies produced and raised to maturity in his own mind, which gave birth to so glorious and brilliant a conclusion.

"'At one, P. M.' observes the commodore, 'the Captain having passed the sternmost of the enemy's ships, which formed their van, and part of their centre, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, they on the larboard, we on the starboard tack, the admiral made the signal to tack in succession; but perceiving all the Spanish ships to bear up before the wind, evidently with an intention of forming their line, going large, and joining their separated divisions, at that time engaged with some of our centre ships, or flying from us—to prevent either of their schemes from taking place, I ordered the ship to be wore, and passing between the Diadem and Excellent, at a quarter past one o'clock, was engaged with the headmost, and, of course, leewardmost of the Spanish division. The ships which I knew were, the Santissima Trinidada, of one hundred and thirty-six guns, San Josef, of one hundred and twelve, Salvador del Mundo, of one hundred and twelve, San Nicholas, eighty; another first-rate, and a seventy-four, names unknown.

"'I was immediately joined, and most nobly supported, by the Culloden, captain Troubridge. The Spanish fleet, not wishing, I suppose, to have a decisive battle, hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, which brought the ships above mentioned to be the leewardmost and sternmost ships in their fleet. For near an hour, I believe (but I do not pretend to be correct as to time), did the Culloden and Captain support this not only apparently but really unequal contest; when the Blenheim, passing between us and the enemy, gave us a respite, and sickened the Dons. At this time the Salvador del Mundo, and San Isidro, dropped astern, and were fired into in a masterly style by the Excellent, captain Collingwood, who compelled the San Isidro to hoist English colours; and I thought the large ship, Salvador del Mundo had also struck: but captain Collingwood, disdaining the parade of taking possession of a vanquished enemy, most gallantly pushed up, with every sail set, to save his old friend and messmate, who was to appearance in a critical state. The Blenheim being ahead,

ahead, the Culloden crippled and astern, the Excellent ranged up within two feet of the San Nicholas, giving a most tremendous fire. The San Nicholas luffing up, the San Josef fell on board her, and the Excellent passing on for the Santissima Trinidada, the Captain resumed her station abreast of them, and close alongside. At this time the Captain having lost her fore-top-mast, not a sail, shroud, nor rope left, her wheel away, and incapable of further service in the line or in chase, I directed captain Miller to put the helm a-starboard, and calling for the boarders, ordered them to board. The soldiers of the sixty-ninth, with an alacrity which will ever do them credit, and lieutenant Pearson of the same regiment, were almost the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the enemy's mizzen-chains was captain Berry, late my first lieutenant (captain Miller was in the act of going also, but I directed him to remain); he was supported by our spritsail yard, which hooked in the mizzen rigging. A soldier of the sixty-ninth regiment having broken the upper quarter gallery window, I jumped in myself, and was followed by others as fast as possible. I found the cabin doors fastened, and some Spanish officers fired their pistols; but having broke open the doors, the soldiers fired, and the Spanish brigadier (commodore, with a distinguishing pendant) fell, as retreating to the quarter-deck. I pushed immediately onwards for the quarter-deck, where I found captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish ensign hauling down. I passed with my people, and lieutenant Pearson, on the larboard gang-way to the forecastle, where I met two or three Spanish officers prisoners to my seamen: they delivered me their swords. A fire of pistols or musquets opening from the admiral's stern-gallery of the San Josef, I directed the soldiers to fire into her stern, and calling to captain Miller, ordered him to send more men into the San Nicholas, and directed my people to board the first-rate, which was done in an instant; captain Berry assisting me into the main chains. At this moment a Spanish officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and said they surrendered. From this most welcome intelligence, it was not long before I was on the quarter-deck, where the Spanish captain, with a bow, presented me his sword, and said the admiral was dying of his wounds. I asked him on his honour, if the ship surrendered. He declared she was; on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call on his officers and ship's company and tell them of it; and, on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive the swords of vanquished Spaniards, which as I received I gave to William Fearney, one of my bargemen, who put them with the greatest *sang froid* under his arm. I was surrounded by captain Berry, lieutenant Pearson of the sixty-ninth regiment, John Sykes, John Thompson, Francis Cooke (all old Agamemnons), and several other brave men, seamen and soldiers. Thus fell these ships.

"'N. B. In boarding the San Nicholas, I believe we lost about seven killed and ten wounded; and about twenty Spaniards lost their lives by a foolish resistance. None were lost, I believe, in boarding the San Josef.'

"In contests between armies, such occurrences are neither, per-

haps, new, nor uncommon. The march of battalions, regulated with more certainty, and easily applicable, with the most correct exactness, to the execution of any measure which the abilities of a great and consummate general may have contrived, have rendered the operations and success of an army in a great measure reducible to certain principles; so that science may, without its becoming a matter of wonder, be the arbiter of contest. In naval encounters the case was ever considered as widely different. To contend against an enemy so manifestly superior, would have been considered, in the general acceptation of the world, an act of the most unpardonable rashness, if not of madness itself. It was the lot of lord Nelson to prove to that world, that such an opinion was erroneous; that the duties of a naval commander consisted not merely in ranging his fleet in a regular line, or even in placing his ship on the bow or quarter of his antagonist; that the cold system of regular tactics, till then almost in invariable use, and from which it was considered a crime of the highest magnitude, even for a moment, to depart, was an insult to the understanding of naval commanders, by imputing to them a want of ability to contrive, or a power to execute measures similar to those which, when applied to military operations, had frequently conferred victory on the weak.

"It will not, however, be improper to remark in this place, what infinitely superior energies are indispensably required in the mind of a naval commander beyond those of the man who may be placed at the head of the most extensive armies. The general, surrounded by the ablest men he can select, aided by the completest information as to every particular that can strengthen his mind or assist his judgment, forms those plans coolly and deliberately; he arranges all his different combinations of attack; which he may, without trusting much to the doctrine of chances, depend on being successful. Attended by his aid-de-camps, he takes his station on the spot most convenient to his purpose, and the operations of his army are conducted as it were by clock-work, according to the will of him who becomes the moving power. Suppose him at the worst foiled in any, or even the major part of his projects, the scientific resources of his mind will allow him to repair misfortune, remedy disaster, and prevent defeat. His mind, in great measure abstracted from the bustle of the neighbouring scene, is left at full liberty to display the natural scope of his abilities. With an admiral, or naval commander, the case is widely different; all his measures may be disconcerted in an instant. It was considered, till lord Nelson first proved the opinion erroneous, impossible to lay down any established form of battle, inasmuch as it must depend on events and circumstances, which were not within the controul of man. A change of the wind, even in a trivial degree, or a few chance shot, fortunately destructive in their effect, might, it was found, render ineffectual the best concerted plans. Every single ship was to be considered as a battalion which might be disabled or annihilated in an instant, and at the very moment too when her co-operation was most necessary. On that account, perhaps, it was considered nugatory to propose the adoption of any system, deviating

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in the smallest degree from the simplest practice, because it never might be in the power of the most able commander to carry such system into proper effect. To overcome this prejudice required an exertion which none but the greatest minds were capable of carrying into actual practice. It had, on some occasions, been partially attempted to have been removed; but it remained for the genius of commodore Nelson to dispel, like the meridian sun, the cloud which had so long obscured the best energies of nautical knowledge.

"What praise, what admiration can be considered too romantic to be bestowed on the man who, surrounded by that terrific confusion invariably attendant on naval contests, can in one instant contrive, and on the next moment execute, a measure that the host of his antagonists, a circumstance which future ages might almost deem fabulous, were unable to baffle or extricate themselves from the effects of. In fine, the conception was great, the execution noble, and the event glorious.

"Sir Horatio having been promoted, very soon after the brilliant transactions last mentioned, to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, was dispatched in the month of April, 1797, to bring off the garrison of Porto Ferrajio; and on his return to the fleet, from that service, having shifted his flag from the Captain to the Theseus, on the 27th of May, he was appointed by the earl of St. Vincent to command a detachment of the fleet which was employed in the immediate blockade of Cadiz harbour. This was a service which required the most consummate ability, added to the highest personal intrepidity; nor is it possible, perhaps, without meaning to detract in the smallest instance from the character of other men, to have found any person more strongly endowed with both these qualities.

"For the purpose of confining the enemy to their port as closely as possible, it was a practice to send every night, from each ship, one or two boats manned and armed, into the very mouth of the harbour; these were supported by some gun-boats purposely fitted for the occasion, which, on their part, depending for protection, in case of attack, from the interior line of ships which were posted under the orders of sir Horatio, the system of blockade became complete, and the impediment raised against the clandestine escape of any vessel might be pronounced impenetrable.

"In order to cause a strict attention throughout all the inferior branches of the service, the rear-admiral was accustomed to row through the boats, after they had been posted for the night. Thus were both officers, as well as the men, kept constantly alert, and in immediate readiness to repel any sudden attack that might be made on them from the port itself. The Spaniards had, on their part, as a necessary defensive precaution, equipped a number of gun-boats and large launches, in which they also paraded and rowed guard, for the purpose of preventing the blockaders from making so near an approach as they otherwise perhaps might have attempted, even to such an extent as might have endangered the safety of the Spanish fleet itself. The consequence of these mutual preparations was, that a variety of immaterial skirmishes took place between the two flotillas, all which might most probably, even at this time, have been little

remembered, had it not been for an encounter, in which both the Spanish commander of the gun-boats, don Miguel Tyrason, and sir Horatio, were personally engaged. The former being in a galley, which rowed with twenty-six oars, and manned with a chosen crew proportionably numerous, for it consisted of thirty men including officers, had the fortune to encounter the latter, who was in his own barge, with no more than its usual complement of ten men and the coxswain, captain Freemantle accompanying sir Horatio as a volunteer. His own inherent courage appeared to have even exceeded his former display of greatness; and the event of which we are treating rises as another proof how absolutely necessary it is for a naval commander to possess the most exalted personal prowess, as well as the most consummate abilities of the mind. The Spaniard, confiding in his superior numbers, shrunk not from the contest; and the crews of both vessels, headed by their respective commanders, fought for a considerable time hand to hand. John Sykes, his coxswain, whom the rear-admiral so gratefully and affectionately distinguished in his short account of the action of the 14th of February, was wounded in the act of defending his person; and is reported to have actually preserved his truly valuable life in two different instances, by parrying several furious strokes that were aimed at him, and mortally wounding the assailants. Thus was the person of sir Horatio, though repeatedly in the most imminent danger, preserved under Providence by his own gallantry, aided by that of the brave and generous fellows whom he commanded; the conquest of the enemy was at length effected, and the proud superiority of Englishmen was never perhaps displayed in more glowing colours. The Spaniards fought with a fury bordering almost on desperation; nor did resistance cease until eighteen of them were killed, and all that remained, including the Spanish commander himself, severely wounded. The eulogium bestowed on his conduct on this occasion by the earl St. Vincent, his commander in chief, was simple and appropriate. 'The 'rear-admiral,' says his lordship, 'who is always present in the most 'arduous enterprises, with the assistance of some other barges, 'boarded and carried two of the 'enemy's gun-boats, and a large 'launch belonging to one of their 'ships of war, with the commandant of the flotilla. Rear-admiral 'Nelson's actions speak for themselves; any praise of mine would 'fall very short of his merit.'

"The encounter last mentioned took place on the 3d of July, and in two nights afterwards a repetition of the attack was made in a more tremendous form, under the direction of sir Horatio, on the city of Cadiz itself, and the shipping in the harbour. The bomb-vessels ranged under his direction took their proper stations, and began their truly terrific warfare. The town itself, together with the shipping, received considerable damage; and, as is customary in all attacks of that desultory, though dreadful nature, the vessels, having expended their allotted portion of shells, retired with the consolation of having materially annoyed the warlike preparations of the enemy, without having themselves sustained either injury or inconvenience.

"In a few days after these skirmishes, which derived the most deserved

served celebrity from the circumstances which attended them, sir Horatio was detached with three ships of the line, the Theseus, the Culloden, and the Zealous; the Leander of fifty guns, with the Terpsichore, the Emerald, the Seahorse frigates, and the Fox cutter, having on board what was considered as a sufficient body of troops for the purpose, to make an attack on the town of Santa Cruz, the capital of the isle of Teneriffe. The most prudent and at the same time the most spirited measures were immediately adopted with regard to the attack; the boats of the squadron were manned, and the troops put on shore. Notwithstanding the darkness of the night, and the considerable swell even on the shore, the landing was effected in good order; so that if ability joined to gallantry could have commanded success, it would certainly have attended in its fullest extent this enterprise. It proved, however, to have been undertaken in consequence of a very erroneous representation of the force in which the enemy were; and was rendered abortive merely by the great disparity in point of numbers which existed between the assailants and the defenders. Thus circumstanced, the British troops, after having been for the space of seven hours in possession of the town of Santa Cruz, finding it impossible to make themselves masters of the citadel, began to retreat. The Spaniards, rejoiced at being freed from invaders, whose courage, inferior as they were in numbers to themselves, appeared still dreadful, were glad to consent that they should retire unmolested, rather than drive them to despair. Thus ended an expedition which might be deemed a fatal one to Britain, having cost her the lives of nearly two hundred brave officers and seamen, killed or drowned, many grievously wounded. Among the latter was the rear-admiral himself, who had the misfortune to lose his right arm by a cannon shot. He was carried on board the Theseus, where amputation was immediately performed. In the very great hurry and confusion which unavoidably prevailed at the time of the operation, some mistake was made in taking up one of the arteries, in consequence of which the admiral suffered the most excruciating torture for several months. He returned to England in a frigate, for the necessary recovery of his health, immediately after the failure of the expedition, and was, as a natural consequence, received by all ranks of people with the most consoling regard and attention. In the month of October, a pension of one thousand pounds a-year was granted him, as a recompence for the serious injury he had so lately experienced.

EARLY LIFE and CHARACTER of TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

[From Mr. RAINSFORD's Account of the EMPIRE of HAYTI.]

"TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE was born a slave in the year 1745, on the estate of the count de Noé, at a small distance from Cape François, in the northern province of St. Domingo, a spot since remarkable as the very source of revolution, and site of a camp,

(that of Breda,) from whence its native general has issued mandates more powerful than those of any monarch on the earth.

"While tending his master's flocks, the genius of Toussaint began to expand itself, by an attention towards objects beyond the reach of his comprehension; and without any other opportunity than was equally possessed by those around him, who remained nearly in impenetrable ignorance, he learned to read, write, and use figures. Encouraged by the progress he rapidly made in these arts, and fired with the prospect of higher attainments, he employed himself assiduously in the further cultivation of his talents. His acquirements, as is oftentimes the case under such circumstances, excited the admiration of his fellow slaves, and fortunately attracted the attention of the attorney, or manager of the estate, M. Bayou de Libertas. This gentleman, with a discrimination honourable to his judgment, withdrew Toussaint from the labour of the fields to his own house, and began the amelioration of his fortune, by appointing him his postilion, an enviable situation among slaves for its profit and comparative respectability.

"This instance of patronage by M. Bayou impressed itself strongly on the susceptible mind of Toussaint. True genius and elevated sentiments are inseparable; the recollection of the most trivial action, kindly bestowed in obscurity, or under the pressure of adverse circumstances, warms the heart of sensibility, even in the hour of popular favour, more than the proudest honours. This truth was exemplified by the subsequent gratitude of Toussaint towards his master. He continued to deserve and receive promotion, progressively, to offices of considerable confidence.

"Among other traits fondly preserved in St. Domingo of the conduct of Toussaint during the early period of his life, are his remarkable benevolence towards the brute creation, and an unconquerable patience. Of the former, many instances are related which evince a mind endued with every good quality. He knew how to avail himself so well of the sagacity of the horse, as to perform wonders with that animal, without those cruel methods used to extort from them the docility exhibited in Europe; he was frequently seen musing amongst the different cattle, seeming to hold a species of dumb converse, which they evidently understood, and produced in them undoubted marks of attention. They knew and manifested their acquaintance whenever he appeared; and he has been frequently seen attending with the anxiety of a nurse any accident which had befallen them. The only instance in which he could be roused to irritation, was when a slave had revenged the punishment he received from his owner upon his harmless and unoffending cattle. Proverbial became his patience, insomuch that it was a favourite amusement of the young and inconsiderate upon the same estate, to endeavour to provoke him by wanton tricks and affected malignity. But so perfectly he had regulated his temper, that he constantly answered with a meek smile, and accounted for their conduct by such means as would render it strictly pardonable. To the law of self-preservation, or the misfortune of not knowing the delight of philanthropy, he would attribute an act of brutal selfishness; while he

he imputed to a momentary misapprehension an inclination to rude and malicious controversy. Thus was his passive disposition never in the smallest degree affected, being ready on all occasions to conciliate and to bear, in circumstances whether frivolous or of the highest importance.

"At the age of twenty-five Toussaint attached himself to a female of similar character to his own, and their union cemented by marriage, which does not appear to have been violated, conferred respectability on their offspring. Still he continued a slave; nor did the goodness of M. Bayou, although it extended to render him as happy as the state of servitude would admit, ever contemplate the manumission of one who was to become a benefactor to him and his family. Such is the effect of ancient prejudice, in obscuring the highest excellence of our nature; he who would perform godlike actions without hesitation from any other cause, shrinks from a breach of etiquette, or a violation of custom!

"In the comforts of a situation possessing a degree of opulence, Toussaint found leisure to extend the advantages of his early acquisitions, and by the acquaintance of some priests, who possessed little more of the character than the name, acquired the knowledge of new sources of information, and a relish for books of a superior order than first attracted his attention: the author of whom he became the most speedily enamoured was the Abbe Raynal, on whose history and speculations in philosophy and politics he was intent for weeks together, and never quitted, but with an intention to return with renewed and additional pleasure. A French translation of Epictetus for a time confined him to its doctrines, which he often quoted; but he soon sought higher food for his capacious mind, and found in a portion of the ancient historians the summit of his wishes. He was there seen studiously consulting the opinion of those who teach the conduct of empires, or the management of war; yet, he neglected not those who aim to harmonize the mind, and teach man himself; the only difference in his habits imbibing these treasures created, was an external polish, which imparted an uncommon grace to his manners.

"Thus proceeded this illustrious man: like the simple acorn, first promiscuously scattered by the winds, in its slow but beauteous progress to the gigantic oak, spreading its foliage with august grandeur above the minor growth of the forest, defending the humble shrub, and braving the fury of contending elements.

"Continuing on the estate on which he was born, when the deliberations preceding the actual rebellion of the slaves were taking place upon the plantation of Noé, the opinion of him who was always regarded with esteem and admiration was solicited. His sanction was of importance, as he had a number of slaves under his command, and a general influence over his fellow-negroes. Among the leaders of this terrible revolt were several of his friends, whom he had deemed worthy to make his associates for mutual intelligence; yet, from whatever cause is not ascertained, he forbore in the first instance to join in the contest of liberty. It is probable that his manly heart revolted from cruelties attendant on the first burst of revenge in

in slaves about to retaliate their wrongs and sufferings on their owners. He saw that the innocent would suffer with the guilty; and that the effects of revolution regarded future more than present justice. When the cloud charged with electric fluid becomes too ponderous, it selects not the brooding murderer on the barren heath, but bursts, perhaps, indiscriminately, in wasteful vengeance, over innocent flocks reposing in verdant fields.

"There were ties which connected Toussaint more strongly than the consideration of temporary circumstances. These were, gratitude for the benefits received from his master, and generosity to those who were about to fall,—not merely beneath the stroke of the assassin, for that relief from their sufferings was not to be allowed to all, but likewise the change of situations of luxury and splendour, to an exile of danger, contempt, and poverty, with all the miseries such a reverse can accumulate.

"Toussaint prepared for the emigration of M. Bayou de Libertas, as if he had only removed for his pleasure, to the American continent. He found means to embark produce that should form a useful provision for the future; procured his escape with his family, and contrived every plan for his convenience: nor did his care end here; for after M. Bayou's establishment in safety at Baltimore, in Maryland, he availed himself of every opportunity to supply any conceived deficiency, and, as he rose in circumstances, to render those of his *protegé* more qualified to his situation, and equal to that warm remembrance of the services he owed him, which would never expire.

"Having provided for the safety of his master in the first instance, Toussaint no longer resisted the temptations to join the army of his country, which had (at this period) assumed a regular form. He attached himself to the corps under the command of a courageous black chief, named Biassou, and was appointed next in command to him. Though possessed of striking abilities, the disposition of this general rendered him unfit for the situation which he held; his cruelty caused him to be deprived of a power which he abused. No one was found equally calculated to supply his place with the new officer, Toussaint; therefore, quitting for ever a subordinate situation, he was appointed to the command of a division.

"If during this early period of his life the black general had shone conspicuously, through every disadvantage, with the brightest talents and the milder virtues, he now rose superior to all around him, with the qualities and rank of an exalted chief. Every part of his conduct was marked by judgment and benevolence. By the blacks, who had raised him to the dignity he enjoyed, he was beloved with enthusiasm; and, by the public characters of other nations, with whom he had occasion to communicate, he was regarded with every mark of respect and esteem. General Laveaux called him 'the negro, the Sparactacus, foretold by 'Raynal, whose destiny it *was* to 'avenge the wrongs committed on 'his race:' and the Spanish Marquis d' Hermona declared, in the hyperbole of admiration, that 'if 'the Supreme had descended on 'earth, he could not inhabit a 'heart more apparently good than 'that of Toussaint L'Ouverture.'

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" His powers of invention in the art of war and domestic government, the wonder of those who surrounded or opposed him, had not previously an opportunity for exhibition as at the period to which we have arrived in this history. Embarrassed by a variety of contending factions among the blacks, and by enemies of different nations and characters, he was too much occupied in evading the blows constantly meditated in different quarters, to find leisure for the display of that wisdom and magnanimity which he so eminently exercised. Nevertheless, a variety of incidents are recorded in the fleeting memorials of the day to corroborate the excellence of his character, and still more are impressed on the memory of all who have visited the scene of his government. Notwithstanding the absolutenes of military jurisdiction, which existed with extra power, no punishment ever took place without the anxious endeavours of the general-in-chief to avoid it, exerted in every way that could be devised. No object was too mean for his remonstrance or advice, nor any crime too great to be subjected to the rules he had prescribed to himself. The punishment of the idle or immoral labourer was, being withdrawn from agriculture, and condemned to a military service dangerous or severe. In cases of treason he was peculiarly singular in his ideas, and the following incident will afford a specimen :—

" Shortly after general Maitland arrived upon the island, four Frenchmen were retaken who had deserted the black chief with aggravated treachery. Every one expected a vindictive punishment, and of course a cruel death. Leaving them, however, in suspense as to their fate, he ordered them to be produced in church on the following Sabbath ; and, while that part of the service was pronouncing which respects mutual forgiveness, he went with them to the front of the altar, where, impressing them with the flagitiousness of their conduct, he ordered them to be discharged without farther punishment.

" It probably may be expected that something should be mentioned of the general character of Toussaint ; and, if there was any object predominant in the wishes of the writer during his sojourn at the Cape, it was—to ascertain the traits of peculiarity in that individual,—to judge of the views, and of the motives that actuated him. The result of his observations was in every respect favourable to this truly great man. Casual acts of justice and benignity may mark the reign of anarchy itself, and complacency sometimes smooth the brow of the most brutal tyrant ; but when the man, possessed for a considerable period of unlimited power, (of whose good actions no venal journalist was the herald, but, to transcribe his errors a thousand competitors were ready) has never been charged with its abuse ; but on the contrary, has preserved one line of conduct, founded by sound sense and acute discernment on the most honourable basis, leaning only to actions of magnanimity and goodness, he has passed the strongest test to which he can be submitted ; who, with the frailties of human nature, and without the adventitious aids of those born to rule, held one of the highest situations in society.

" His government does not appear to have been sullied by the influence of any ruling passion :—if a thirst of power had prompted him alone,

alone, he would have soon ceased to be a leader of insurgents; had avarice swayed him, he, like many others, could have retired early in the contest, with immense riches, to the neighbouring continent; or had a sanguinary revenge occupied his mind, he would not so often have offered those pathetic appeals to the understanding, which were the sport of his colleagues, on crimes which the governors of nations long *civilized* would have sentenced to torture! His principles, when becoming an actor in the revolution of his country, were as pure and legitimate as those which actuated the great founders of liberty in any former age or clime.

"Such was the character of Toussaint L'Ouverture, as regarded his office of commander in chief, and governor of the island of St. Domingo. In his relations towards other countries, he appears to have excited admiration for his justice, and the courtesy of every enlightened state: the charges of his most inveterate enemies never extended to a fact that can diminish the well-earned eulogies he has obtained. His rules of conduct were the emanations of a mind capacious and well informed; and but for the exertions of his talents, or those of some chief equally able, indefatigable, and sincere, the country, now blooming with culture, and advancing in true civilization, might have been a ruined state, sacrificed to the conflicts of disappointed ambition, revenge, and the whole train of evils which a multiplicity of factions could create. That there should be found partizans of each of these factions in the then divided state of France, to complain of every arrangement formed by this astonishing individual, is to be expected, rather than wondered at; and to these motives alone, there is no reason to doubt, may be ascribed all the calumnies which have been vented against him.

"In his private life, Toussaint lost none of the excellence of that character which is conspicuous in his public actions. With much sensibility, he supported an even temper in domestic privacy; and in contradistinction to the general custom of other great men, might be considered equally a hero in the closet as the field. To his wife, a sensible and affectionate woman, he behaved with the most endearing tenderness and consideration, and to his children imparted all the warmth of paternal affection; yet he had no overweening fondness to conceal their faults from his notice; even the smallest want of proper attention to an inferior was censured with severity proportionate to the difference of their condition. If they obtained not knowledge from the transitory nature of human circumstances, so necessary to check the pride of birth or situation, almost always manifest in children reared in affluence, it was not the fault of a father whose life was conspicuous for humility of disposition, and a diffidence of his powers, proportionable to the elevation of his rank or the accumulation of his honours. As his children grew to an age capable of that education which his individual acquirements instructed him as necessary to the sphere of life in which they were to move, Toussaint procured for them the best tutors he could obtain, and afterwards sent them to France under their care, for the advantages of higher instruction.—His leisure, which was not great, was occupied in relieving those who suffered in any way undeservedly; nor did he, as is often the

case

case in the world, weigh guilt by incapacity or distinction. The weak of every description were his peculiar care; the strong in intellect, the mighty in war, or the amiable in domestic life, shared alike his esteem.

"In person, Toussaint was of a manly form, above the middle stature, with a countenance bold and striking, yet full of the most prepossessing suavity—terrible to an enemy, but inviting to the objects of his friendship or his love. His manners and his deportment were elegant when occasion required, but easy and familiar in common; —when an inferior addressed him, he bent with the most obliging assiduity, and adapted himself precisely, without seeming condescension, to their peculiar circumstances. He received in public a general and voluntary respect, which he was anxious to return, or rather to prevent, by the most pleasing civilities. His uniform was a kind of blue jacket, with a large red cape falling over the shoulders; red cuffs, with eight rows of lace on the arms, and a pair of large gold epaulettes thrown back; scarlet waistcoat and pantaloons, with half boots; round hat, with a red feather, and a national cockade; these, with an extreme large sword, formed his equipment.—He was an astonishing horseman, and travelled with inconceivable rapidity.

"Thus are given the rough outlines of the character of Toussaint; for the shades it will be necessary to consider what foibles could have existence with the virtues described. It is not intended to sully the present account by the absurdity of attempting to hold him up as a perfect character; but thus much is certain, that if he had any peculiar vices, he had the address to conceal them from the most scrutinous and industrious observer.

"Toussaint, surrounded by men of letters and science, whom various circumstances had brought from the mother country, found little difficulty in the formation of a temporary constitution, of which justice and equality (of right only, not of property) should be the basis. Among those from whom he received important assistance was the citizen Pascal, a descendant of the celebrated writer of that name, who inherited the talents of his ancestor. He had been sent to Cape François by the executive directory, in the fourth year of the revolution, as secretary to the agents of the republic; when he married the daughter of a mulatto in office, named Raymond, and acquired by the connection a considerable property. He attached himself early to Toussaint, with the abbé Moliere, and an Italian ecclesiastic, of considerable talents, named Marinit, who were always about his person.

"Having settled the grand object of his care, particularly as regarded the safety of the white inhabitants, he next devoted himself to the regulation and increase of his army, on a scale fitting the importance of the country under his care. At the time of his treaty with General Maitland, his force in the northern province amounted to something less than 40,000 men, but they were soon increased to nearly double that number, and at this time exceeded all conception. As they were necessarily divided in the different provinces, he prepared for a journey round the island for the purpose of reviewing them, and appointing the districts, as well as settling the officers to command them, with greater success and accuracy than could be done at a distance.

distance. Vast quantities of ordnance and stores of different kinds were accumulated at different posts, which would be more useful when distributed. He was desirous of becoming known to a great number of brave men who were attached to his army, many of whom had received a military education in the mother country, and could be placed in situations of responsibility; others, too, required local appointments, for the purpose of residing in situations with which they were acquainted; and it was the wish and policy of Toussaint, to know and gratify them all.—The animation of his presence was also necessary to troops (in some few instances, perhaps, languid) who were ambitious of being seen by their general in chief, whose very name acted with electric force on all. In the capital of the Spanish part of the island, another reason proved the necessity of a visit from the general in chief. Notwithstanding the cession of the Spanish colony to France in 1795, and that it had been taken possession of by the generals Paul L'Ouverture (the brother of Toussaint), and D'Hebecour, who had garrisoned the different posts, a force still remained in the city of St. Domingo, under don Joachim Garcia, insubordinate to the present government; Toussaint, therefore, with that promptitude for which he was remarkable, though not without due consideration, set out upon this important tour.

"The reception the general met with in every town and village through which he passed, and at every port he visited, was such as to have gratified the vanity of the proudest potentate. All orders, civil or military, vied with each other in their modes of respect, while the women and children lined the road-sides, to bless the pacificator of their country. On every face was depicted content and health, and in every place appeared universal satisfaction. Every means were used to declare the general pleasure with which he was viewed. Garlands and fantastic wreaths were woven by those who could do no more. Superb decorations covered the houses of proprietors, and triumphal arches graced his entry into every town. The military, in their proudest array, were anxious to obtain approbation by a soldier-like appearance, and a variety of plans were formed by the maritime people to testify their accordance with the public respect. Innumerable instances might be mentioned which would assume the air of romance, of the singular testimonies which occurred to honour him and do justice to his character.

"In one place, a respectable negro, of the age of ninety-nine, seated on a wicker chair, presented to him ten sons, the children of one wife, employed in agriculture, but ready to devote themselves to the service of their country whenever it should be necessary. Three sisters hung over their father, as if fearing to lose the protection of their brothers. All produced certificates of propriety and industry from their employers and their neighbours, a part of whom surrounded them. Toussaint leaped from his horse, and knelt at the feet of the old man. 'Respectable 'age,' said he, 'it is to such mem-'bers as you, that your country 'is this day indebted for peace and 'freedom!' As he arose, an aide-de-camp directed his attention to a solitary youth, who stood at a short distance, unnoticed. 'Who is

'that,'

'that,' exclaimed the general, 'apparently miserable on such a day?' He was informed it was one who had disgraced the family now presented to him, in many instances, and had lately encouraged his sister in vice. At this moment an interesting female rushed from the crowd, holding an infant in her arms, with the appearance of extreme anguish, exclaiming, 'It is 'for me, general, that the poor 'Antony is calumniated.'—Her tears interrupted her.—'I could 'not part with my child, though 'rejected by his father, and denied 'even permission to labour in the 'same plantation with my family, 'because I quitted it, and nearly 'starving, engaged myself to an'other less desirable.—My affec'tionate brother lent me all the aid 'his own labours could spare, and 'when I was to remove, solicited 'an addition from my other bro'thers and sisters. He was re'fused, and he'——'He robbed 'them, perhaps, to supply you,' nterrupted the general; 'thereby violating his duty to his family, his country, and himself;—this is wrong;—there was something, likewise, erroneous in withholding your child from the protection it would have received; yet,' urning to the old man who had laimed his approbation, 'we must not, father, reject the unfortunate; it is not sufficient to be just, we must also be merciful, recollecting how much need we all have for mercy. Sully not, therefore, the happiness you enjoy, with the recollection of one individual less happy by your means, much more your son (leading him towards the old man), or your daughter' (doing the same). he impressive manner of the geeral (though the transaction lasted but a few minutes) drew tears from the whole; the family instantly caressed their brother and sister, and Toussaint, re-mounting his horse, was quickly out of sight.

"He never stopped to court the attention of the multitude, but having returned the civilities which every where crowded upon him, galloped on, leaving his aides, or whoever accompanied him, frequently out of sight. Innumerable acts of discriminative goodness are related of him during this route, and the day, wherever he was, was a day of peace and pleasure.

"The effects of this tour were very evident, by the uniform reformation in every part of the island. The municipal governments were brought into one general system, and a chain of communication established. The different brigades were rendered more effective by the better arrangement of the troops composing them, and armed posts were established throughout the island, well supplied with the ordnance which his enemies had left behind. In fact, every part was put in a situation to withstand the utmost force of an enemy, however powerful, and to dispute with them every inch of ground. Nor, during an attention to the internal safety of the country in a military view, were its maritime interests forgotten, every commercial encouragement was offered to the neighbouring islands and the continent; the safety of the whites was established, and their power of injuring the state curtailed.

"Toussaint returned to the Cape, accompanied by a numerous suite, in which was a selection of the principal talents of the island. He was received with redoubled pleasure

to what he had previously experienced on returning to the capital, from the length of his absence, and the reports of his conduct, which had preceded him from every quarter. Neither was this fame confined to the boundaries of St. Domingo; it ran through Europe, and in France his name was frequently pronounced in the senate with the eulogy of polished eloquence.

"It being necessary that the constitution, which in effect now existed, should be published, for the assurance of its permanent execution, and the proper understanding of the different inhabitants and relations of the island, it was proclaimed on the 1st of July 1801. At the head of the ceremony appeared the general in chief; and the code was promulgated in the name 'of the people.'"

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

State of Society in St. Domingo.

[From Rainsford's Account of the Empire of Hayti.]

"AT this period the narrator of their history became possessed of an opportunity of judging of the state and power of the people, who form the subject of his present disquisition; and his personal observations during his detention among them, will supply the information submitted in the present chapter.

"A violent hurricane having dismasted the little bark, in which he was proceeding from Jamaica to join his regiment at Martinique (having been before accommodated in the cabin of his friend, admiral Smith, as far as the Mole St. Nicholas), it was driven under the walls of Cape François, and in that state compelled to wait the relief of the brigands, an appellation which the superior policy that already appeared in this extraordinary republic, had not yet obliterated from its members. To avoid the suspicion in which, notwithstanding the recent treaty, the English yet continued to be viewed, and to prevent the probability of injury to his companions, the writer was induced to assume the character of an American, which was easy to be effected, as the vessel was ultimately bound to that continent. The crew were permitted to land after certain ceremonies, and the first object which excited their attention, was no less than the hero of this novel empire. Toussaint was conversing with two privates of his forces on the batteries, and when he saw the Europeans approaching, immediately walked towards them, and, addressing them in French, inquired the news, from whence they came, and their destination. One served as respondent for the whole, who spoke in such terms as his character demanded, and the general civilly took his leave.

"The number of Americans at this port could not fail to attract particular notice, and every attention seemed to be paid to the accommodation of their commerce, and a striking degree of interest in every occurrence that concerned them. Even the women seemed to renew a fondness long repressed for the whites, in favour of the meanest of the American sailors. The present writer, however, requiring some rest after his recent voyage, hastened, on his receiving directions to the purpose, to the hotel de la republique, the principal house, usually resorted to by Amé-

ricans, an edifice of rather elegant appearance; and on his way, except the preponderancy of the black complexion, perceived but little difference from an European city. On entering the house, however, he immediately perceived that the usual subordinations of society were entirely disregarded, and that he was to witness, for the first time, a real system of equality.

"Here were officers and privates, the colonel and the drummer, at the same table indiscriminately; and the writer had been scarcely seated at a repast in the first room to which he was conducted, when a fat negro, to initiate him in the general system, helped himself frequently from his dish, and took occasion to season his character by large draughts of the wine, accompanied with the address of 'Mon Americain.' The appearance of the house, and its accommodations, were not much inferior to a London coffee-house, and on particular occasions exhibited a superior degree of elegance. Toussaint not unfrequently dined here himself, but he did not sit at the head of the table, from the idea, (as was asserted,) that the hours of refection and relaxation should not be damped by the affected forms of the old regimen, and that no man should assume a real superiority in any other place than the field. He was in the evenings at the billiard-table, where the writer conversed and played with him several times; and he could not help, on some occasions, when a want of etiquette disturbed him for a moment, congratulating himself, that if he experienced not the refinement of European intercourse, he saw no room for insincerity: and that if delicate converse did not always present itself, he was free from the affectation of sentiment.

"In traversing the once superb city of the Cape, though presenting a tolerable appearance from the shore, desolation every where presented itself. On the site where elegant luxury had exhausted its powers to delight the voluptuary, all was magnificent ruin! and to mark the contrast stronger, of the wrecks were composed temporary houses for the American merchants, and petty shops inhabited by the natives. Several spacious streets towards the centre, displayed the walls of superb edifices of five and six stories, with gilded balconies, of which the beautiful structure exhibited the devastation that had occurred, with additional horror. Nor was this all, for in different parts of these ruins the sad remains of the former possessors were visibly mingled with the crumbling walls:

'There—heedless of the dead,
The shelter-seeking peasant rears his shed,
And wonders man could want the larger pile.'

"Having been informed of a review which was to take place on the plain of the Cape, the writer availed himself of the opportunity, accompanied by some Americans, and a few of his own countrymen who resided there under that denomination. Of the grandeur of the scene he had not the smallest conception. Two thousand officers were in the field, carrying arms, from the general to the ensign, yet with the utmost attention to rank; without the smallest symptom of the insubordination that existed in the leisure of the hotel. Each general officer had a demi-brigade, which went through the manual

exercise with a degree of expertness seldom witnessed, and performed equally well several manœuvres applicable to their method of fighting. At a whistle a whole brigade ran three or four hundred yards, then separating, threw themselves flat on the ground, changing to their backs or sides, keeping up a strong fire the whole of the time, till they were recalled; they then formed again, in an instant, into their wonted regularity. This single manœuvre was executed with such facility and precision, as totally to prevent cavalry from charging them in bushy and hilly countries. Such complete subordination, such promptitude and dexterity, prevailed the whole time, as would have astonished any European soldier who had the smallest idea of their previous situation.

"The pleasing sensations inspired by the ability manifested in this review, were checked by the additional monuments of human ferocity which presented themselves on his return to the city; the conflagration of which, and of the surrounding plantations, was still in the memory of several Americans, who described the effect, as awfully grand beyond conception.

"In one of the squares in the north-west quarter was placed an edifice that made some amends for the desolation appearing in its vicinity, from the elegance of its execution. It was an ascent to a canopy, or dome, of which the architecture was not perfectly regular, beneath which were two seats, and above them an inscription, that eminently exhibited the tolerance of Toussaint. There were two centinels to guard it, who, being asked if any one might ascend the steps, answered in the affirmative, but with a strict prohibition against touching the cap of liberty, which crowned it. It was a tribute of respect to the memory of Santhonax and Polverel, the French commissioners, and had been erected by some of their advocates at a time when their largesses obtained for them, what they would not otherwise have enjoyed, a transitory popularity. An extract from a speech of one of them formed part of the inscription, in French, and which countenanced the opinion, that the abolition of slavery was a primary object of their mission. It was to the following effect:

'My Friends,
We came to make you free.
Frenchmen give Liberty to the World.
You are free.
Guard your Freedom.
Vive la Liberté. Vive la Republique.
Vive Robespierre.'

"The remainder of the inscription cxnsisted of a selection from the proclamation for abolishing slavery. The prevailing opinion of these men, notwithstanding they had been execrated for their conduct, was favourable to their talents, and to their spirit.

"Though impressed with the necessity of caution, it would have required much more *sang-froid* than was possessed by the observer, to resist the numerous impulses of mingling with a people whose conduct presented the most generous hospitality, and objects of the most interesting contemplation. He obtained access to the houses of most whose intercourse could furnish either information or pleasure; nor did he reject the negro hut at other times, though certainly of less attraction.

"As in all states of human society, particularly in the vortex of a revolution, which effected so complete a change, the able and the

cunning had elevated themselves above those who were of the same rank of life. Negroes, recollected in the lowest state of slavery, including Africans, filled situations of trust and responsibility; they were, likewise, in many instances, occupied by those who had been in superior circumstances under the old regimen, free negroes, and mulattoes.

"The superior order had attained a sumptuousness of life, with all the enjoyments which dignity could obtain, or rank confer.—The interior of their houses was, in many instances, furnished with a *luxe* beyond that of the most voluptuous European, while no want of transatlantic elegance appeared; nor, amidst a general fondness for show, was the chasteness of true taste always neglected. Their etiquette extended to a degree of refinement scarcely to be conceived; and the service of their domestics, among whom were, from what cause was not ascertained, some mulattoes, was performed with more celerity than in many instances in Europe. A conscious ease, and certain *gaieté du cœur*, presided over every repast. Conversation had free scope, except as related to their own former circumstances; but when the defence of their country was the subject, every eye filled with fire, and every tongue shouted—Victory! The names of some, who had seceded from the black army, were the only objects that seemed to excite detestation. In many instances the writer has heard reasoning, and witnessed manners of acuteness and elegance, the relation of which would appear incredible, from those who were remembered in a state of servitude, or whose parents were in situations of abject penury; while sallies of wit, not frequently surpassed, have enlivened many an hour. It would ill become him, notwithstanding the tide of prejudice which has always pervaded his assertions, to suppose his readers capable of gratification from the chit-chat of a St. Domingo table; and it would be equally unjust to employ the opportunities afforded him by unguarded kindness, in the accumulation of fleeting anecdotes, arising from domestic privacy; he therefore contents himself with stating, that the enjoyments of life were to be found in a high degree in the capital of St. Domingo, and that their alloy did not exceed, nor perhaps always equal, that of antient European cities.

"The men were, in general, sensible and polite, often dignified and impressive; the women frequently elegant and engaging. The intercourse of the sexes was on the most rational footing, and the different degrees of colour which remained, had lost most of that natural hostility which formerly existed. Several Americans had intermarried with ladies of colour very advantageously, and to appearance happily. They were, generally, very agreeable women, and felt no inequality in their difference of complexion or nation. Like Sappho, they could plead (in many instances, in point of wit, sprightliness, and pathos, little inferior to the Lesbian muse, though without her powers of song),

'Brown though I am, an Ethiopian dame
Inspir'd young Perseus with a generous flame;
Turtles and doves of different hues unite
And glossy black is pair'd with shining white.'

"The drama, that source of rational delight, always so prevalent in St. Domingo, existed, in more

strength and propriety than it had done before; and that licentiousness which appears inseparable to it in a higher state, was actually restrained. The representations were chiefly comedies *en vaudeville*, and a sort of pantomime;—sometimes serious representations, allusive to local circumstances, and sometimes merely humourous burlesques. The conduct of the whole was highly creditable to the talents of the performers, some of whom yet remained from the French school, who, although driven to seek a livelihood under such doubtful auspices, might have shone with equal lustre to their more fortunate contemporaries on an European stage. The black performers, who preponderated in number, were not behind in talents; the writer saw a play of Moliere's performed with an accuracy that would not have disgraced the first theatre in Europe.—Even painting, from some recent specimens, appeared to be encouraged, and cultivated as an accomplishment, in a slight degree. A young lady of colour, of the name of La Roche, presented a large company, of which the writer was one, in the course of a few minutes, with their likenesses very accurately cut in profile.—Music, also, though it must be confessed, not such as to vie with the harmony of the spheres, was every where prevalent to an excess, and the practice of most kinds in use, though stringed instruments were preferred.—Yet, with an ardent sensibility that appeared in many instances, and which could not fail to be cultivated under present circumstances, the rich blacks suffered the greater part of the capital to lie in ruins; they appeared to shrink from re-instating it, as if, in rebuilding their former residences, they should create new masters.

"The situation of those who still remained in humble privacy, and who formed the great bulk of the people, was, indeed, very greatly changed. Their condition, agreeably to their capacities of enjoyment, approached nearer happiness than many others which are considered its ultimatum. Crimes were by no means frequent, and those rather attributable to accident than vice. They were perfectly at liberty as regarded themselves, and were more ready to perform their social duties, than the state was urgent in requiring them. Those qualities conspicuous in the negroes under their worst circumstances, their regard for all the relations of life, and tendernesses to each other, seemed expanded with their freedom, and many of the little prejudices that had existed wore away. Those amusements, which were formerly suppressed, had now free scope, but they restrained themselves from public annoyance with more regularity than could have been effected by the strictest police.

"The *menage* of the labourer in the town and its vicinity, was improved in a proportion equal to his condition. A rough, yet neat couch, supplied the place of the wretched bedding of a former period, and the visitor was not unprovided for, though it is lamentable to state, that in several instances the furniture of the cottage was beholden to the public commotions, and, in one instance, painfully risible, a beautiful fire screen, the dextrous workmanship of some fair sufferer, concealed a dog then roasting from some of their fellows, who considered it opprobrious to be *mangeurs des chiens*.

"In one instance, the writer was introduced by a brigand of peculiar intelligence (with whom he had frequent conferences on the military tactics of the black army), to the cottage of a black labourer, of whom an account may not be uninteresting. He had a family of thirteen children; eight of them by one woman, and the remainder by two others; the former only lived with him in the same cottage, with his mother, who was aged and infirm; the other two, separately, at a small distance. This man was an epitome of legislature, and his family a well-regulated kingdom in miniature. His cottage consisted of three irregular apartments, the first of which was his refectory, where, as often as possible, and always on *jours de fêtes*, his subjects assembled, including on those occasions his three wives. The furniture of this apartment was entirely of his own making, even to the smallest utensil, and with an ingenuity beyond what might be expected from perfect leisure; notwithstanding the artificer, during the process, had been obliged to attend his labour in the fields, and was a considerable time in arms. On a neat shelf, appropriated peculiarly to their use, lay a mass book, and a mutilated volume of Volney's Travels, some parts of which he understood more than his visitor. Every thing convenience required was to be found on a small scale, and the whole so compact, and clean, with such an air of *propreté* throughout as was absolutely attractive. His own bedroom was furnished with an improved bedstead, supported by trussels, with a mattress and bedding of equal quality with the other furniture, but that of his children and mother surpassed the whole. One bedstead contained them, yet separated the male from the female, the young from the aged, and was separated or combined in an instant.—The third was his kitchen and store-house, and might also be called his laboratory, for conveniences were found for chemical experiments, though not of the most scientific kind; but every utensil for culinary purposes were provided in the best manner. The wife of this labourer (for he had submitted to the ceremony of marriage with the female who had borne him the most children, as is the general custom with them) was nearly as ingenious as himself, and equally intelligent. The mode he pursued in the regulation of his domestic economy was excellent; as continence is not a virtue of the blacks, the increase of his family was not confined to his own house; yet, even in his amours he was just; and as the two mothers beforementioned were less protected than his ostensible wife, the primary object of his consideration was to have the whole of his children under his own care. This was reconciled to all parties from the first, in so mild a way, that no distinction was perceivable but in age, while the mothers held a relationship to their domiciliated offspring similar to that of an aunt or cousin, each exerting herself for the purpose of adding to the comforts of her own child.—On festive occasions, the two mothers sat alternately on the right or left of the mistress of the house, with as much etiquette as might be perceived in a more elevated station, and with the utmost harmony. The master of the family was absolute, but with him it was in theory, not in practice, for all seemed to vie in forbearance. As soon as the children

dren could contribute their little powers to labour, they were employed; the younger (except as regarded their strength) being subject to the inferior offices; and, singular as it may appear, on the festive occasions alluded to, they waited upon their seniors, though but by a few years, and seemed delighted in the office. Agreeable to this rule, in accordance with that reverence for age so remarkable among blacks of every condition, the grandmother received the affection and attention of all; and though often crabbed, infirm, and discontented, no one seemed to consider her failings as such, but as a duty prescribed them to bear.

"In fact, the writer considered this numerous family, as he beheld them at their frugal meal, a model for domestic life, with a proof that those jarring interests, which, in the smallest connection, as well as in the largest states, create more embarrassment than the most adverse circumstances, or the greatest crimes, may be avoided by a generous conduct, and reciprocal kindness. He need scarcely add, happy was his humble friend, or that each individual of his family, in their separate capacities, laid up a store of happiness for themselves, and those around them.

"From what could be perceived (quitting the confines of the town), the productive system of the earth seemed to be founded on original principles.—Every individual employed a portion of his time in labour, and received an allotted part of the produce for his reward, while all took the field, from a sense of duty to themselves. A perfect combination appeared in their conduct, and every action came directly from the heart. More than sixty thousand men were frequently exercised together on the plain of the Cape, in excellent discipline, whose united determination against an invading enemy would be victory or death. Little coercion was necessary, and punishment was chiefly inflicted by a sense of shame produced by slight confinement, or the like. Labour was so much abridged, that no want of leisure was felt; it would be a great gratification to the feeling heart, to see the peasant in other countries with a regulated toil similar to that of the labourer in St. Domingo.

"Such is a general sketch of the state of society, as it appeared in the capital of St. Domingo, which spread internally as far as its effects could be expected to reach.—There was no possibility of acquiring correct accounts of the plans of government, which had been submitted to Toussaint, much less of the forms he was disposed to adopt. A regular municipal establishment existed, and martial government, dispensed every where in all its vigour, rendered civil jurisdiction of little avail.

"The writer observed, with pleasure, the delay in repairing the vessel, which afforded him an opportunity of examining objects which might never return. For several weeks he continued to amuse himself with observations on the manners of the people, which he had no idea at that time of preserving beyond the information and amusement of his own friends, and by sketching draughts of the principal posts that were accessible. He enjoyed the habits of a metropolis, and, except the anxiety which would obtrude on account of the delay from his duty, participated in the general happiness.

"When the time arrived for the departure

departure of the vessel, at an unexpected moment; such is the human heart, he lingered on a spot which he would have before avoided at the hazard of his life. The ship had been repaired—all was ready—and bidding farewel to new connections which had just begun to engage him, he returned on board with the agreeable hopes of a speedy arrival at St. Thomas's: but—

'Heaven from all creatures hides the book of fate.'

After beating about upon the coast for three days, in the most perilous circumstances, the unfortunate vessel sprung a leak, when they were compelled to put into Fort Dauphin, or, according to the revolutionary nomenclature, Fort Egalité.

"In this situation the master of the vessel and the writer apprehended no danger or impropriety in going on shore. Hoisting therefore Danish colours, they came to anchor under a small fort, when in less than half an hour the latter was arrested after landing by four blacks, and a mulatto officer of great ferocity. They returned with him on board, and placed him under the care of two black centinels. These informed him, in answer to his anxious enquiries, that he was suspected of being a spy, that he would be tried on the morrow, and, of course, be condemned. Such was the complacent idea attached to the trial of a stranger, who was afterwards to defend the character of their chief.

"Apprehensions of different kinds now crowded his imagination: he did not know whether suspicions might not have occurred at Cape François; and the commandant of the district have been prepared for his arrival. He was aware, that, in a few instances, he had ventured farther than he should have done. He had also been allowed access to many of the principal people, and he knew not what might have taken place after his departure. He was, however, left unmolested, and, except his freedom, without any other deprivation; a circumstance of the most fortunate kind, as it afforded him an opportunity of destroying his baggage and papers, including a variety of documents, which must have been dangerous in the highest degree. These he disposed of, by putting them out of the cabin-window in the middle of the night, with a weight attached sufficient to sink them. Having succeeded in this affair, and the proceedings of the ensuing day continuing to occupy his attention, his situation became most unpleasant. The silence of the night, interrupted by the murmurs of the ocean, the clamours of the guard, and the distant sounds from the shore, produced the strongest melancholy; while confused surmises of the determination of the morrow, and a contemplation of the shame, rather than the terror, of an ignominious death, revolving in his mind, deprived him of the possibility of rest, and totally unfitted him for the slightest preparation.

"Early in the morning he was taken on shore, and examined by a black general, named Muro, the commanding officer of the district. He could not help thinking that his appearance augured well, for he bore the principal mythological characteristic of justice. He was totally blind of one eye, and appeared to see but little through the other. He, however, relieved the prisoner from the apprehension of any charge existing previous to the moment; for he began his examination

nation by insisting, that he was not an American, but an English spy, reconnoitring the coast; and closed it by acquainting him, that a court-martial, already summoned, would assemble on the morrow, and his trial would be prompt and decisive. He was then conducted to a dark prison (which wanted none of the usual concomitants of such a place), and treated with the utmost indignity. There was no bed; nor had he any other provision than some coarse, dry fish, which he could not eat—a treatment he was afterwards informed was used to prisoners during the space between apprehension and trial, to prevent any opportunity for the contrivance of evasion. At the hour of ten he was brought before a regular military court, composed of twelve black general officers, the etiquette of which astonished him. General Christophé, a relative of Toussaint, being in a neighbouring district, presided, and Muro sat on his right-hand. They interrogated him with the utmost discrimination and acuteness, appearing perfectly conversant with the nature of the business. But, for the commandant already named, not a look nor an attitude escaped him—and he darted his eye, in which both seemed to have centred an uncommon degree of fire, over every part of the prisoner, the form of whose very head-dress, he insisted, was not *en Americain!*

"He was put on his defence in equal form; but all he could urge had not the smallest effect, as he had no passports nor any American papers to exhibit. Notwithstanding every appearance to the contrary, they had had some decisive testimony of imprudent liberty on the island; and, after several hours deliberation, he was condemned to suffer death, as quick as possible. The master of the vessel behaved with dignity of character, and the utmost solicitude. He protested against the judgment, but without effect; and the prisoner was remanded till the sentence should be transmsitted to the general-en-chef, for his approval.

"He was then remanded to a different kind of prison, which, though little superior in point of accommodation, had the advantage of air, and the communication of the human species, though only by stealth. It was the remains of a dilapidated building, the part of which appropriated to the prisoner was secured with strong iron-bars, in a fashion then very prevalent: he had also the incumbrance of a chain from the right arm to the left foot. For fourteen days he lay in the agony of suspense between life and death, with every evening the cruel intimation, that he would certainly be hanged on the next morning.

"Even in this situation he could not resist the opportunity which his prison, or rather cage, afforded him, of observing the surrounding scene, which was more delightful than even fancy could picture. It was situated in the midst of a rich valley, through which a stream from the neighbouring hill meandered in romantic form. A church was nearly hid in the vale, and the rising ground was fortified in every direction. Over the whole the most exquisite foliage exhibited its charming fruits, with all the richness of a tropic region. Beneath the spreading cocoa, and the taller yam, he was nightly amused with the cheerful dance, the negroes assembling when they quitted labour, without any seeming appointment, but as a na-

a natural habit; sometimes they had, on *jours de fêtes*, or holidays, a particular entertainment of activity, the principal part of which was the Calenda, or 'dance of love.' On these occasions they were dressed with peculiar care: those who had been recently employed in arms retaining some part of their uniform, and the females bedecked with various jewels: they had also a refection. The animation displayed by both sexes in the dance was astonishing, which consisting entirely of amatory history, was equal to many ballets which are performed on the French or Italian stage, while the dancers might have been called, without any dereliction from the Cytherean goddess, though not exactly comporting with her in complexion,

——'fair Venus train.'

"The hauteur with which they passed the prison of 'the white man taken' was astonishing; yet some seemed willing to pity and relieve, but it arose rather from ostentation than mercy. One circumstance, however, occurred that remains deeply impressed in his bosom, and relieves his mind while recording it, which would have done honour to the most dignified of a different complexion.

"After lying two nights on a couch, formed of dried sugar-canes, with a very slender supply of food, the prisoner had resigned himself to the vacuity of despair; he was stretched out in silent agony, when, as the night closed in, and the mirthful troops had progressively retired, a gentle female voice, with the tenderest accents, aroused his attention. How long the benign object had been there, he could not ascertain; but, when he looked up, and beheld her, his feelings were indescribable: she was a fine figure, rather tall, and slender, with a face most beautiful, and a form of the finest symmetry, improved by the melancholy air which the scene had given her. She was dressed in a superior style, and possessed all the elegance of European manners, improved by the most expressive carriage. She held a basket, containing the most delicate food, with the finest fruits: she entreated him to receive them silently, and to destroy any remnants, as a discovery would be fatal to her, and prejudicial to himself. He was about to reply with the ardour of gratitude, when, in an instant, she was gone! On the following evening, she returned, and endeavoured to comfort him with the most obliging expressions; and, by evincing extreme anxiety on his behalf, once more light up the illusion of hope in his breast, which he had abandoned, with all human prospects, for ever. The next evening she repeated her visit, and condescended to favour him with more extensive communication. Still not a word occurred to disclose her name, or situation: once, indeed, she made some distant allusions to the English, which led him to imagine, she had been impressed with gratitude towards the country by some obligation. Whatever her name, or whatever her circumstances, if this slight memorial should live to reach that delightful isle, in which, as an angelic representation of mercy, she may yet stay the hand of the destroyer, it will bear to her the sincere effusions of a grateful heart, which, though bruised by those of a fairer skin, can never discharge its sense of duty.

"The faithful commander of the

the vessel, from whose mishap this dreadful circumstance arose, never long quitted the spot, and frequently ventured to whisper consolation, though with the greatest danger to himself; for it appeared a political method to expose the victims of justice, none being knowingly permitted to approach them. Whatever he heard, however, to relieve the dreadful suspense of his friend, the taciturnity of the jailor tended to contradict, as little could be obtained of information from him, except his assuring him every night, that he would be certainly hanged on the morrow.

"However, on the morn of the fifteenth day, when he had ventured to disengage himself of a part of his dress, for the purpose of a temporary relief from the weight of his chains, the answer of Toussaint arrived, bringing, instead of (as was fully expected) the confirmation of the sentence, an order from that truly great man for his release, and to be suffered to proceed on his voyage, with this prohibition, conveyed with much shrewdness, but the greatest magnanimity, 'That he must never return to this 'island without proper passports!'

"To describe his feelings on such an unexpected reverse, would be difficult and useless. Restored to himself once more, he did not long remain on a part of the island where his sufferings would have tended to efface the agreeable impressions received at Cape François. Once he tried to trace the haunts of his benevolent incognita, but in vain. She was impervious. He again bade adieu to this interesting soil, and at length reached his long-desired destination, the island of Martinique."

DESCRIPTION of the PROVINCE of ST. SALVADORE.

[From Mr. LINDLEY'S NARRATIVE of a VOYAGE to BRASIL.]

"AFTER the discovery of Brasil, Emanuel lost no time in sending Americus Vespucius to examine the coast, and Gonçalo Coelho to investigate the products, face of the country, &c. Notwithstanding the favourable reports of these commanders, his majesty was so deeply engaged in his Asiatic expeditions, that he could not spare men to attempt either the peopling of so extensive a colony as Brasil, or the subjugation of its natives, who had already exhibited appearances of a determined hostility. John the Third succeeding his father, at a period when the general tranquillity enabled him to devote his whole attention to America, he sent out several able geographers of the day; and, governed by their reports, divided the land into provinces, which he presented to the most enterprising noblemen in the kingdom, a province to each, on condition of their taking upon themselves the entire charge and care of subduing and colonising the same.

"Christovao Jacques was the officer who returned from exploring the province of Bahia, and reported the extreme capaciousness of the bay (which he had dedicated to *all* the *saints*), and the exuberant beauty of the adjoining territory. But it was not till some years had elapsed, that John presented this province

vince to Francisco Perreira Coutinho, a nobleman recently returned from India; who instantly fitted out a small squadron, and, accompanied with a considerable number of adventurers, soldiers, and others, commenced the enterprise. The nation in possession of this part of Brasil were the Tupinambas, one of the most social tribe of Indians; and who, to the surprise of Coutinho, were considerably advanced in civilization. This was owing to the accidental assistance of an individual, Alvares Correa, who, wrecked on his passage to India, had saved his life, with some of his people, and most of their effects. The wonders which fire-arms, and other European inventions, enabled Alvares to exhibit to the simple Indians, procured him the adoration of the nation, which he was careful not to abuse; and they supplied him and his companions with the natural produce of the land, the spoils of the chase, and with females, selecting the daughter of the chief for Alvares.

"After a short continuance, a French ship on a voyage of discovery and trade touched at the bay; Alvares took advantage of the circumstance, and embarked with his Indian spouse, carrying with him to Europe the best samples of the wealth and curiosities of the country. Henry the Second, and the celebrated Catherine de Medicis, then ruled over France; and the wanderers were received by them with the greatest public attention and secret pleasure. The poor Indian was immediately baptized, in a most sumptuous ceremony; their majesties standing sponsors, and the queen giving her own name to the new Transatlantic christian.

"Considerable pains were taken to instruct Catherine Alvares in her adopted religion, and the manners of the age; while her husband, prevented from going, as was his first intention, to Lisbon, was cajoled to conduct a French trading expedition to the coast of the Tupinambas. He accordingly returned thither with his wife; and Catherine, full of her acquirements, was indefatigable in her exertions to convert and civilise her countrymen. Already a church was erected, several sugar plantations were laid out, and a general cultivation was beginning, when Coutinho arrived: but this nobleman, armed with regal authority, despised the mild steps hitherto taken by Alvares, condemned every thing that was transacting, and shortly commenced a cruel persecution against the poor nation, hitherto unused to severity. In consequence, they called in the assistance of their neighbours the Tamoyos; destroyed the ingenios, and other works erecting by Coutinho; slaughtered great numbers of his people, overpowered all his efforts, and compelled him to retire with the remainder of his followers, and his two ships, to Ilheos, which had also just begun to be colonized. There Coutinho procured a strong reinforcement, and sailed again for the bay; but, entering it in bad weather, the vessel was wrecked on the island of Itaporica, and nearly every soul belonging to it massacred by the inhabitants.

"In the mean time, king John, having been apprised of the efforts made by Alvares, and of the superior situation which the bay afforded for a capital to his new colonies, no sooner learned the death of Coutinho, than he resumed the gift of the province, and ordered an expedition to be fitted out, sufficient

ficient to colonize it completely, and erect a city, under the auspices of Thome de Souza, the most experienced general of the Portuguese.

"Among the variety of persons who accompanied de Souza, was a body of Jesuits, under the direction of a superior, Padre Manoel, one of the most enlightened of that sagacious society; and, by the wise proceedings of these fathers, the exasperated Indians were soon soothed, the greater part baptized, and the colonists left to the free scope of their exertions, and the building of Saint Salvador, which was the name given by de Souza to the intended city.

"The bay or gulph of All Saints is entered from the south, and is formed by a large peninsula of the main and the island Itaporica, extending north-westward among distant islands, and a branching inland sea, a complete degree in extent, and which receives the tribute of six large rivers, Paraguassu, Serzipe, Jaguaripe, Matuim, Paranamerim, and Paraja, all mostly navigable.

"The bay properly so called is three leagues broad at its mouth, twelve in diameter, and thirty-six in circumference, without including the islands or more remote parts of it.

"From the bar off Fort St. Antonio, the extremity of the large peninsula, to the point of Montserrat (a small peninsula within the other), and the beach of Tapagippe, is the part immediately used for anchorage; where vessels are sheltered from every wind in clear ground, and have a space in which the united shipping of the earth might rendezvous without confusion.

"Viewing this still and capacious lake, as it may be termed, surrounded with a country exuberantly rich in its produce, whether for the use or superfluities of man, and situated nearly in the centre of the habitable globe, it seems as if formed by nature for the emporium of the universe.

"Bahia is on the right side of the bay, where the land at a small distance from the shore rises steeply to a high ridgy hill, on the summit of which the city is erected, with the exception of a single street that ranges parallel to the beach: from the inequality of the ground and the plantations interspersed, it occupies a considerable space. The buildings are chiefly of the seventeenth century, ill constructed, and from the slightness of the materials rapidly decaying, which diminishes the effect of many of them that once were sumptuous. As in all catholic cities, the churches are the most distinguished edifices, and those on which the greatest attention and expence were originally lavished. The cathedral is large, but falling into ruin; while the college and archiepiscopal palace (or rather house) adjoining are kept in thorough repair: they were all, at the period of their erection, spacious buildings, and have a proud station on the summit of the hill, commanding the bay and surrounding country. The grand church of the ex-jesuits is by far the most elegant structure of the city. It is composed entirely of European marble, imported for the purpose at an immense cost, while the internal ornaments are superfluously rich: the rails of the altar are of cast brass, the whole of the wood-work is inlaid with tortoiseshell, and the grand chancel, and several other communion recesses (diverging from the side aisles)

aisles) with their respective altars, are loaded with gildings, paintings, images, and a profusion of other decorations.

" The college and monastery adjoining it, which were the most extensive and best endowed of any in Brasil, having for the last forty years been entirely unoccupied, government have lately converted them into a commodious hospital. The valuable library is nearly lost to mankind; the books and manuscripts being huddled together in a neglected room, and in a state almost of ruin. Notwithstanding this apparent indifference to science, these modern Goths are tenacious of strangers approaching the spot. The most valuable of the manuscripts are the unpublished discoveries in the interior of America by the fathers, who penetrated much further than any other individuals. The church and monastery of the Franciscans are extensive buildings: the latter is two stories high; the apartments of the monks open into spacious corridors, that front a large square court with a fountain in the centre, whose walls are decorated with European blue tiles in historical compartments, in which passages of heathen mythology and christian history are curiously blended.

" Immediately adjoining is a separate foundation for the brothers of the Franciscans, or those who, having mixed with the world, may choose in the latter period of their lives a religious retirement. This building is curiously fronted in stucco, and remarkable for its neat cemetery, consisting of two rows of small arched vaults, three tiers deep, each vault intended to contain a coffin, which being deposited in it, the end of the vault is closed. The vaults are numbered and white-washed, and their arches relieved with neat colouring: a broad aisle paved with black and white marble leads between them, and at the end is a drapery figure of Religion. The whole is kept remarkably clean, and well ventilated by windows near the roof, which open to the garden; while the spreading bannana excludes the sun's rays, and casts a solemn light on this sadly pleasing abode of death.

" The Carmelite church is more modern and more elegantly ornamented than that of the Franciscans; and the monastery adjoining is immensely rich. The same buildings belonging to the Benedictines are inferior to those of the other orders that have been mentioned, though their revenues are equally productive.

" Among the parochial churches those of the Concession, Pillar, and St. Peter, are the most distinguished within the city, and those of St. Antonio and Victoria near the bar, which stand in such striking situations, as to form excellent sea-marks. There are besides these several other churches, and a variety of chapels, monasteries, and convents; all presenting the same tedious load of ornaments, bad taste, and excess of superstition.

" The principal squares or places are, the one immediately adjoining the palace, and that of the Jesuits.

" The streets are confined and narrow, wretchedly payed, never cleaned, and therefore disgustingly dirty. The backs of several of them are the receptacles of filth, which, exposed to so extreme a heat, would affect severely the health of the inhabitants, but for the salubrious air that prevails, in consequence of the elevated situation of the place.

" In

"In the royal square is the house (or palace) of the governor, which is an old insignificant building; and opposite are the mint and public offices. The third side contains the court-house of the relacao, and the remaining one, the hall of the senate, and the prison. The latter is an extensive structure, of which the lower divisions are exceedingly strong and secure, the windows having two sets of bars about eighteen inches from each other, of heavy circular iron. These dungeons are entered from a grated room above, by trap-doors. In the centre of the first story is a well-secured hall, out of which open a number of dark cells (*secretos*), about six feet square, that have strong close doors but no windows, and are provided each with a heavy chain, fastened to a ring in the wall. These cells are for inquisition and state criminals.

"The prison seldom contains less than two hundred persons, the greater part confined for offences disgraceful to society; and the rest run-away slaves, and state victims, too frequently placed there on the most trifling pretences.

"A small hospital adjoins the prison; but, from the heat of the climate, the close situation of the building, the want of a free circulation of air, and the total neglect of cleanliness, there are upwards of a hundred burials in a year. The prison is supplied with water by the slave prisoners, who have iron collars round their necks, through which a chain passes and fastens them together. The water is conveyed in small barrels from a distance, and is the only article which the prison allows. The support of the prisoners depends on themselves, or a religious society, the *misericordia*, who solicit, in all parts of the city, charitable donations, and distribute daily farinha, soup, and other provisions, to the most wretched of the immured.

"The custom-house and wharfs are on the beach, as also is the dock-yard; near which are the marine store-houses and offices, with the house of the intendant, or port commander.

"Some, but not many, of the superior class of inhabitants have erected for themselves large and elegant mansions (particularly in the vicinity of the town), and have appropriately fitted them up. The habitations of other individuals who are opulent, are roomy and convenient, but shabbily furnished. Viewing them from the street, they have a dull and dirty appearance; and what they thus promise from without, is completely realised within. In reality, I never saw a country where the inhabitants are so completely neglectful of cleanliness as in Brasil. The houses belonging to tradesmen and shopkeepers are still more disgusting: instead of glazed windows they have wooden drop lattices, which want even the addition of painting to enliven or preserve them. The lowest order of soldiers, mulattoes, and negroes, have tiled cabins, open to the roof, with a single lattice window. These several and different buildings (with the exception of a street or two) are all intermingled throughout the city, and exhibit a motley and disagreeable appearance.

"The city is protected by a number of forts and batteries; but, with the exception of one of eighteen guns, of St. Philip, and Do Mar, they are nearly nugatory from the want of ordnance. As the present defence rests entirely on the last fort I have mentioned, I shall describe it minutely, contenting myself

self with only a cursory notice of the others.

" The Fort do Mar was erected about the year 1600, on a small rocky bank of the inner bay, three-quarters of a mile from the shore. It was first built in a circular form; but when the Dutch entered the bay in 1624, they were so greatly annoyed by it, during their attempt to take possession of the place, that they thought it deserving of additional fortifications, and they completed it to the shape it bears at present, raising the original tower, and surrounding it with an extensive lower battery. The diameter of the whole is about two hundred and seventy feet, and that of the upper tower battery a hundred: the lower battery mounts twenty-nine guns, of which there are a few that are forty-two pounders, and none less than twenty-four; the upper contains only sixteen, consisting of twenty-fours and eighteens. The tower ascends from the level of the lower battery about twenty-five feet: it is not a solid mass, but has several apartments, which diverge like rays from the centre to the exterior, and are employed as magazines for powder, artillery stores, &c. and for barracks. The top of the tower is paved with flag stones, carefully cemented and sloped, to preserve the rain that falls on its surface, which, collecting in the centre, descends through a grate into an extensive reservoir below, and affords a sufficiency of water for the garrison for six months without any other supplies.

" The house and offices of the commandant, and some rooms for state or military prisoners, are ranged on the lower battery, near the sloping entrance of the fort, on the side fronting the sea. The garrison, when complete, consists of five hundred men, but few only attend duty, to avoid expence, as I have already mentioned. The shipping usually anchor between this fort and the city, where they are immediately under its protection, and that of St. Philip, on the opposite shore.

" On the extreme point of the peninsula, and nearly opposite the bar, is the small antique fort and lighthouse of St. Antonio, *Do Barro*; and as you proceed to the bar, a deep small bay indents the shore, rising to a sandy beach, and flanked on one side by the trifling fort of Santa Maria, and on the other by St. Diego, which is a circular battery.

" At the extremity of the city that leads to the sea, an eighteen-gun battery, chiefly twenty-fours, ranges at water-mark, and is in tolerable condition. Passing this, the dock-yard is defended by the high bulkwark battery of St. Philip, mounting about thirty guns of various bores. There are three other insignificant batteries on the inhabited part of the beach, and a small one on the point of Montserrat.

" The city is defended on the land side, at the south and north passes, which are parallel to the beach, by three forts: on the south by the extensive fortification and outworks of St. Pedro's, the completest of the whole, but at the present moment nearly dismantled. The northern pass is a valley entirely commanded by Barbalho (already described) on the one side, and St. Antonio *Do Carmo* on the opposite eminence, nearer the bay. This last is a quadrangular fort, that has a few guns peeping over its glacis.

" A friend of mine, well acquainted with the subject, assured me,

me, that on the last returns to government, ninety-four guns were all which the different forts and batteries mounted, that were truly serviceable.

"The troops of the city are infantry, and amount to about five thousand; consisting of a regiment of artillery, three of the line, three of militia, and one of mulatto and free negroes, commanded by a field-marshal, under the orders of the governor.

"The pay and appointments are miserable, but the troops are well armed; Brasil being supplied by the mother country with British tower-proof musquets.

"The dock-yard admits on the stocks only a ship of the line at a time. The business of building is constantly going on, but so slowly, that there is no fear of a sudden or considerable increase of their marine. A sixty-four (*Principe de Brasil*) was launched while I was in Bahia, and appeared to be a handsome, well-built, and remarkably strong vessel: it was four years in completing. At Tapagippe, near the city, are several private yards, in which well-modelled merchant ships of all dimensions are built, and with greater dispatch.

"The inhabitants of the city and its suburbs are estimated at upwards of a hundred thousand; of whom thirty thousand are whites, thirty thousand mulattoes, and the rest negroes.

"The government of Bahia, which is absolute, is vested in the governor-general, who has a temporary control over all the tribunals and departments. Six aides-de-camp belong to his staff, who attend the palace in turns, and continue day and night in waiting, to assist the governor in the common dispatch of his concerns, in which he has the further aid of the secretary's department. The marine is immediately under the care of an intendant, who is appointed at Lisbon.

"The senate consists of four members and a president, who transact the public concerns of the city, examine weights and measures, plan public improvements, &c.

"The grand court of justice is that of the relacao, which is composed of the governor as perpetual president; the chancellor, who is his deputy; the minister of crimes; and nine subordinate judges of different denominations: from the sentence pronounced by this court, no appeal can be made, except at Lisbon.

"There is also an inferior court of audience for deciding trifling causes, in which a judge of crime presides: but here an appeal lies to the governor, who may confirm or annul the sentence, or order the business to be decided by the relacao.

"The inquisition has never been so severe here as in the mother country,—from the necessity imposed on it, of sending all serious cases for the determination of the grand tribunal in Lisbon.

"These courts have no stated periods of meeting, which depend on the urgency of business, or the commands of the governor; except that some members of the relacao sit three times a week for common dispatch.

"The generality of crimes are punished with imprisonment; but the atrocious ones of murder and treason, with death, unless the parties are opulent; in which case they too often escape by means of the subtleties of the law, by appeal

or by pardon. The executions that take place seldom exceed ten in a year; but a great number of criminals are annually transported to Angola, and other Portuguese settlements in Africa. Punishment by torture is forbidden, and secretos are substituted in its stead.

"The laws respecting debtors are extremely lenient; a late ordinance prohibits imprisonment for debt, unless it be a swindling or fraudulent transaction, which is punished by confinement till restitution is made, or the injured party relents. If an individual finds himself unable to satisfy his creditors, he delivers over to them his effects, which are sold and divided, and he is free: but if he neglects to do this, or refuses to pay, the creditors seize by distraint every thing he has, except the clothes on his person, and have claims on whatever property he may afterwards acquire, till the debt is liquidated.

"Bahia was created a metropolitan see, by pope Innocent the eleventh. The archbishop has a college and court immediately appertaining to him; and by these he rules the whole body of canonical clergy, and even the monastic orders, which are in certain points subordinate. Many of the clergy in Brasil live very free lives, not excepting the cloistered ones, whose vows of poverty and abstinence are forgotten in the frailties of humanity. During a former voyage I witnessed this truth in a monastery of the brothers appointed to solicit alms for the holy church of Jerusalem. These appointments vest in the pope; but, owing to the late troubles in Italy, no nomination on this mission had for some time taken place, so that the society was dwindled to three or four individuals. These, who are immensely rich, inhabit the original monastery, which is charmingly situated on a hill near the bay. I one day, with some other visitors, partook of a dinner there. The right reverend superior was in truth a *jolly friar*, and his brothers in no respect derogated from his pious example. The dinner was excellent, and French wines of the finest quality were drank, with the addition of London ale and porter. The meal was continued to excess; when the company adjoined to a cool terrace, and formed into card parties, still indulging in copious draughts. I retired before the party broke up, and was afterwards informed by my introducer, that the indulgences of these Jerusalem friars were by no means restricted to the pleasures of the table.

"The revenues of government are partly derived from the high duties laid on every sort of merchandise, both at importation and exportation. The import duties amount to full thirty per cent.; and the export ones are heavy, particularly as to the article of tobacco, which is in reality a royal monopoly. But the principal source of the government income is the produce of the diamond and gold mines, and Brasil wood, which pass solely through its hands, and are astonishingly profitable: so carefully however is this subject secluded from enquiry, that it is impossible to calculate the extent of profit, or form a true estimate of the value of this rich colony to the crown.

"Bahia carries on a very considerable commerce, from its superior local advantages, rather than the industry of the inhabitants. The chief trade is directly with Lisbon and Oporto, in which about fifty large vessels are employed, that perform

perform their voyages with great dispatch. These vessels supply the colony with European and Indian manufactures, as well as wine, flour, bacalhao, butter, Dutch cheese, salt, and other commodities; and receive in return cotton, sugar, aqua ardent, coffee, tobacco, lignum-vitæ, mahogany, satin and tulip woods, a variety of gums, balsams, and medicinal roots; giving a considerable balance of profit in favour of Lisbon. The Bahians have permission to import their own slaves, and to bring in the same vessels different African articles, such as wax and gold dust, which they obtain in exchange for coarse printed cottons, aqua ardent, and tobacco. The price of a slave in Bahia is about thirty pounds sterling.

"The distant colonial or home trade of the Bahians is likewise considerable and extensive; and that to the southern, Rio Grande in particular, very lucrative, considering the indolent and desultory manner in which it is conducted. About forty vessels, of two hundred and fifty tons each, are engaged in it; which scarcely complete their voyages in two years, though the distance is only twenty degrees to the southward. They take with them from Bahia a trifling quantity of rum, sugar, earthen ware, and of European goods (chiefly British and German), which they dispose of for the greatest part, the salt excepted, in a contraband traffic with the Spaniards of Maldonado and Montevideo, for silver. During this traffic the crews are employed in loading with jerk beef and hides, prepared from the fine cattle that abound in the savannahs adjoining Paraguay. After slaughtering these animals, they cut the flesh into thin pieces, about two feet in length, which they salt, and dry in the sun and smoking-houses; and they cure the hides at the same time.

"The ships, as they arrive at Bahia, sell the beef on board by retail, at two vintins a pound. It is purchased principally by the lower class of inhabitants, and for the use of slaves and shipping. By disposing in this manner of a cargo, instead of landing it, a vessel is detained five months in port, and sometimes longer; so that in the period which one voyage takes, reckoning the idle time lost at Rio Grande, three might be made.

"The trade carried on in the immediate confines of the bay, of which a great part is inland, is astonishing. There are full eight hundred launches and sumacks of different sizes, daily bringing their tribute of commerce to the capital: tobacco, cotton, and various drugs, from Cachoiera; the greatest assortment of common earthenware from Iaguaripe; rum and whale-oil from Itaporica; timber from the province of the Ilheos; farinha and salt fish from Porto Seguro; cotton and maize from the rivers Real and San Francisco; and sugar, fire-wood, and vegetables, from all quarters. A degree of wealth, unknown in Europe, is thus put in circulation, and would be considerably increased, if even the supine nation who at present enjoy the country were left to their free exertions; but their trade is slavishly fettered by the severest regulations. Bahia, as well as Pernambucco, has a staple for cotton; and on the importation of this article, in the launches and sumacks, the whole is landed at a warehouse appointed for the purpose, where it is weighed, sorted, and pressed; its quality, first, second, or inferior, marked on the bales; and then it is ready

for exportation. In this general store it continues till disposed of by the owner, at the prices commonly fixed by the staplers. The aqua ardent is in the hands of an exclusive company, to whom every pipe that does not pass through its warehouses pays a duty increasing it to the price at which the company sells. Tobacco, Brasil-wood, bullion, and the precious minerals, as I have already mentioned, are disposed of by government alone. Foreigners are expressly forbidden every species of trade, and are not even allowed to ship colonial produce in Portuguese bottoms. In short, the prohibitions and monopolies are so many, that commerce is contracted in its operations, industry debilitated, and smuggling encouraged: for men in all countries are too ready to engage in what is forbidden, losing sight of the risk, in the delusive prospect of superior profits.

"I took uncommon pains to procure from the custom-house the returns of exportation and importation, but was unsuccessful in my attempts. Indeed, I have reason to think they are not thoroughly acquainted with the amount themselves; and, had I obtained what I sought, little dependance could probably have been placed on the account, from the false invoices and other evasions that are continually practised.

"The mode of conducting their commerce is by barter, notwithstanding the abundance of specie in circulation; and they credit each other to a great extent. In their dealings (not excepting many of the merchants), a mean and knavish cunning prevails, particularly when trading with strangers; of whom they will ask for a commodity double the price they will take, while they endeavour to undervalue what they are to have in exchange by every artifice in their power. In a word, with a few exceptions, they are wholly devoid of the feelings of honour, and without that common sense of rectitude, which ought to preside in every transaction between man and man.

"The city abounds with artificers, among whom are lapidaries, jewellers, gold and silversmiths; excellent in their several occupations, but deficient in fashion and taste. There are also some good tailors, shoe-makers and tanners. The latter manufacture leather, and in sufficient quantities to export the article, for the coast in general. A brass cannon-foundry was begun, but no appearance of it is left. Manufactories are expressly forbidden, except leather, and trifles. A cotton-spinner who lately attempted one near Bahia was sent to Europe, and his machinery destroyed.

"The province of Bahia comprises fifty leagues of coast, chiefly in the environs of the bay, and a small slip to the northward adjoining. Though one of the smallest divisions of Brasil, it is the most fertile, populous, and luxuriant, yielding invaluable riches.

"The chief town is Cachoeira, fourteen leagues from Bahia, most delightfully situated on the banks of a small river, and the mart for the northern gold-mines and the produce of the surrounding cultivated interior. A seminary, called Belem, was established near this town by the Jesuits, for the instruction of youth, both colonists and Indians, on the most liberal principles; but it has declined with the extinction of the order.

"Jagoaripe, Amoro Jacobina Do Sitio, and San Francisco, are all bustling towns of the province

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to which the valuable islands of Itaporica and St. Paul's also belong.

"The country in general is cultivated even to a considerable distance inland, and is divided in very extensive plantations, many having two or three hundred slaves, with horses in proportion, to work the engenios; except in those situated where water is introduced to set in motion the sugar mills, in the machinery of which a considerable improvement has lately taken place, through the assistance of a French emigrant.

"The rich owners of these plantations have very handsome seats (with chapels adjoining), where they generally reside, except during the winter rains; when they repair with their families to their houses in the city, and by this intercourse their manners and habits assimilate so much with those of the citizens as to form the same character.

"It is remarkable how indifferently the province, and capital itself, are served with meat. Mutton, lamb, and veal, are nearly unknown, and never seen in the market. Beef, during flesh days, preserves the same unvarying round. It is extremely lean, flabby, and tasteless; and so dirtily slaughtered, that its appearance alone would condemn the use of it, did not necessity and habit palliate this unpleasant inconvenience. This is owing solely to that want of stimulus and enterprise which disgraces in so many instances the colony, joined to a confirmed avarice, that will never pay more than the usual price for the article in question, and so encourage the fattening of cattle; which, in so warm a climate, requires great care to obviate the immense perspiration, and waste of solids, that is experienced here through the whole animal creation.

"Bahia is miserably provided with accommodation for strangers. An inn is unknown; and those who wish for a temporary residence on shore have no other alternative than taking the whole or part of a house, and furnishing it themselves: which, however, is easily done; a few chairs, trunks, and a table, being amply sufficient, and in character. The eating-houses are distinguished by a tricoloured flag over the door; but they are so inconceivably dirty, and the cooking is so horrible, that a St. Giles's cellar is far preferable. Coffee-houses abound in every street, if you can dignify by that name a dirty shop, where a few tables and benches are ranged in front, with a kind of bar in the back-ground; whence a filthy liquid, called coffee, is distributed, which is rendered still more disgusting to the eye by being served in glasses. These places are every morning crowded with persons of different classes, the respectable and the vulgar, who, for four vintins, procure a breakfast, consisting of a glass of coffee, and a roll spread with rancid Irish butter, the refuse of the Lisbon market.

"The city and country are alike too much infested with beggars; a subject of real or affected distress presenting itself every moment. The probable reason of this is, the want of public charities for the relief of the poor, the aged, and the distressed; together with a weak police, inattentive to the idleness and tricking practices of vagabonds, who are here impudent to an excess, and intrude themselves every-where. The monasteries and convents occasionally distribute donations both of money

and provision, as do wealthy individuals, on recovery from sickness and other occasions. I have witnessed several assemblages of these mendicants thus receiving benefactions, and the number seldom fell short of five hundred miserable objects.

"The slaves of Brasil are chiefly from the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Benguela; a sturdy kind of negroes, docile to a degree, and very active and lively, particularly the Benguelese; but these good qualities are spoiled by the habit of familiarity and idleness which they contract after their arrival.

"An edict was passed by the late king of Portugal, that the slaves should only continue in bondage for the term of ten years, and should immediately on their arrival in Brasil be instructed in the Catholic faith. The first part of this law met with immediate opposition on the part of the planters, who ventured to remonstrate and petition, but received no answer: they have nevertheless continued to evade it, which the government pretends not to see. The other injunction of the edict was nearly unnecessary, as it had long been customary to baptize the slaves, and the custom is still universally continued.

"This participation in the religion of the country, and the inconsistent familiarity to which the slaves are admitted, render them impudent and licentious to a degree: and the negro feels his consequence increased by the great numbers that are emancipated through service, favour, or purchase; who are of course *senhors*, and frequently assume the character, and act it with full as much propriety as their late possessors.

"The male inhabitants generally dress as in Lisbon; following the English modes; except, when visiting, or on a holiday, they have an excess of embroidery and spangles on their waistcoats, and lace to their linen. The sword they have totally thrown aside (except in office), and cocked hats are going out of fashion. Shoe and knee buckles, of solid gold, and of their own manufacture, are very common; and they are fondly attached to every species of finery. On their return home these gala clothes are instantly taken off, and a gown or thin jacket adopted by some in their stead, while others content themselves with remaining in their shirts and drawers.

"The usual dress of the ladies is a single petticoat over a chemise. The latter is composed of the thinnest muslin, and is generally very much worked and ornamented: it is made so full at the bosom, that, on the smallest movement, it drops over one or both shoulders, leaving the breast perfectly exposed; and, besides this, is so transparent, that the skin is every-where visible underneath. This violation of feminine delicacy appears the more disgusting, as the complexion of the Brasilians is in general very indifferent, approaching to an obscure tawny colour. Stockings are scarcely ever used; and, during the rainy season, which is to them cold, they shuffle about in a pair of slippers, and are accommodated with a thick blue and white cotton wrapper, or a woollen great coat faced with shag, similar to the German cavoys. When attending mass, a deep black silk mantle, worn over the head, conceals the transparent costume beneath. They let the hair grow to a great length: it is twisted, fastened in a knot on the head,

head, and always loaded with a profusion of pomatum and powder of tapioca. On some public occasions, and visits of ceremony to each other, a few ladies of rank adopt the European dress.

"The singular custom of permitting the nail of the thumb, or fore-finger (sometimes both), to grow to a hideous length, and then paring it to a sharp point, is common to both sexes. This excrescence, however, is not without its use, as it serves the men to divide the fibres from the tobacco leaf, and cut it into shape preparatory to the rolling it into segars, to the smoking of which they are greatly addicted. Their viols and guitars are also thrummed with this nail, the flourishing display of which adds, in their conception, a beauty to the instrument. And lastly, these sacred nails are considered as distinguishing the wearers for an easy indolence, which in this country is no trivial recommendation.

"The carriages of Bahia are merely a few cabrioles. The inequalities of the city rendering this mode of conveyance inconvenient; they are less common than at Rio Janeiro; but chairs abound in proportion, and are to be procured in every street. These chairs are not like ours, but are much higher, and open on the sides from top to bottom, so that a person on stepping in is at once seated. They are carried on the shoulders of two stout negroes, by means of two fixed pieces of wood, projecting from the upper part of the chair both before and behind. On the top they are profusely ornamented with carving and gilding, and are hung with deep curtains of silk or stuff, stampt with gold and silver leaf to a variety of patterns.

"The richness of these chairs, and the gaudy livery of the bearers, are articles in which the Brasilian gentry endeavour to excel; and sometimes they proceed in this point to the most ridiculous extreme. I once observed at Rio a chair completely loaded with cupids and other emblematic carving, and carried by two robust blacks, clothed in a light blue silk jacket, short pantaloons, and a petticoat over them (similar to that of a waterman), the whole deeply vandyked with a red pink. This flaming dress formed so strange a contrast with their *delicate* skins, for they were without either shoes or stockings, that it seemed altogether the completest burlesque on equipage that could possibly have been attempted.

"It appears to foreigners a strange deprivation to which the females of this country are subjected, who cannot pass the streets without being closely shut up in a chair, or secluded in a cabriole; yet such is the force of custom, that none are seen openly except within doors.

"Bahia has a Portuguese comic theatre, under the management of an Italian. The house, with us, would be termed a barn, and its avenues are so dirty as to render the going to it very disagreeable. The actors, drama, and scenery, are equally wretched; the music is the best, and only tolerable, part of the performance.

"The chief amusements of the citizens are the feasts of the different saints, professions of nuns, sumptuous funerals, the holy or passion week, &c. which are all celebrated in rotation with grand ceremonies, a full concert, and frequent processions. Scarcely a day passes that some one or other of these

these festivals does not occur; and thus is presented a continued round of opportunities for uniting devotion and pleasure, which is eagerly embraced, particularly by the ladies. On grand occasions of this kind, after coming from church, they visit each other, and have a more plentiful dinner than common under the term banquet; during and after which they drink unusual quantities of wine; and, when elevated to an extraordinary pitch, the guitar or violin is introduced, and singing commences: but the song soon gives way to the enticing negro dance. I use this term as best assimilating with the amusement in question, which is a mixture of the dances of Africa, and the fandangoes of Spain and Portugal. It consists of an individual of each sex dancing to an insipid thrumming of the instrument, always to one measure, with scarcely any action of the legs, but with every licentious motion of the body, joining in contact during the dance in a manner strangely immodest. The spectators, aiding the music with an extemporary chorus, and clapping of the hands, enjoy the scene with an undescribable zest. The orgies of the dancing girls in India never equalled the flagrancy of this diversion. It is not that minuets or country dances are not known, and practised by the higher circles; but this is the national dance, and all classes are happy when, throwing aside punctilio and reserve, and, I may add, decency, they can indulge in the interest and raptures it excites. The effect of this scene on a stranger can hardly be conceived; and though, as an amusement, it may be intentionally harmless, it certainly breaks down the barriers of decency, and of course paves the way to depravity and vice.

"These amusements, with parties into the country, and a few others of a trifling nature, added to the enervating idleness in which the Brasilians are plunged, constitute their whole happiness; a happiness very incomplete and unsatisfactory, while subject to the effects of those baleful passions, avarice, revenge, and cruelty. Happily, however, the two latter have considerably declined from Bahia to the southward; assassination there is seldom known to take place, and never but on the greatest provocation; though still in use, the lurking knife is sheathed, and murders are scarcely more common than with us.

"That this has not always been the case is certainly true, and it is difficult to say to what the change in the national manners of these people is owing. Their neighbours to the northward, particularly of Pernambucco, despising this pusillanimity, (for *they* possess the *gentle* attributes and reproach of their forefathers undegenerated,) assign cowardice as the cause; but, surely, it rather originates in the improved civilisation of this part of Brasil, which restrains the passions of the inhabitants, and prevents their extending to their former licentious bounds. Deceit, pride, and envy, are still prevalent among them; and, while the mass of the people continue ignorant as they are, and under the discipline of a church and government wanting in a solicitude to enlighten and reform them, these national characteristics must be long in eradicating.

"In their intercourse with foreigners, far less hauteur is seen in Bahia

Bahia than in any other part of the coast; and the inhabitants would doubtless be happy to embrace the advantages that a free unrestricted trade would afford; and in secret they express these sentiments. The Portuguese government, however, seem at this moment to be of a very different opinion, particularly as to the British nation; respecting whom they have adopted a new system in their colonies, to vex and irritate her commerce. This has been long felt in their severe custom ordinances, their studied hindrances and insults to such vessels as they have permitted to refresh at their ports; and, finally, in the late unjust seizure and detention of several of her ships on the coast.

"This last injustice they will carry to a height that will eventually call on our court for so spirited an interference, as not only to obtain reparation for the past, but effectually prevent a repetition of such conduct in future: for it is not to be admitted, that our political intercourse with Portugal, however bound by a general interest and balance of trade in our favour, excuses private and distant insults to the British flag. In reality, these insults are the signs of an independent spirit, desirous of throwing off that reliance and protection the Portuguese have so long held on Britain, and prevent us from any further participation in their commerce.

"With this view it was, that that great politician, the marquis of Pombal, instituted those manufactories in Portugal, for the supply of the colonies, which now are nearly matured; and which, from the care bestowed on them, will finally supersede the necessity of importation from any other country. For this also it was, that the strict edict was made not to allow any exportation of colonial produce, even in Portuguese vessels, except to Lisbon, Oporto, and the African settlements.

"No blame can be attached to these patriotic efforts for the improvement of the country, or its commerce; but the rancour must be condemned which thus prematurely displays itself to the power by whose assistance the Portuguese have been enabled to help themselves. Portugal has to thank Britain alone, that she exists at present as an independent state; and that her home territory and colonial possessions have not been long divided among the stronger nations of Europe. This extreme rigour respecting foreigners alienates the affections of the colonists, numbers of whom *begin to see* that it is not their interest which is considered in this severity; but, on the contrary, that the fruit of their exertions and the riches of their country are swallowed up in the support and aggrandisement of an ungrateful government, unsolicitous about, and careless of, their welfare; and, perhaps, a short period only will elapse, before these sentiments will obtain so universal a force as to rend the bonds asunder which attach the colonists to Portugal, and create another political change in so great a portion of the western hemisphere."

Religious Ceremonies of the Mahommedans.

[From Dr. Griffiths's Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia.]

"THE strictly observable tenets of the Mahommedan religion are now very generally known to consist in the five following material points: Frequent ablutions—prayers five times in the day—religious attention to the feast of Ramazan—distribution of alms to distressed believers—and a pilgrimage to the shrine of the prophet at Mecca. The last, however, may be dispensed with by the mussulmaun's deputing a substitute who shall undertake the journey.

"The profession of faith consists in repeating *La ila hy, ill' allah ve Mahommed ressoul' ullah:* 'There is 'no other god but God, and Mahom-'med is his prophet.' But I would not advise a traveller to give an idea of his knowledge of these words, since a display of it before any mussulmaun would place him between two cruel alternatives, the abjuration of the christian religion, or death without mercy. Such is the inveterate prejudice they bear against a christian's making use of words which they hold too sacred for all but Mahommedans, that they invariably insult, and not unfrequently strike, a stranger who shall accost them with *Salaum alaikum:* 'Peace be unto you;' it being the salutation reserved, they say, for true believers only. And I have myself experienced more than once the most gross abuse, when a Turk has, by mistake, in a caravansera, favoured me with this sublime compliment, and afterwards discovered that I was unworthy of the distinction.

"Abstaining from the flesh of swine, or other unclean animals (amongst which they class tortoises, cockles, and eels), and even circumcision, are merely the effect of popular prejudice, not of positive injunction by the prophet, nor connected with their articles of faith.

"There are innumerable particulars attended to by the different sectaries, and innumerable and contradictory ideas entertained by them, concerning a future life, as well as with respect to the implicit reliance which some of them place upon traditional doctrines. That of eternal punishment, however, is universally denied. And the few following articles of general belief, as communicated, amongst others, in the elegant work of the chevalier d'Ohsson, will throw considerable light upon the Mahommedan religion to those who are not acquainted with the doctrines of the Koran.

"In regard to the Author of Being, they entertain the most sublime ideas as well as ourselves; but their mode of expression is mysterious. They affirm, 'That God 'is the Creator of the world—that 'he is one and eternal, omnipo-'tent and omniscient—hears every 'thing, sees every thing—possess-'ing will and action—that he is 'without form, figure, limits, num-'ber, parts, multiplication or di-'vision—since he is incorporeal and 'immaterial, has neither beginning 'nor end, is self-existent, uncreated, 'without residence or habitation, 'and immutable—incomparable in 'his nature as in his attributes, 'which, although of his essence, 'nevertheless do not constitute it.'

"Thus

"Thus God is possessed of wisdom, power, life, strength, understanding, sight, will, action, and the word—this word, eternal in its essence, is without letters, characters, or sounds, and is, in its nature, the opposite of silence.

"That the Koran is the uncreated word of God; that it is written in their books, engraved in their hearts, articulated by their tongues, and heard by their ears, which receive the sound of the word, and not the word itself, the word being eternal and self-existent.

"That the unbelievers, and the wicked amongst the faithful or Mahommedans, shall be tormented in their graves; but the just and virtuous shall there experience spiritual enjoyments.

"That all the dead, of whatever persuasion or age, shall undergo an examination in their tombs by the angels *Munkeer* and *Nekeer*, whom they represent as black and blue, and who they suppose will enter the tomb, and demand of the deceased, Which is his god, his religion, and his prophet? To which the faithful shall answer, God is my god, Islamism is my religion, and Mahommed is my prophet.

"They believe that those who die without the pale of mahommedanism are constantly tormented in the grave until the day of judgment; that these angels announce to them, as well as to those mussulmauns who have lived without faith in their creed, their horrible punishments, and continue to beat them incessantly with red-hot hammers. These angels are also thought to communicate the tidings of bliss to the followers of the prophet, distinguishing those who have died in a state of grace from those who have greatly sinned. The former are believed to enjoy immediately a state of beatitude, whilst the latter are doomed to suffer the most excruciating agonies until their sins be expiated, and their souls purified by the fire of hell.

"They firmly believe in the resurrection of the dead; and also that there are scales, called *wezn*, in which the good and bad actions of men will be weighed.

"That there is a book, in which the angels *Kiramenn*, *Keatibinn*, register the good and bad actions of each individual; and, that this book will be put into their hands at the day of judgment; into the right hand of the faithful, and into the left, or upon the shoulders, of the unbelievers.

"That there is a tank or pool in paradise, which is of a round form, and of an extent equal to thirty days journey; the water of which is whiter than milk, and its odour more agreeable than musk. The basons which are placed round the borders of the pool equal in number the stars of the heavens; and whoever drinks of this water shall have his thirst quenched to all eternity.

"That there is a bridge which crosses the gulph of hell, so constructed as to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword, upon which the true believer shall pass with the quickness of lightning, or the velocity of the wind; but the wicked shall slip down, and be plunged into eternal flames.

"That paradise and hell are real and certain; that they have been created; are eternal; and neither they nor their inhabitants shall ever perish.

"Paradise, or the state of bliss, which will be the ultimate attainment of all mussulmauns, is supposed

posed to be the residence of our first parents Adam and Eve; it is represented, in the fervour of the mussulmaun's imagination, and conformably to the assurances of his prophet, as a place where every excitement to, and a perpetual renovation of, happiness and pleasure eternally await him. Splendid palaces, cooling grottos, trees of all the precious metals, and mountains of all the precious jewels; murmuring fountains, shady bowers, flowery meads; and every object that the most enraptured fancy can suggest, are to be subservient to the never-ending, never-cloying, enjoyment of the virgin beauties of the *houris*, whose lovely and celestial forms are to be accompanied with corresponding angelic minds, subject to no influence of time, but ever varying, ever new. In short, all that the most insatiable and the most extravagantly luxurious appetite can imagine, must fall infinitely short of the paradisaical pleasures of the true believer.

To the four first caliphs, they believe the Almighty has appropriated a place in the highest heaven (of which they are taught to imagine there are nine); and to each of these caliphs seventy enchanting residences or pavilions, provided with seven hundred of the most magnificent beds or places of repose; each bed surrounded by seven hundred celestial virgins of indescribable loveliness, with whom their enjoyments surpass all mortal comprehension.

"Through this mass of absurdity and immorality may, however, be discerned the subtle and powerfully attractive allurements by which Mahommed obtained an easy credence of his doctrines; and the widely extended dominion of his opinions proves how grateful they were to the unenlightened minds of his proselytes.

"The mussulmauns are enjoined to pray five times in the course of twenty-four hours; viz. at day-break, when they term their prayers *sabah namazee;* at noon, *ciülah namazee;* at three o'clock in the afternoon, *ikimde namazee;* at sun-set, *aschaum namazee;* and at midnight, *yathsee namazee.* It is more regular and proper to attend the mosque for these purposes; but that ceremony may be dispensed with, and the prayers said whereever the mussulmaun may chance to be at the time. The *mouhezzim*, however, regularly cries out from the minareh or steeple of the mosque, at the appointed hours, in a voice strengthened by custom far beyond the tone of voices in general:

"*Allah' u ekber! Allah!' u ekber! Allah' u ekber! Allah' u ekber! Esch' hed' u enné la ilah' i il Allah! Esch' hed' u enné la ilah' i il Allah! Esch' hed' u enné Mahommed ressoul' ullah! Esch' hed' u enné Mahommed ressoul' ullah! Ay-yah al' es-salath! Ay-yah al' es-salath! Ay yah al' el felahh! Ay-yah al' el felahh! Ve Allah' u ekber! Ve Allah' u ekber! La ilah' i il Allah!*

"God most high! God most high! God most high! I attest there is no other God but God! I attest there is no other God but God! I attest that Mahommed is the Prophet of God! I attest that Mahommed is the Prophet of God! Come to prayer! Come to prayer! Come to the temple of salvation! Come to the temple of salvation! Great God! Great God! There is no other God but God!

"The repetitions are intended to impress the mind of the hearers with the solemn importance of the occasion;

occasion; and the invitation commences and finishes with the name of God, to show that he is the beginning and end of all things, and to excite all true believers to remember that they should neither undertake nor conclude any one object which had not in view the honour and glory of his name.

The prayer *namaz* is universally made with the strictest regard to the forms prescribed by the Koran; and these forms enjoin, not only a previous ablution and decency of dress, but peremptorily point out that the true believer, turning his face in the direction of the kibla or sanctuary of Mecca, should divest himself of the recollection of every worldly object; that he should so intimately persuade himself he is in presence of the Almighty, that no action of common usage, such as arranging his turban, scratching himself, or observing any passenger, should be allowed to interfere with the sacred duties in which he is engaged; he is to fix his eyes upon the ground, or upon his knees; and at the moment of saluting the angels, upon his shoulders only: should he even feel himself disposed to gape, he is ordered to suppress the sensation, as the work of the devil, and to close his mouth, lest the father of iniquity should enter and take possession of his person.

"After the prescribed ablutions and composure of mind, the faithful mussulmaun should begin his devotions by standing upright, and placing one of his thumbs upon the inferior part of each ear, repeat the *tekbeer*, which consists of the following words:—*Allah u ekber! Allah u ekber! la ilahi ill' Allah! Allah u ekber! Allah u ekber! ve l' illah' il-hamd!* God most high! God most high! There is only God but God! God most high! God most high! Praise be to God!

"These exclamations are repeated frequently during the continuance of each *namaz*; and, as they are the first words pronounced, are termed 'The preliminary prayer.'

"The hands being brought down, and folded over the belly, observing always, that the right hand should be uppermost, the following expressions are successively made use of: *Sabhané rebb' il azem*, which is called the *tessbihh*, and signifies, May thy name be exalted, O Great God!—*Sabhaneké allahumé la illahi ill Allah* (the *sena*), I glorify thee, O my God!—I praise thee!—There is no other God but thee! *Eouz' un b' illah minn eschscheytann' ir-redjim b' issm' illah' ir-rahhmann' ir-rahhim*—(the *téawouz*), I confide in God against the demon—in the name of God, most merciful! Here follows the first chapter of the Koran, which is distinguished by the name of *Fatihha*, and is obligatory during the performance of the *namaz*.

"The attitude is changed after the *Fatihha*, when the mussulmaun, stooping so as to bring his head and body in a horizontal position, the hands, with opened fingers, reposing upon the knees, repeats the *tekbeer*, and then the *tessbihh*, nine, seven, five, or at least three times.

"Again, standing upright, he pronounces the *tessmee*; which is composed of these words, *Semy' Allah' u li men' n hamduhu.*—Oh, God, hear him who praises thee! And the *tahhmidd*,—*Rebbina lek' ul-hamd*—Oh, God, all praise be thine!

"Here he makes an inclination to the earth, touching it with his forehead, nose, hands, knees, and toes; and, whilst thus prostrate, repeats

peats the *tekbeer*, and at least three times the *tessbihh*; when, recovering himself, and reposing a few moments, seated with his legs doubled under his thighs, and his hands placed upon them, he again repeats the *tekbeer*.

"Again he goes through the whole ceremony of this prostration; and, replacing his hands upon his thighs, recites the *tekbeer*.

"These tedious and fatiguing forms complete only one *rek' ath*; and the *namaz* must be composed at least of two, sometimes of six or seven, more *rek' aths*.

"At the close of the last *rek' ath*, the *salawath* is repeated, *Alla hummé sall' e âla Mahommed ve' âla al'i Mahommed kema salité âla Ibrahim ve âla al'i Ibrahim, &c.* Oh, my God! give peace to Mahommed, and to the race of Mahommed, as thou hast given peace to Abraham, and to the race of Abraham, &c. &c.

"Any one chapter of the Koran being then recited, the *namaz* is terminated by the usual profession of the mussulmaun faith, and the salutation invariably offered to the angels, supposed to be on the right and left hand of each believer of the prophet, *Elselam' aun aleikum vé rahhmeth' ullah*. To thee be the kiss of peace and the mercy of God.

"Should any interruption to his devotions take place during their performance; should any impurity fall upon him even by accident; should he be so far forgetful of the sacred duties in which he is engaged, as to speak to any one near him, or allow his attention to be drawn off by any occurrence—the mussulmaun is enjoined to renew his prayers from the beginning, as rendered fruitless and unworthy by such circumstance. And this being the case, I cannot forbear mentioning how very different are my ideas respecting a mussulmaun's devotions, either in or out of the mosque, from those which Mr. Dallaway has expressed on the subject.

"This gentleman, having remarked that, 'in the mosque of Sultaun Ahmed, the windows, consisting of many small pieces of stained glass, thickly studded, have a singular richness, and teach light to counterfeit a gloom of the most pleasing effect,'—adds, 'How much that influence over the mind is heightened in christian churches by the full choir or decent ceremonies, will be felt in these temples of Mahommed, in which are seen only a few devotees writhing themselves in distorted attitudes, and drawling out portions of the Koran with equal loudness and discordance!—Here we meet with no concomitant idea; and the later mosques have little to distinguish them from a spacious saloon, if we could imagine them attached to an imperial palace of correspondent extent and magnificence.'

"I confess, that I think neither the Turks nor their mosques merit these animadversions, which, even were they correct, would, in a certain degree, be applicable to, or recoil upon, the Christians; since the principal and most superb mosque was absolutely a christian church, and many of the later mosques are imitations of its architectural proportions: nothing can exceed the serious and devout deportment of individuals at prayers throughout those countries where Islamism is prevalent; and no writhings or distortions take place except in the monastic exhibitions of the fanatic mewlewahs or dervishes:

vishes: that some of the imaums may be drawlers, or may have appeared to drawl out the sentences of the Koran to Mr. Dallaway, for whose enlightened judgment and scientific work I have the greatest respect, I can readily conceive: there are drawlers, we all know, amongst the ministers of every religion; but the want of power in declamation has been often accompanied by the most decent attachment to the principles and practices of piety: that contemptible endeavours are made to interest the uninformed multitude by the whirling dervish, or the self-persecuting santon, I allow; but have we not amongst the christians our flagellants and our jumpers? The little ornamented mosque, the insulated individual duties of every mussulmaun in the absence of the imaum, and the unassisted efforts of the priest when present, appear to me (with all deference to Mr. Dallaway) well adapted to the homage they humbly offer to the Omnipotent Being, however erroneous may be the medium through which it is presented. I feel persuaded that simplicity, in those sublime acts of devotion which raise the mind to the Deity, and profound silence on the part of all but the minister, impress a congregation with sensations more congenial to the duties of religion, than those ceremonies in which the choir and congregation assist; the mind, disturbed from its object even in the act of singing psalms or repeating responses, is almost unavoidably more attentive to the accompanying music or precision of replication, than to the divine and important subject which claims its peculiar and exclusive care; and the reformed church considers itself as having made essential advances towards a more rational system of divine worship, in as much as it has departed from the gewgaw ceremonies of the catholic religion.

"The *sangiac schereeff*, or sacred banner under which Mahommed fought, increasing the number of his proselytes, and vanquishing the hosts of his enemies, is preserved with ceremonious care in the seraglio, and never divested of the forty splendid coverings which envelop it, unless the sultaun or the vizeer azem take the field in person—It is then hoisted in front of the head-quarters of the army, and serves as an incentive to mussulmaun valour and mussulmaun cruelty.

"The superstitious devotion paid to it is not the only instance of the Turks' credulity in regard to relics, although the reliance which they implicitly place in the success of every enterprise conducted under its auspices, may be superior to the hopes they entertain through any other medium.—Nor is the sangiac schereeff the only object traced to the same origin, and esteemed with the same enthusiasm, which is preserved in the seraglio. The *hercah y schereeff*, or sacred robe of the prophet, is another relic entitled to the pious mussulmaun's veneration; and at a certain time, during the Ramazaun, is also exposed with peculiar ceremonies.

"The celebrated eastern poet *Keab Ebn Zepheer* is said to have composed a poem of great sublimity, in which he extolled, in terms scarcely inferior to each other, the attributes of the Almighty and the glory of Mahommed. For this species of blasphemy the prophet invested him with the black camlet robe he wore,

and which is now considered of holy origin and extraordinary virtue.

"This precious article, according to the Turks, was purchased from the children of Keab Ebn Zepheer; and after having descended from the Ommiades to the Abassides, was discovered at Cairo with the holy banner.—Forty coverings of the richest stuffs are employed also, to prevent the defilement and decay of this important relic, which once only in the year is publicly exhibited. At this ceremony the sultaun, muftee, and all the principal officers about the seraglio attend; each of whom kisses, with profound respect, the robe, which is, after each time, wiped with a new muslin handkerchief by the *selidhar agah*, or sword-bearer, who is provided with a quantity of these handkerchiefs for the purpose. The salutes being terminated, the muftee and the principal emeer wash the part of the cloth which has been so kissed, with water in a large silver bason. —This water is then distinguished as 'the water of the sacred robe,' and distributed by the *baltagees* (who are officers of the seraglio), to all the sultauns and nobles, male and female, who have assisted at the ceremony, in small bottles sealed by the *kislar agah*, or chief of the black eunuchs. A few drops of which are mixed in a glass of common water, and taken fasting during the remainder of the Ramazaun.

"There are also at Constantinople, the descendants of a much esteemed Arab named *Uweys ul Aremee*, who have in their possession another robe, which is reported to have belonged to the prophet, and is exhibited to the populace with forms and customs similar to those practised in the seraglio, upon displaying the hercah y schereeff.

"In the sepulchral chapel of Mahommed the Second is preserved one of the teeth of Mahommed, and another in the seraglio, which are both exposed during Ramazaun.

"Part of the prophet's beard, some vases, arms, and other articles, belonging to, or having been used by him, are venerated with great respect by the inhabitants of Constantinople; and in the mausoleum of *Eyub* is a stone with the print of a man's foot upon it, which is said to have been miraculously effected by Mahommed himself soon after his apostleship.

"There are also various relics of *Ebu Bekeer*, one of the caliphs, and the turban of Omar, which are examined with peculiar delight by the Turks. But their regard for all these relics is not an act of devotion; it is merely a kind of respectful homage: and what will be thought extraordinary is, that in Constantinople only are any of them to be found.

"The estimation in which mussulmauns hold JESUS CHRIST, of whom they always speak with reverence, and entitle a Great Prophet, is well known. The following remarkable anecdote in the eastern annals will still further establish the fact.

"Under the caliphat of Ibrahim the Second, the emperor Constantine the Seventh (Porphyrogenites) sent an ambassador to Bagdad for the purpose of requesting, that a relic preserved in the church at Rouhha might be delivered up to him. It was a handkerchief, upon which was imprinted the countenance of JESUS CHRIST; a miracle which the eastern author mentions as having been effected 'by this 'holy prophet's wiping his face 'with the handkerchief.'

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"The caliph scrupled to give up this precious object, of his own authority, and thought proper to assemble an extraordinary council of the ulemah, whose unanimous consent he judged indispensable before he acceded to the wishes of the emperor. The relic, however, was, after great debates, delivered to the ambassador, and became the price of the release of many mussulmaun prisoners then languishing in confinement at Constantinople.

"Funeral ceremonies are performed by the imaums with great solemnity, and attended by the relations and friends of the deceased; observing that, in general, males only accompany men, and females women, excepting those men necessarily employed in the service.

"It is an established custom to inter the dead within a few hours after dissolution, having previously shaved the body, and washed it with milk and water, or water alone. It is then placed upon a bier, the face uncovered, and carried, the head foremost, with hasty steps to the grave. This celerity proceeds from an idea, that if the deceased has merited the bliss which awaits the true believer, not an instant should be lost in conveying him to the cemetery; and should it be otherwise, it is incumbent upon all good mussulmauns to disengage themselves as speedily as possible from the service of the wicked.

"It is held meritorious to assist in bearing the dead to the place of interment; and it is therefore usual for individuals of all ranks to tender their support upon meeting any funeral procession. But these pious offices are not performed absolutely from a disinterested motive; the prophet has declared in the Koran, 'That whoever shall 'carry a dead body forty paces to-'wards the grave will thereby ex-'piate a great sin;' and, in consequence of that assurance, no Mahommedan, who has the least regard for the future welfare of his soul, will lose such favourable and frequent opportunities of absolution. Even during the plague, the subjugating opinion of predestination blunts every apprehension of danger; and the most devout mussulmaun first places himself under the bier at the right shoulder of the deceased, then passes to the left: when from fatigue he is inclined to change, he removes to the right foot, and afterwards to the left.

"All the dead are placed in the grave with the right side turned in the direction of Mecca; and, as soon as the ceremony of interment is concluded, the imaum, seated with his legs bent under his thighs, repeats a short prayer: he then calls the deceased three times by his name, mentioning also that of his mother; but without the smallest allusion to that of his father. What will be considered as infinitely more extraordinary is, that should the imaum be ignorant of the name of the mother, it is usual for him to substitute that of Mary, in honour of the Virgin! provided the deceased be a male; and that of Eve, in case the deceased be a female, in honour of the common mother of mankind. This custom is so invariable, that, even at the interment of the sultauns, it is not neglected; the imaum calling out, Oh Mustaphah!—Son of Mary! or, Oh Fatimah!—Daughter of Eve!

"Immediately afterwards he repeats a prayer, called *telkeen*; which consists of the following words: 'Remember the moment of thy

'leaving the world, in making this 'profession of faith. Certainly there 'is no God but God. He is one, 'and there is no association in him. 'Certainly Mahommed is the pro-'phet of God!—Certainly paradise 'is real—Certainly the resurrection 'is real—Certainly the day of judg-'ment is real—it is indisputable— 'Certainly God will bring to life 'the dead, and make them leave 'their graves.—Certainly thou hast 'acknowledged God for thy God, '—Islamism for thy religion—Ma-'hommed for thy prophet—the 'Koran for thy priest—the sanc-'tuary of Mecca for thy Kibla, and 'the faithful for thy brethren— 'God is my God—there is no other 'God but He—He is the master 'of the august and sacred throne 'of heaven—O Mustaphah (or any 'other name)! say that God is thy 'God (which the imaum repeats 'three times)—Say there is no 'other God but God (also repeated 'three times)—Say that Mahom-'med is the prophet of God—that 'thy religion is Islamism—and that 'thy prophet is Mahommed, upon 'whom be the blessing of salva-'tion, and the mercy of the Lord '—O God, do not abandon us!' After this ejaculation the ceremony is concluded by a chapter of the Koran, and the party returns home. No weeping or external signs of distress are observable at a mussulmaun funeral; unlimited submission and pious resignation to the decrees of Providence are taught them, as acceptable to God; repining at the acts of his divine will as impious, as unavailing.

"The cemeteries or burial-grounds are of considerable extent, on the outside of the towns, and planted with cypress trees, which add a solemnity to the scene. The graves are not dug deep; but separated from each other carefully, that two bodies may not be placed together. The earth is raised, to prevent an unhallowed foot from treading upon it; and instead of a plain flat stone being placed over it, one which is perforated in the centre is most commonly used, to allow of cypress-trees or odoriferous herbs being planted immediately over the corpse. Occasionally a square stone, hollowed out, and without a cover, is preferred; which being filled with mould, the trees or herbs are cultivated in it. At the head of the tomb, an erect pillar of wood or stone, capped with a carved representation of the turban worn by the deceased, frequently indicates his rank and quality. A smaller pillar is often placed at the foot; and on one or both of them inscriptions sometimes explain his name and family, or publish to posterity his virtues and his honours. The tomb-stones of the women are without turbans or ornament.

"There is something peculiarly affecting in those visits to the graves of departed parents, children, relations, and friends, which mussulmauns seldom neglect. Persons may be hourly observed in the cemeteries, piously and solitarily repeating prayers to the throne of mercy in behalf of their deceased connections, and continuing to their ashes those acts of respect and tender regard which even death itself has not had the power to terminate.

"In times of plague, notwithstanding the horrible extent of its ravages, no precautions are used to prevent infection; and such is the effect of a full confidence in the system of predestination, that the Turks do not hesitate to attend the dead on these melancholy occasions to the grave. This pesti-

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lential malady depopulates whole streets, without exciting the mussulmaun's application to any medicinal assistance: nor does the public misery draw the attention of the priesthood so far as to induce them to offer up prayers to heaven for its discontinuance, ntil the number of deceased which pass at *one* (only) of the gates of the city (the gate of Adrianople) exceeds, in the course of twenty-four hours, one thousand. When so dreadful a conviction of the city's calamity takes place, the mosques resound with religious solicitations for divine clemency; which are continued until the malignancy of the fever is evidently diminished. This happy change is seldom protracted after the cooling breezes of autumn have been felt; and in the southern parts of Syria the inhabitants are persuaded, that, from the festival of St. John, the 24th June, the illness invariably subsides."

JOURNEY from CONSTANTINOPLE to the TROAD.

[From the Same.]

"A STRONG desire to observe the first dawn of improvement in a country recently subjugated by the victorious Catharine, and which, after a lapse of two centuries, had again fallen under the authoritative influence of a christian government, induced me to accompany the ladies and gentlemen, my companions, in their journey to the Crimea. The season was so far advanced, that it was thought more advisable to travel through Walachia and Moldavia, than to confide again in the element which had so much disappointed our expectations formed at Smyrna.

"To the liberality and politeness of sir Robert Ainslie the ladies were indebted for a carriage, which could contain themselves and their uncle; Mr. R. (an artist who had attended sir Richard Worsley on his tour through the Levant) and myself proceeded on horseback. We set out early; and in the evening halted at a village, where we found a Grecian princess and her retinue on their road to Jassi. So favourable an opportunity of travelling in security induced Mr. R. to join the princess's party, and he therefore separated from us.

"The second day convinced me, as well as my companions, of the impossibility of following the route we had chosen; we met with the stone-causeway said to have been made by Constantine, upon which we had many miles to continue. The removal of large stones in various places had formed holes of such considerable depth, that the passage of the carriage was wholly obstructed; and in endeavouring to vanquish these impediments, the wheels and every part of it were soon broken to pieces: we found ourselves, therefore, most uncomfortably situated, at many miles distance from any village where assistance could be procured; and, however inconvenient, the only mode of extrication that presented itself, was to walk to the shores of the sea of Marmora, and return by boat to Constantinople.

This was put in execution, leaving the baggage to the care of the drivers who were hired from that city.

"After a march of about twelve miles we reached a fisherman's village, which furnished us with a boat; and by the exertion of four able rowers during ten hours, we succeeded in landing once more at the stairs of Tophana.

"Disappointed of examining a country which has been since visited by a lady, whose eminent rank in life even receives embellishment from her liberal enlightened mind, and whose elegant accomplishments attract all taste and science within the sphere of her influence, I determined to return to Smyrna, and from thence proceed through that part of Asia Minor which appeared to me to have been the least frequented by modern travellers.

"The prevalence of northerly winds allowed me to hope for a more prosperous and expeditious passage than that which I experienced on coming from Smyrna to Constantinople; and elated with the prospect of revisiting my friends there in three days, according to the assurances of my Turkish commander, a berth-place, not larger than a hen-coop, and nearly of the same shape, exposed to the inclemency of the weather upon the deck of the boat in which I engaged my passage, appeared to me a trifling inconvenience. A few cold tongues and hard-boiled eggs I thought sufficient store for an excursion which could last but for a few days, if we were favoured by steady and propitious gales.

"The security with which I pleased myself, however, soon proved fallacious; nor was this the only circumstance which created uneasiness in my mind, and taught me the necessity of exercising a greater degree of prudence before commencing a voyage at sea, as well as of placing much less reliance upon the stability of winds, and the assurances of mortals, where the variability of the former and the folly of the latter were equally evident. A man whom I had observed lying on the aftermost part of the deck, covered with much clothing, died about mid-day on the third from our departure, and I was greeted with the additional intelligence of the plague being the cause of his dissolution. The face and fauces of the deceased were much swollen; and a Greek, my fellow-passenger, assured me that he had seen tumors under the arms when the body was removed for burial. I confess I did not think it prudent or requisite to convince myself of the fact by examination; but precautions, unusual among the Turks, were certainly taken in undressing the deceased; for which purpose two only of the crew approached him. We landed as soon as possible near a small village to inter the corpse; and, as soon as the ceremony was finished, the few who had accompanied it returned to the boat.

"In the course of the night we again made sail, and, in spite of baffling winds, were the next morning in sight of the island of Marmora, which is the largest of a cluster near the northern extremity of the Dardanelles, and distant about ten leagues from Gallipoli.

"The wind freshening, and at length becoming directly contrary, we were driven in various directions for several days, and at length compelled to bear away for Avezza, an island much smaller than Marmora, containing only two villages,

lages, Allona and Arab-Keoi. Here we found a safe retreat from the boisterous element.

"With infinite satisfaction I perceived a small Russian brig at anchor in the harbour. Her boat soon made its appearance going on shore; and the sight of two men in it wearing hats was a happy prognostic of the probability that I might be relieved from the uncomfortable situation in which I found myself on board the Turkish boat. My little stock of provisions was expended, and for several days past I had eaten only rice and salt fish, which I had purchased from some of the crew. Added to this, the confined space in which I slept, and during rain was compelled to stay, proved irksome beyond measure. The ungracious treatment I experienced in a thousand instances from the Turks called forth frequent exertions of a patience which daily became feeble; in short, every thing conspired to induce me to remove, and, if possible, embark on board the Russian. Prayers and entreaties failed in obtaining the savage *captaun's* boat to put me on shore; and it was not till after nearly two hours were passed in suspense and anxiety that fortune presented me with the means of quitting these barbarians, who rejoiced at my uneasiness. A Greek boat, with four persons in it going on shore, came within hail; they very civilly rowed alongside to receive me, and at all hazards I quitted my Ottomaun companions.

"The dimensions of the charming island upon which I landed being such as the eye could easily embrace, I soon discovered the Russian captain (by birth a Greek); and accosting him in *lingua Franca*, begged to know his destination, candidly explaining, at the same time, that my anxiety to leave the Turks had determined me to solicit him to receive me on board, whatever port he might be bound to. With great civility he assured me that such accommodations as his small bark afforded were perfectly at my service; that he should be truly happy in having an Englishman on board; and that he only regretted it was not in his power to offer such proofs of his regard for my country, and those who belonged to it, as his sentiments dictated. There was something so powerfully interesting in his manner, that had he been on a voyage to the Antipodes, I should certainly have volunteered in the service; but he was most fortunately bound to Smyrna, with the intention of touching in the Dardanelles, at Mitylene, and at Scio. Had I been desirous of directing his course, I could have pointed out none more congenial to my wishes; and it is difficult to conceive the agreeable change which took place in my feelings within a few hours. The captain was accompanied by a young Greek, who also spoke Italian; and I found myself again truly amongst christians.

"We paid a visit to the capo, or principal Greek inhabitant of the island; whose hospitable reception deserves particular mention. He insisted upon our dining with him; and, with a liberality that did honour to his feelings, served up every article he possessed which he thought could gratify our tastes. At least sixteen different dishes of rice, fish, fowls, mutton, and vegetables, succeeded each other. They were brought one by one; between each a glass of liqueur or wine was presented; we were each furnished with a wooden spoon,

and ate from the dishes, as there were no plates. The conviviality of our host detained us round the stool, which served us for a table, not less than two hours and a half; when the good capo's spirits being exhilarated to a high pitch, he urged, *per finir la festa*, that we should drink a bumper of liqueur, and then, following his example with precision, throw the glasses over our heads, and break them to pieces: a ceremony we performed in compliance with his injunctions, but not without reluctance; after which coffee and sweetmeats were produced in abundance; and our host accompanied us to the boat, where he took an affectionate leave, expressing his most cordial wishes for our future happiness.

"During our conversation, he frequently repeated how ardently he ought to hope for a change in the government of Constantinople; that the cultivation of his lands, and the natural advantages of the island, were such as to supply every want, and even lead to independence; but that the annual extortions of the Turks rendered all his endeavours fruitless; and the apprehension of personal chastisement or injury, at each of their visits, embittered every hour of his existence.

"Having obtained a small quantity of wine, some fowls, eggs, dried fish, and vegetables, at a very moderate price, we quitted the island in high spirits, and grateful for the pleasure we had enjoyed.

"Inclement weather detained us in the harbour for two days on board the Russian brig; which I confess, with all the advantages of comparison, was not very convenient. The cabin afforded only one berth-place, alternately occupied by the master and mate, who both kept watch. The scanty space of flooring between the lockers was all that could be appropriated to the young Greek and myself; but when the weather permitted, I removed my quilt to the quarter-deck. Nothing could exceed the filth and offensive smell of the bilge-water; and the apertures which were intended for windows scarcely gave light enough for us to distinguish each other: but still it was a comfortable change for me; and the well-intended christian endeavours of all on board to perform any act of kindness overbalanced every inconvenience.

"On the third morning a tolerably fair wind conducted us through the Dardanelles, as far as *Koum Kalé*, where it was not only necessary to anchor, but where also the private affairs of the captain were likely to detain him for several days.

"I could not resist embracing so favourable an opportunity of visiting the Troad, although it was evident I should not have sufficient time to explore much of that celebrated country, or gratify, to any very great extent, my curiosity. Unwilling, however, churlishly or idly to abandon the whole, because I possessed only the means of seeing a part, and hearing that the hot and cold springs, which former travellers had visited, were only at a distance that might be walked in five or six hours, I solicited the captain to provide me a faithful guide, and determined to pursue my object. A Greek, who spoke fluently the *lingua Franca*, readily offered his services; and I found him not only cheerful and obliging, but also much more intelligent as a guide than the generality of the inhabitants are represented. We partook of a dinner with the captain's

tain's friends, and set out about two o'clock in the afternoon, with a view of joining the Scamander, and proceeding along its banks to the celebrated sources near the village of Bounar Bashee.

"During my walk, the eminences, supposed to be the tumuli of Patroclus and Achilles, near the Sigæan promontory, as well as that attributed to Antilochus, were plainly discernible; and in about two hours I found we had arrived at the Xanthus. Wishing to observe the canal by which it empties itself into the Ægean Sea, I continued my way along for some distance, and perceived that the stream was confined between two banks, which are evidently the work of art; and upon returning to the angle from whence the canal began, I could plainly see that the water had been diverted from its original course, which indeed was by no means obliterated; and even small pools, at short distances, seemed to indicate, not only their former communication with each other, but also with the current of the Scamander.

"Not having any very determined plan of survey, I willingly attended to the advice of my guide, and accompanied him first to the *Tcheftlik*, or seat of the captain pashah, situated at a short distance from us, and near the village of *Erkessee Keoi*. Here we were treated with great hospitality by three Turks, servants to the pashah, who procured for us an excellent piloh for supper, and in their conduct were much more civilized than my knowledge of their countrymen gave me reason to expect: they not only permitted us to sleep in one of the outer apartments, but even brought me additional coverings to defend me from the cold dew of the night: a civility so uncommon, that I can only attribute it to their having been previously accustomed to bestow similar attentions, for which they had been well rewarded, or from their being more acquainted with christians, by having accompanied their master on his voyages in the Archipelago during the war with Russia.

"They expressed to me their great surprise at the christians' visits to that part of the world, and requested me to tell them, if lately in my country there had not been circulated a report of immense wealth being somewhere hidden in or upon the banks of the rivers, since all the infidels they had seen were solicitous of following the streams which flowed through the plain. I endeavoured to persuade them that no such idea had actuated my countrymen, but that we were desirous of discovering where a once beautiful city had been built, and where some considerable battles had been fought by the Greeks against their enemies, inhabitants of that city. Upon this statement they laughed, and, significantly nodding to each other, observed, that we must be very ignorant indeed of the matter to make our researches in that part, as the town was situated on the coast beyond the streights, and was perfectly well known to them, being now under the authority of their sultaun, and called *Eskee Stamboul*. Upon remarking that Eskee Stamboul was not the place the christians sought for, they replied, we might look long enough for the vestiges of any other, as none had assuredly been built near where we were; and adding a few compassionate phrases at the folly of our inconvenient, and to them useless

useless travels, left me with a very mean opinion of a christian's intellects.

"For a small present they procured me the next morning some eggs, bread, and two fowls, with which provision my guide and I proceeded to rejoin the Scamander, and trace it to its source; from whence to the village of Bounar Bashee I understood it to be an inconsiderable distance. The country through which the path led was flat, but on each side many eminences were visible, and the horizon to the south-east was formed by an extensive range of Ida's various heights. A few trees, patches of shrubs, and underwood interspersed, relieved the eye, and added their slender aid to break in upon the insipid sameness of the plain. After a walk of about six or seven miles we passed a mill; and soon afterwards my guide conducted me through swampy ground and unpleasant paths to a square well or bason, the sides of which were supported by pieces of marble and stones. The water, he assured me, was hot during the severity of winter; but at the time of my visiting it in February it was only tepid. A few willow trees grew near it; and at a short distance some streams of cold water, filtering through rocky ground, unite, and, after rendering the surface near them marshy, gradually extend, and, passing through some gardens, join with the water from the warm spring, and form the clear and beautiful Scamander. The bed of the river is composed of small pebbles, and the banks are covered with verdure; but from its diminutive breadth, and short course, it must (notwithstanding all that has been written relative to it) be considered, in respect to magnitude, as a stream of little importance.

"The springs are in the neighbourhood of tolerably well cultivated grounds, or Turkish gardens, where a variety of culinary vegetables is produced by the labours of the inhabitants of the village, which is distant about half a mile. A cemetery occupies a space of ground on the eastern side of the village, which, with a mosque of mean appearance, and the agah's house, first attracts the traveller's attention. We sat down near the mosque, and made one of those pleasurable meals at which keen appetite and high health over-rule all desire for delicacies. Our hunger being satisfied, we proceeded to a small house in the village, where, after some deliberation, the master allowed us to remain. Taking advantage of my guide's absence, who had left me to replenish our stock of provisions, I retired to the inner part, and rejoiced at the opportunity of enjoying a comfortable sleep without the aid of down-bed or pillow. A few hours afterwards I found my good Joannes well provided with rice, &c. We now began to prepare our evening repast; and, however the art of cooking may be little understood by parlour guests in general, it is of too much importance to be wholly neglected by travellers who perform a journey in these countries, and in the manner I did. I have had repeated occasion to congratulate myself that my abilities in that line have prevented me from experiencing the loss of a wholesome and a comfortable meal.

"In the evening I walked to the summit of the hill, which rises behind the village for about a mile; and observed at the base of the steep and rocky declivity (which formed

formed the rapid current I had seen, on the easten side of the plain, winding round the hill between rocks of considerable elevation), at no great distance from each other, on the highest part of the hill, three conic mounds of earth, resembling those I had before noticed near the sea; one of them was composed chiefly of stones. Rocks of rugged appearance and considerable height, together with the mountains of Ida, closed the view to the south; but turning to the north, nearly the whole extent of country to the Hellespont, the Ægean Sea, with the islands of Tenedos, Samothrace, Lemnos, and Imbros, were visible.

"Satisfied with the interesting prospect, I returned to Bounar Bashee, where I passed but an indifferent night with respect to the accommodations afforded me. As soon as it was light, I bade adieu to the uncivilized host, who convinced me, by his exactions, that hospitality had no share in the motives which engaged him to permit two keupegs (dogs) to sleep in the premises which he himself occupied.

"I now took my route along the bank of the Simois, without crossing it at the ford; and leaving it only to pursue a more direct course, or to avoid the marshy spots which interrupted my proceeding, at length I came to the ruins of a bridge, which seemed to have been built according to a regular system of architecture, of considerable blocks of stone; in the shaping and fashioning of which it was evident much art and labour had been employed. The river here was not so broad as in many places above; and below it, at no great distance from the village, a wooden bridge of uncouth construction and great length allows it to be crossed. I did not observe the barrow or tumulus which M. Chevalier supposes may be that of Ibus; and agree with him when he says, 'It 'was even requisite to be as well 'accustomed as I was, to the sight 'of such monuments, to enable any 'one to distinguish its antient shape 'amidst the wreck.'

"My time not admitting of longer delay, and being anxious to rejoin the friendly captain, I made the best of my way to the village where I had left them, and found them well engaged at a dinner, not unlike that we had partaken of at Avezza.

"Reflecting upon such part of the Troad as came under my own observation, during this hasty and immethodical visit, I confess myself strongly prejudiced in favour of those hypotheses which monsieur Le Chevalier has presented to the literary world; and if ever fancy has occasionally aided his laborious and assiduous researches, every admirer of Homer and of classic learning must feel themselves deeply indebted to his persevering spirit of inquiry, for those interesting elucidations which scepticism only can wish to depreciate.

"It appears to me, that no position upon the plain could possibly be better adapted for a fortified town than that which monsieur Le Chevalier has specified; and the many coinciding circumstances which bring to the recollection the descriptions Homer has recorded of its situation, give a stamp of authenticity, it may be said, to monsieur Chevalier's conjectures.—Its vicinity to the springs, which by most authors are allowed to be the sources of the Scamander —the steep projecting declivity to the south and south-east, and its relative

relative bearings to the Simois, as well as to the old bed of the Scamander, all seem to justify his opinions: and although I confess these ideas did not strike me so forcibly at the moment, notwithstanding the many conversations I had heard at Constantinople respecting his discoveries; yet, upon recalling to memory the whole of the scene, and attending to the conclusions he has drawn, I am firmly persuaded no traveller has so accurately described, or so satisfactorily explained, the appearances which still correspond with various parts of the Iliad.

"Amongst the objections which have been stated against monsieur Le Chevalier's explanations, there are two which I think may be easily done away. It has been observed that Homer, in one place, says, that the Greeks were compelled to repass the river after the action, before they could return to their own camp; but that, according to Le Chevalier, the course of the Scamander is such, that if the camp had been placed between it and the Simois, near the sea-shore, the river would be at a considerable distance on the left of the returning army; and it therefore could not have been necessary to repass it. This would be perfectly just, were we to suppose that the Scamander flowed through the country in the direction in which we now see it; but at the time of the Trojan war the current was conveyed along the old bed, and joined the Simois; in which case it operated as a security and important barrier between the armies; and when the Greeks proceeded to attack the Trojans, it became absolutely requisite to repass the river on their return.—If it be urged, that Homer nowhere mentions that the contending armies were *always* compelled to pass the river when either party began an attack, may it not be supposed that the advanced posts of the Greeks, or even a considerable portion of their army, was encamped on the eastern side of the old bed of the Scamander, when, in case of defeat only, this advanced party would find itself obliged to repass the river for the purpose of joining the main body of their countrymen, encamped between the west side of the old bed and the shores of the Dardanelles?

"With regard to the uncertainty which many authors have alleged respecting the propriety of naming that river the Simois, which, taking its rise in mount Ida, flows through the eastern part of the plain, and empties itself into the Dardanelles between *Kazak Limanee* and Koum Kalee,—I conceive that the objection, grounded upon the circumstance of the present residents in the country calling it the Scamander, may be removed with the greatest facility.—It is generally allowed that the inhabitants are extremely uninformed, and can scarcely reply with any share of rationality to the various questions with which they are assailed.—They are completely unacquainted with the geography of the country, and the greater part have never seen or heard of the plain of Troy.—It is true, they call the river which runs near their village the Scamander; but is it not probable that the name was given to this part of the Simois in consequence of the junction of the Scamander, which, in its original course, took place at a very short distance from the village, continuing its current to the Dardanelles? and that, during a long period of ignorance, the name of the

the Scamander being most frequently used by the residents to identify that part of the stream between the junction and the streights, and the communication between the two rivers being afterwards totally obliterated, they have transferred the name of Scamander to the whole of the river Simois, and thus propagated the error which has led to perplexity?

"Something similar to this has taken place with respect to the river Ganges in the East Indies, which, in its course to the sea, unites its waters with the river Hoogly. —The Hoogly loses itself in the bay of Balasore; but not one person amongst a thousand (except mariners) supposes that, in proceeding to Calcutta, he is not to go up the Ganges from Balasore roads; whereas he really proceeds on the Hoogly, and does not enter the Ganges until the junction of the two rivers, which takes place much above the city of Calcutta.

"From the site of old Troy, confining our ideas to the appearance of the country, there is nothing to deserve the praise of picturesque beauty or interesting variety: a flat, and in some places marshy, extent of ground, surrounded for the most part with hills of no great magnitude or pleasing form, those elevations which are considered as tumuli, a few scattered villages, together with the streams of the Scamander and Simois, form the whole of the picture.—Nature has not enriched the view with scenery of lofty woods or enchanting dales; nor has art contributed her portion of embellishment, by adding the party-coloured soil and regular intersections of systematic cultivation: here no flocks wander over the flowery heath, no herds proclaim the riches of the husbandmen; all is in a state of impoverishment, degradation, and abandonment!

"To what reflections may not the thinking mind be brought by dwelling upon the reverse which has been here effected! Only three thousand years ago, a period of insignificance when compared to eternity, upon this spot rose the majestic pile which inclosed the beauties of Helen! Here the splendour of a court consisted in its heroes; the renown of a country in the wisdom of its governors! Here an innumerable population enjoyed the blessings of a favoured clime, and fought the battles of a favoured home! Here not one stone marks the residence of Priam! scarcely a vestige remains of the labours of his subjects! and so completely annihilated is every trace of his city, that doubts have even been entertained of its having ever existed!"

JOURNEY across the DESERT.

[From the Same.]

"DURING the familiarity with which I visited signor R. I became acquainted with a Greek bishop, whose residence was generally in Georgia. He was upon his return to Teflis, and spoke of the country and manners of the inhabitants in a way that inflamed my curiosity, and tempted me to court his acquaintance. An inclination

clination to garrulity rendered him fatiguing to many of his hearers; it was easy, therefore, for me, by sacrificing a little time and attention, to win his good will; and I found myself in a few evenings intimate enough to hint at my desire to accompany him to Georgia. The satisfaction he manifested at my communication was flattering; and in order to strengthen my inclination for the journey, he launched out into the most extravagant praises of Teflis, the beauty and engaging manners of its inhabitants, his intimacy with prince Heraclius, and the favourable reception he would ensure me at the court. There required no further inducement than what I already felt; our arrangements were soon made. The bishop kindly offered me the use of a horse; and the day was fixed for our departure.

"All the hopes and expectations I had so fondly cherished were soon destroyed. Intelligence arrived that the pashahlic of Eizerum was in a state of insurrection, and to travel through that part of the country was therefore impracticable; to approach Kurdestaun was still more dangerous; and the bishop, having determined to postpone his return to Georgia, left Aleppo for the south of Syria.

"I had scarcely time to lament my disappointment, before a circumstance, as unexpected as extraordinary, demanded all my attention. A gentleman, in whose family I had passed almost every hour, excepting those devoted to my engagements with signor and signora R. confided to me, under the seal of secrecy, his intention of proceeding to India.

"The urgency of his affairs compelled him to determine upon braving the dangers of the Desert at a season the most unfavourable for passing it, and to take advantage of a small caravan then forming for Bassorah; but one thing was indispensable to the completion of his plan,—a friend in whom he could confide, and through whom all necessary arrangements could be made. His uniform kindness and hospitality had already attached me to him and his family. He knew my readiness to engage in any journey that should be proposed, by the desire I had expressed of travelling with the Greek bishop; and he felt persuaded (I may add) that his secret intrusted to me would be inviolably preserved.

"One evening, therefore, after supper, we retired to his library; where he imparted to me his project, with a candour that gained my esteem, and with an affecting disclosure of circumstances that interested my finest feelings. Taking me by the hand, he concluded in these words: 'Now, my dear sir, 'after what I have told you, will 'you venture to accompany me on 'the journey, and let me owe the 'future happiness of myself and 'family to your friendship? Without you I dare not undertake it.'

"I promised, without hesitation, to attend him, and, by every endeavour in my power, to mitigate his anxiety. We separated; and the next morning finally adjusted every thing that was required for the prosecution of our plan. A respectable friend undertook to make the necessary agreement with the schaik of the caravan; and in less than ten days the merchandise, camels, and guards, were all collected at a short distance from the gates of the town, where we joined them at ten o'clock at night.

"Mr. H. was married to one of the

the most beautiful and most amiable women, 'such as youthful poets 'fancy when they love,' by whom he had two daughters; the eldest about seven, the youngest little more than two years of age. To leave them all, and visit a far distant, and to him a new country, without bearing about him some portion of his treasure, was to my friend impossible; he therefore pleaded with his lovely wife, and obtained a reluctant acquiescence to his taking with him the eldest.

"Marianne was a child of uncommon quickness of comprehension, and of most retentive memory. At the tender age of seven years she spoke fluently the Arabic, Greek, French, Italian, and English languages. Her manners were peculiarly engaging; and, in common with all who knew her, I soon felt myself much attached to her. How infinitely more dear to me became this sweet companion of my sufferings will be easily believed!

"Our party consisted of Mr. H. miss Marianne, myself, and an Armenian servant named Joannes.

"The first division of the caravan was formed of about eighty camels, and between thirty and forty guards. Other camels, amongst which many were destined for Bagdad, joining us before we took our final departure, the whole number approached two hundred.

"Amongst the guards were certain men called *raffeeks*, who are Arabs of various tribes upon the Desert, with whom the head schaik of a caravan enters into an agreement that they may accompany him on the journey, and protect him from being attacked or plundered by any party belonging to their tribe.

"Whenever tribes, or parties belonging to tribes, meet with others who are not classed amongst their friends, hostilities commence; and when merchandize is under the protection of either, it depends upon the superiority of numbers, or success in the fight, with whom it may remain. It frequently happens, however, that rather than hazard a battle, a compromise takes place, and a tribute is paid for the goods; which are then permitted to pass over the territory of the tribe who pretend to the sovereignty.

"To participate more securely in the profits which commercial adventures across the Desert present to the Arabs, many, perhaps the greater part of the tribes, station at Aleppo, as well as at other cities from whence caravans usually take their departure, some of their own people, expressly to act as *raffeeks*. These raffeeks carry with them the distinguishing flag of their tribe, and under favour of it safety is ensured. It is therefore customary for the principal schaik of a caravan to hire as many raffeeks belonging to those tribes inimical to his own (provided they are to be found), as he judges it probable he may meet with on his route; and he cautiously avoids the territory or wells where he presumes those unfriendly parties may be stationed from whose tribe he has no raffeek.

"It is difficult to understand any other law by which the people of the Desert seem to be regulated than that of superiority in point of numbers; for, as they have no fixed place of residence, it is natural to suppose there can be no territorial limits to any particular tribe, so precisely marked as to admit of a tax for possessing them;

and it appears, therefore, that the mere chance of falling in with an inferior force constitutes the right of exacting tribute, or, in the true spirit of plunderers, a right of seizure. Whatever may be the standard by which they establish their privileges, the result is the same; and a caravan can only be preserved by the power of arms, or the protection of a raffeek.

"Camels alone are employed to convey the goods, water, and, in general, travellers; but Mr. H. determined to take with us a horse of great value, to which he was partial; and a machine, called *mohaffah*, was fitted up for common use. This is formed of two boxes, about four feet in length, and eighteen or twenty inches in breadth. One of these is slung on each side of the camel; and, by means of uprights or posts fixed at the outside corners, a canvass covering is thrown over them, and shades the travellers from the extreme heat of the sun.

"To render this machine more commodious, the boxes are nearly filled with mattresses; but the movements of the camel prevent all comfort; and every time the fore-feet of the animal come to the ground, the shock is similar to that which is experienced in the bow of a vessel when labouring against a head-sea; and in a few hours I was so bruised, that I quitted the mohaffah, and ever afterwards, even when the heat was almost insupportable, preferred walking.

"The provident care of Mr. H. had induced him to pack up a very excellent tent, some wines, liqueurs, butter, and a variety of dried articles; not forgetting a quantity of vinegar, alum, and a pair of bellows, for the purpose of purifying the bad water we had reason to expect.

"The tenderest adieus being a thousand times repeated, and a thousand promises, whispered through tears and sighs, that testified the deepest distress, one part of this amiable family tore itself away from the other.

"The water which we took with us was preserved in skins and leathern bottles; but, from their being new, they communicated a disagreeable taste, and we were glad to fill them again at the first well we came to.

"We began our march at a quarter past eleven o'clock on the night of the eighth June 1786; Marianne and myself on the mohaffah, Mr. H. on horseback, and Joannes on a camel. We travelled till eight o'clock the next morning, and then stopped near a few Arabs' huts, at a place called Garebooz, three hours from the village of Geeboul. Our principal employment, during the two days we remained here, consisted in arranging our stock, and dividing it into such portions as might from time to time be opened without endangering the whole. Here we were joined by several camels and travellers; and many Arabs, armed with lances, came amongst us. From one of them we bought a young hare; and from those who lived in the tents we procured both yaourt and milk. We observed several jerbo, or Desert rats, but could not catch any.—Mr. H. and Marianne slept on two travelling beds, and I on a thin mattress laid on the ground. A fine westerly breeze prevailed constantly during the night; the thermometer at three o'clock P. M. rose to eighty-eight degrees of Fahrenheit.

"The

"The face of the country exhibited a plain surface of sand, limited only by the natural horizon, excepting where a few inconsiderable elevations occasioned a gentle waving in the line. To the E. N. E. of us the ground was covered with a whitish salt, which gave it the appearance of water; nor could I persuade myself it was otherwise, until a near approach explained the nature of the deception. This place is well known, and called 'The Salt Lakes near Hagleer.' Hagleer was formerly a village, of which the ruins alone remain; but as good water is to be found in abundance, we stopped the next morning to complete a stock sufficient for three days.

"Our usual mode of proceeding was to set out about two o'clock in the morning, and continue travelling until nine, ten, or eleven, when an encampment was formed for the day; but it several times occurred that we were obliged to go on until five or six o'clock in the evening; and the fatigue of those days is not easy to be described.

"The tent, arms, horse, baggage, and all the travellers, were placed in the center of the encampment, formed when we halted, surrounded by the bales of merchandise, and these again encircled by the camels; which, to prevent their straying, have one of their forelegs tied up. Whenever there is pasture for them, and this frequently occurs, they are allowed to graze until sun-set; at which time the keepers collect them together by a particular call, not unlike that of our herdsmen, and secure them in the manner above mentioned.

"The first occupation, after *coming to the ground*, is to procure coffee; and this is done in a manner somewhat peculiar. Almost over the whole Desert may be found dried camels' dung, which serves the Arabs for fuel. A small quantity is immediately collected, and lighted by means of a fungus, called by the French *amadou*, with which every Arab is provided, and which, upon the smallest spark elicited from flint and steel, takes fire. The coffee, ground or beaten to an impalpable powder, is preserved closely pressed down in a wooden box, and the quantity required for use is scraped from the surface by means of a wooden spoon. Two small coffee-pots are employed: in one is boiled the water, generally mixed with the remaining coffee of a former meal; in the other is put the fresh powder, which is sometimes placed near the fire to become heated before the boiling water is added to it. The mixture is then boiled two or three times, taking care to pour a few drops of cold water upon it the last time, or to place a cloth dipped in cold water over it: it is then allowed to subside, and afterwards poured into the coffee-pot which contained only the boiling water, or served out without any farther precaution: thick coffee not being so much disliked amongst the Turks and Arabs as in our drawing-rooms.

"After the solace of coffee, a few hours repose, during the heat of the day, is indulged in by all but those who keep guard, and the scouts, who are invariably dispatched where any apprehensions are entertained of enemies or unknown straggling parties of Arabs being in the neighbourhood. Not unfrequently the scouts are sent forward to reconnoitre the ground near the wells where it is intended to halt; and upon their report de-

pends the execution of the schaik's plans. Whenever it proves unfavourable, that is, when the wells are surrounded by enemies, the route is immediately changed, and a hasty departure indicates the probable danger of a meeting. These circumstances are occasionally the cause of great distress during the summer months; when many of the wells being dry, there are fewer resources, and of course at greater distances from each other.

"During the first eight days, little more occurred than may be presumed from the idea I have endeavoured to convey of caravan-travelling. We now and then saw a few horsemen at a distance, many antelopes, rats, and hares. Of the two former we were not so fortunate as to procure any; but of the last, the Arabs brought us several, which they had knocked down with small sticks or clubs, thrown with admirable dexterity. The line of our caravan sometimes extending nearly a mile in breadth, the hares which were started, and ran parallel to it, scarcely ever escaped the host of clubs to which they were exposed. The Arab who was successful always brought us his prize; and several of them refused the payment which we were accustomed to offer.

"I regularly noticed the variations in the thermometer, and observed that the difference between the time from two to four in the day and two to four in the morning was frequently sixteen degrees; the extreme height during the first eight days was ninety-six, and the lowest degree was seventy-four.

"In the forenoon of the eighth day we halted at *Ein ul Koom*, where we found a well amply supplied with beautiful clear water, overflowing a gentle declivity, and rendering fertile the surrounding grounds; but it issued unfortunately from a bed of bitumen, and was strongly impregnated also with sulphur. The nauseous taste which it had acquired gradually disappeared, however, after an exposure of twenty-four hours to the atmosphere, or after having been subjected to much motion in the skins. Here we first tried our experiments with alum; but in removing one flavour, we added another almost as disagreeable, and were compelled to drink the water as it was, or abstain from it altogether.

"At Ein ul Koom we met with the first considerable patch of vegetation. An aromatic herb, called by the Arabs *rotah*, grew in abundance near the well, and the camels were allowed to graze at liberty until very late at night.

"The soil from Aleppo to this place varied frequently; being in some parts a reddish brown, in others a white sand, and, during the march of almost a whole day, clay and sand mixed together. The quantity of salt upon the surface of the ground presented occasionally the same appearance as that which we had noticed in the neighbourhood of Hagleer.

"The schaik desired that all the skins might be filled at Ein ul Koom, as it was more than probable we should be disappointed of water at the wells, which he expected to reach in two days, and in that case we should be compelled to proceed two stages farther.

"Leaving this place, we travelled over a country less flat than that which we had passed. A range of sandy hills to the southward remained long in view; and we found ourselves amongst small elevations

vations of the same kind, where the rotah seemed to flourish notwithstanding the dryness of the soil.

"The camels are very partial to this herb; and the caravan usually continued travelling much longer when we met with it, on account of the delay occasioned by their stopping to eat it.

"The heat of the weather was now much increased, and the thermometer often rose to 100 and 102 during the day. My eyes began to inflame; and for ten days I suffered extremely by a confirmed ophthalmia. Not being provided with any collyrium, the only application I made use of was a solution of alum; and at the end of ten days the inflammation (which had been so violent as to deprive me of sight for three or four) had almost entirely subsided.

"It was fortunate that we attended to the advice of our schaik, for, as he had suspected, there was no water in the wells, which we visited on the second day after quitting Ein ul Koom; and those we found at *Ein ul Harroof* contained a thick and muddy water, scarcely potable. We cautiously, therefore, preserved for drinking that which we had brought (it had now lost all its bad taste), and made use of the new water for common purposes.

"At Ein ul Harroof we changed the direction of our course, which had been nearly E. S. E. and struck off to the southward. On the third day we came to some wells, which supplied us with a farther stock of muddy water, and were promised by the schaik the pleasure of meeting with much better in three days more, at a place called *Haugleet*. We arrived there on the fourth morning, anxious for a renewal of so indispensable an article; and were gratified in finding that we had not been deceived. In a fine gravelly soil a number of wells were open; many others were choaked up with sand; and the Arabs dug two new ones whilst we remained there.

"From the quantity of camels' dung near these wells, it was evident that they were much frequented; and this accounted for the caution with which our schaik approached them. Two days before we arrived, he dispatched scouts to ascertain whether any tribes were encamped on the ground; and, not contented with the report, made the caravan halt, during several hours, whilst he himself reconnoitred the place.

"Here we remained until the following day without molestation; and having replenished all the skins belonging to the caravan, we proceeded in a south-east direction.

"During the nine following days, from the vicinity of inimical tribes, our schaik cautiously avoided the usual track, travelled much more in the night than in the day, and seldom encamped near any wells. The supplies of water were procured with all possible haste, and the route continued several hours after we had supplied ourselves. On the third of these nine days, that is, on the third from leaving Haugleet, a general alarm was spread through the camp about noon, in consequence of the appearance of a few camels in the south. Scouts were instantly dispatched; and in less than an hour returned with an account of there being only four camels, carrying unarmed men and two women.

"Schaik Mahommed mounted his mare, and attended by ten guards with their matchlocks, upon five camels, set off to join the tra-

vellers, or rather to meet them. This was soon accomplished, to the sorrow of the party, who were immediately made prisoners, and brought to the caravan, with which they were compelled to proceed. In the evening, when we came to our ground, I enquired the motive for such an outrage, when the schaik explained that it was a measure of precaution. The people he detained were not friends, although not declared enemies to his tribe; and to prevent their giving information of his arrival to those tribes which he knew were not many hours journey from his track, he determined they should remain three days with us, and be then set at liberty; so that, before they could possibly return to their own tribes, we should be infinitely beyond their reach. Self-preservation is one of the best apologies for an infraction of common rights; and in this instance no farther injury was offered but that of compulsive detention.

"Our own sufferings and inconvenience seemed gradually to increase the farther we entered the Desert; the rays of the sun became daily more powerful, and the Simooleh, or S. E. wind, manifested itself frequently. The face of Mr. H. was extremely blistered; mine, which had been still more exposed (because I could not submit to guard it by thick cotton handkerchiefs as Mr. H. had done), was sore; but the dear child, who had not been permitted to leave the mohaffah, still continued tolerably well, and complained less than either of us. Our stock of provisions was much reduced; what remained was too dry to be nutritive, particularly some salted tongues, upon which we had placed great reliance; and our general fare was confined to rice. Now and then a hare was brought in; occasionally a Desert rat; and once our schaik gave a liberal treat to all the caravan by killing a young camel.

"The thermometer varied during the day, that is, from six o'clock in the morning and six in the evening, seven or eight degrees, from 96 to 104; but the nights were frequently cooled by northerly winds, and the mercury, at three o'clock in the morning, fell sometimes to 70.

"Many of the camels with merchandise were destined for Bagdad; they therefore left us, after having taken in water at Haugleet; but before our separation, a robbery was effected by some petty thieves of address in the following manner, at least so it was explained to me by the Arabs: One of the rogues, provided with a long cord, and a strong hook fastened to it, crept upon his hands and knees between the camels, to the packages which were piled up, and fixing the hook into a large bale, retired to his companions, stationed at some distance from the encampment, who, by very gently dragging the bale from the others, drew it to them, and escaped with the booty.

"By some noise, however, their plan was discovered before a second attempt could be made, and the confusion became general. A cry of 'robbers!' ran through the caravan; the guards discharged their matchlocks, and all were kept on the *qui vive* until sunset; but no attempts were made to recover the bale.

"Early in the morning of the twenty-ninth day of our journey we discovered an extensive grove of palmyra or date-trees, amongst which we found about noon the village of Rahlee. The inhabitants, who are numerous, live in mud-

houses,

houses, and principally upon the fruit of the date-tree, preserved in different ways. The children seemed to eat nothing else; and scarcely any of those we saw were without dried dates in their hands. A considerable trade in this fruit is carried on with Bagdad.

"Here we found some fowls, for which they made us pay a dollar a-piece; and we purchased a sheep, that not only furnished us immediately with a good meal, but supplied us the two following days. The water we procured was the best we had found; and we were not a little rejoiced at meeting with such advantages in the midst of the Desert, where we little expected to find so populous a village, and such well-disposed inhabitants. Several of the principal people smoked a pipe in our tent. They were of darker complexion than the Arabs we had seen; and not only made use of surmek for their eye-lids, but were many of them marked down the forehead with a blue line, not unlike one of the casts of Hindûs.

"From Rahlee to Mesched Ali, in consequence of information received by the schaik, we made a circuitous route of five days, without meeting with any wells, or scarcely any spot for vegetation. One uniform sandy track was all we discovered; and the rising or setting of the sun the only object that claimed our admiration. The hot wind during the day not only blistered our faces, but parched our mouths in such a manner that we could scarcely refrain from drinking ten minutes together. We were obliged to abandon the pipe, pleasurable resource as we had found it; and, instead of wine, often preferred vinegar, to give a more acidulated flavour to our beverage.

"We met with a mortifying disappointment also in regard to our provisions. Our faithful servant Johannes, in his zeal to preserve the fowls we had so dearly purchased at Rahlee, thought proper to put them into the dubber of butter (now become oil) we carried with us; but upon going to produce them, he found them completely melted down into a putrid mass. The loss of the butter was severe; and our rice became much less palatable than we had before found it.

Our stock of water was nearly expended when we came in sight of the grand dome and glittering minarehs of Mesched Ali. They may be distinguished at many miles distance; and the former is covered with bronzed plates, which reflect, in a brilliant manner, the rays of the sun.

"We pitched our tent, and the camels were unloaded on a spot about half a mile to the south of the town, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon; the heat was dreadfully oppressive, and the deep sand, over which we had travelled during the last few days, extremely fatiguing.

"My friend was almost exhausted by the pain and uneasiness he experienced; nor was I much less so: but a desire to explore (as far as was possible for a Christian) the renowned tomb of the prophet Ali, held in estimation by the Persians with a zeal equally enthusiastic with that which the Hadgees of Mecca entertain for the shrine of Mahommed, vanquished my disposition for rest, and, contrary to the advice of Mr. H., I set off alone for the village.

"It is seated upon an elevated

ridge of sand hills: a tolerably good street runs nearly from south to north about three hundred yards. The houses on each side are flat-roofed; many of them being so constructed that their roofs are but little above the level of the street. To enter the habitable part of them, it is necessary to descend from the streets down several steps; so that one is apt to imagine the street has been formed between two rows of houses already built.

"After proceeding along this street, another turns abruptly to the right; and on the left of the angle is the grand entrance to the celebrated mosque. In a variety of shops, near the gates of the mosque, were exposed to sale water-melons and other fruits, as well as many dried grains: but in almost all of them the proprietors were reposing themselves; and on account of the extreme heat not a single person appeared walking in the streets. Being thirsty, I wished to purchase part of a melon, and addressed myself to a shopkeeper for the purpose; but taking me for a Greek, he loaded me with abuse, and refused to contaminate himself even by selling to me one of the articles on his shop-board. I retired without making him any reply; and, upon my return past his hut, observed he had again laid himself down to sleep. On approaching the gate of the mosque, I perceived that all the good mussulmauns, at each side of the entrance, were in the same drowsy disposition. Stimulated by an irresistible, yet unpardonable curiosity, I hastily walked into the first court. An elegant fountain, ornamented with coloured tiles, and a profusion of Arabic sentences, was constructed in the center; and a corridor round the area afforded a shady walk to that part of the building, where two handsome doors led to the interior of the mosque. I went to that on the left-hand side, and finding no one at prayers, entered it far enough to see the whole of the apartment. The dome is very handsome, but by no means so large as that of Saint Paul's, as Colonel Capper judged it to be from its appearance at a distance. The mosque is richly ornamented with balls of ivory, glass, ostriches' eggs, and a prodigious number of lamps, not only in the center, but on every side. Very small-sized rich carpets covered the flooring, and two extraordinarily large silver candlesticks were placed near the mahareb.

"Apprehension of discovery now began to operate upon me, and I traced back my steps with caution, greatly dissatisfied at having found nothing extraordinary; but, before I could repass the gate, an old man started up, and called to me in Persian. Not receiving any answer, he awakened two others; when they all jumped from the elevated part where they had been sleeping, and exclaimed most vehemently. One of them, armed with a scimitar (fortunately for me not unsheathed), and another with a short stick, made many blows at me; which parrying in the best manner I was able, although not so successfully as I could have wished, I dashed through these bearded heroes, and was assailed in my flight by many large stones, of which, for many days, I bore the marks.

"A consciousness of the penalties I might incur by my imprudent behaviour, and the fear of being seized, stimulated my efforts

to

to escape; and, in spite of the burning sun, or almost equally burning sand, I stopped not until I had left the village very far behind me. Arriving at the tent, Mr. H. who tempered his reproaches with a thousand kind expressions, pointed out in the strongest terms the danger as well as folly of my proceeding; and although I could not but acknowledge the propriety of his observations, yet I felt a secret satisfaction at having accomplished what most probably no European ever before attempted.

"We here procured a supply of mutton, and a small quantity of Arabs' butter; which, though rancid, and always full of hairs, was at this time truly acceptable. Our water was replenished; and in the night we advanced towards the south-east. Soon after day-break scouts were ordered off in all directions; and upon the return of one of them we changed our course, and travelled due southward. The heat was for many hours oppressive beyond measure; the thermometer frequently, during the four last days, had risen to 108, and seldom fell lower than 90. In the evenings, however, a light breeze from the west and north-west refreshed our jaded spirits, and cooled our inflamed faces. We cautiously covered the dear Marianne with thick cotton handkerchiefs, and preserved her from the parching atmosphere as much as it was possible. To our great astonishment she supported both the heat and fatigue of the mohaffah much better than either of us; and when the servant or Arabs complained, rallied them with great cheerfulness. Her little mouth was notwithstanding much blistered, and I often bathed it with camel's milk and water.

"Penetrating still farther to the south, on account of some inimical tribes who were known to be in the vicinity, we found ourselves, on the third morning after leaving Mesched Ali, straitened for water. That which still remained in the skins was not only brackish, but dirty; and the constant evaporation rendered it hourly less potable.

"An alarm of the approach of enemies was suddenly spread through our straggling party about noon. The guards and raffeeks drew up in a line, and, after consultation, determined to proceed in front; which they did, shouting and dancing. Curious to observe what might occur, I took from the servant a musket, and advanced with the guards. A large party of men on foot, and others on camels, with lances and flags, were coming directly in front of our caravan; and, as they proceeded, those on foot quickened their step, to reconnoitre us more nearly. A number of shots were fired in the air on each side; and soon afterwards flags were displayed, which produced a parley. At length our schaik advanced alone on horseback, armed with his lance and pistols, to meet the schaik of the opposite tribe, who was on a camel; when, both dismounting, they saluted each other with much ceremony; and a general halt convinced us that no danger was to be apprehended from our new acquaintances, who proved to be a party of the powerful schaik Tivinee, with whom a certain duty upon the goods was soon regulated in an amicable manner.

"No spot upon earth more completely deserves the name of Desert than that where we remained during the whole day. Mr. H. was extremely ill; and the hot wind affected us all severely. The wa-

ter we had was so contaminated that we could not without reluctance taste it; and every thing conspired to render our situation dreadfully distressing.

"The Arabs continued occupied great part of the night, and we set out later than usual. It appeared that we had travelled far from the path which led to those wells where it was intended we should halt; and, in spite of all the uneasiness we experienced, we were told that it was absolutely necessary to continue travelling until we should reach them. Hour after hour passed in fruitless expectation of coming to the long wished-for ground; the sun darted his fiery beams with unusual ardor; the *Simooh* stifled us with uncommon heat; and the dregs of our water were ineffectual to quench our violent thirst.

"At length the caravan halted; and, to our inexpressible mortification, not in the vicinity of any wells. The same distress was therefore to be supported until the next day, when we were positively assured we should arrive at fresh water.

"Mr. H. and his daughter had for many days past travelled together in the mohaffah, whilst I generally went on foot until the heat was too powerful, when I mounted the horse. During the three last days the poor animal suffered so violently, and was so lame for several hours together, that I relieved him occasionally, notwithstanding the extreme heat, and anxiously, though unsuccessfully, endeavoured to discover the cause of the lameness I observed. At length, on taking up his foot, I accidently touched the shoe; and the pain I felt instantly explained the cause of the poor horse's sufferings. The heat of the sand had rendered the iron too hot for the animal to support it; and what was truly distressing, we had no instruments with which we could remove it. When the ground was in some degree cooled by the breezes which restored our exhausted spirits in the evening and through the night, the horse recovered, but on each succeeding day of the journey he was doomed to similar distress.

"The manner of passing the time during this halt may be easily imagined. Complaints were unavailing. We mixed vinegar with the little remaining water to moisten occasionally our mouths. The dear child slept soundly from fatigue; and the departure of the caravan, which we hastened as much as in our power, was a moment of joy.

"Little conversation took place between my companion and myself: he was very ill; and we both dreaded the return of noon, when, in general, the heated air began to affect us, and travelled on in silent hope of speedy relief.

"At two o'clock P. M. the Simooleh blew stronger than usual from the S. E.; and on joining the mohaffah, I soon observed an afflicting change had taken place in the countenance of my friend. It was now that, in aggravation of all my sufferings, I foresaw the impossibility of his long resisting the violently burning blasts which, with little intermission, continued to assail us. The thermometer hanging round my neck was up to 116; and the little remaining water, which was in a leathern bottle, suspended at the corner of the mohaffah, had become so thick, resembling the residuum of an inkstand, that, parched and thirsty as I felt, I could not relieve my distress by any attempt to swallow it.

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"At length I perceived evident marks of our approaching the long looked-for wells, where some relief was to be expected. The hasty march of the leading camels and stragglers, all verging towards one point, convinced me we were not far from the place of our destination. Willing to communicate the glad tidings to my friend, I rode to him, and expressed my hope that he would be soon refreshed by a supply of water. He replied, 'Thank God! but I am almost 'dead.' I endeavoured to cheer his spirits; and then urging my horse, advanced to the spot where I observed the camels were collecting together. In about half an hour I found myself amongst a circle of animals greedily contending for a draught of muddy water, confined in a small superficial well about five feet in diameter. Pressing to the edge, I laid myself upon my belly, and by means of my hand supplied myself with a fluid, which, however filthy in itself, and contaminated by the disgusting mouths of as many camels and men as could reach it, was a source of indescribable gratification. It is wholly out of the power of language to convey any idea of the blissful enjoyment of obtaining water after an almost total want of it during eight and forty hours, in the scorching regions of an Arabian desert in the month of July!

"But this moment of gratification was soon succeeded by one of peculiar horror and anxiety. Scarcely had I quenched my thirst before the mohaffah arrived. I flew with a bowl full of water to my friend; who drank but little of it, and in great haste. Alas! it was his last draught! His lovely child, too, eagerly moistened her mouth of roses, blistered by the noxious blast!

"With difficulty Johannes and myself supported my feeble friend to where the tent had been thrown down from the camel's back. He stammered out a question respecting the time of the day; to which I answered it was near four: and requesting the Arabs to hold over him part of the tent (to pitch it required too much time), I unpacked as speedily as possible our liquor-chest, and hastened to offer him some Visnee (a kind of cherry-brandy): but nature was too much exhausted! I sat down, and receiving him in my arms, repeated my endeavours to engage him to swallow a small portion of the liqueur. All human efforts were vain! Gust after gust of pestilential air dried up the springs of life, and he breathed his last upon my bosom!

"Let the reader of sensibility reflect upon the concomitant circumstances which attended this afflicting scene, and then refer to the sensations which will be created in his own breast, to form some idea of those which must have lacerated mine! Let him paint to himself a traveller, of an age alive to every feeling, in the midst of the Desert of Arabia, with the corpse of his respected friend, burnt to the appearance of a cinder, black yet warm, on one side of him; and on the other, the daughter of that friend, the most angelic child that Nature ever formed, unconscious of her loss, and with the prattle of innocence inquiring 'where her dear papa was gone 'to?' It was a scene as little to be supported as described; and the honest tears I shed bore ample testimony to the wounded sensibility of my heart.

"But a short time, however, could be allowed to assuage my grief, or to indulge it. Who were

to

to perform those last sad offices of friendship, so requisite, and yet so difficult? Who would undertake to prepare with decency for the grave the disfigured remains of my kind companion? Who would assist in these disgusting yet pious occupations? The servant and myself were all that professed the Christian religion, and we alone could execute its duties.

"With as much propriety as the circumstances admitted, we therefore performed the melancholy task; and having induced the Arabs to dig a grave near the remains of a village not far from the wells, I directed the body to be carried there, following it with the dear Marianne, who knelt by me whilst I offered to God the pure effusions of a heart overwhelmed by distress, but submissively bowing to the decrees of his divine will!

"Never can such a night as that I passed be blotted from my remembrance. The morning dawned but to renew my sorrows, and expose me to a repetition of dangers. The same fatigue attended me; the same pestiferous air awaited but mid-day to annoy me; but resistance and escape were impracticable.

"Summoning, therefore, within me every sentiment of religion and philosophy, I rose to face my difficulties. Placing my little ward, now become my peculiar care, on one side of the Mohaffah, and suppressing my feelings at observing the vacancy on the other, I mounted my horse, and proceeded with the avantguard of the caravan.

"We travelled in the usual manner until near sunset, and experienced the same oppressive heat during great part of the day. As soon as we came to our ground, I endeavoured to repose myself under the tent, and waited with but little appetite for the dish of rice which the servant was preparing for our supper. A cry of 'fire!' soon roused me; and, upon inquiry, I discovered that Joannes, having incautiously made the fire near the Mohaffah, the wind had blown some of the light fuel into it, and one-half of this retreat from the ardent rays of the sun was totally consumed. This additional misfortune was at such a moment particularly distressing; but I consoled myself on reflecting that one-half still remained to shelter the dear child, and made up my mind to the exposure I could now by no means avoid.

"From the last wells we had proceeded in a direct line towards the river Euphrates, through a more uneven and more fatiguing country than any we had passed. The sand was loose, and blown into irregular hillocks, that impeded our progress considerably, and we travelled less distance than usual. Gusts of wind, and indeed continual strong breezes all night, covered us with sand, and proved inconceivably troublesome. It was here I saw many of those columns of sand, collected by a circular movement of the atmosphere, and appearing as a cone, lengthening and increasing in bulk to a prodigious height. The resemblance they bear to what the sailors term water-spouts, cannot fail of occurring to those who have noticed such phænomena at sea; and when they are multiplied in number, as is frequently the case, there is something peculiarly interesting, and even grand, in the spectacle.

"The following day was a repetition of what I have just described until we formed our encampment, which took place much earlier than usual. After refreshing ourselves with coffee, sleep lent its

its kindly aid to obliterate my uneasiness; and every endeavour was made to secure the tent from the violence of a westerly wind, which, had it been more moderate, had been truly grateful. No precautions, however, were sufficient, and it was blown down. The pole fell upon my head as I slept; and the accident had nearly cost me my life. The severity of the contusion rendered me miserable for several days; nor could I refrain from such expostulations upon the destiny which seemed to persecute me daily, as neither religion or philosophy (my resources upon a former occasion) could approve, or even prevent. Such a concatenation of distress and perplexity has, I believe, seldom oppressed any individual; isolated, as I found myself, and debarred from that fortifying principle which actuates those who suffer in society with others. These ideas, however, ceded their usurped authority to the dictates of a prudent resolution; and, animated by the desire of preserving my little ward, who, though sleeping near me, had escaped unhurt, I determined upon conquering the melancholy to which I had for an instant given way, and to consult only the means of accelerating my arrival at Bassorah.

"The next day brought us to the banks of that delighful river, which, taking its rise in the lofty and almost impenetrable mountains of Arrarat, separates the countries of Syria and Diarbekeer, passes through Arabian Irak before its junction with the Tigris, and then empties its waters in an united stream into the Persian Gulph.

"All apprehension of the want of water during the remainder of our journey, the most material part of the inconvenience to which we had been exposed, now vanished; and as soon as the heat of the sun was sufficiently mitigated, I enjoyed the luxury of bathing in the Euphrates. Whilst swimming, I observed a fish of about twenty inches in length floundering in the shallow water close to the sandy bank, when, cautiously approaching it (however marvellous it may appear, and I confess it savours somewhat of a traveller), I succeeded in throwing it on shore, and obtained a prize of no inconsiderable value at the moment.

"Completely tired of the journey, I strongly solicited the schaik to procure me a boat, in which I might proceed with my little ward and the servant to Basserah; but no intreaties had the smallest effect upon the conscientious Arab. He replied, that he had faithfully promised to conduct us safely, and that the various dangers to which we should be exposed were too well known to him to permit us to leave his protection; that hordes of robbers infested the banks of the river; and that 'I ought to have known 'Franks were always murdered 'if they were discovered navigat-'ing it.'

"My disappointment was great; but I found upon my arrival at Bassorah, that the conduct of the schaik was perfectly consistent with prudence, and that the Euphrates cannot be frequented without infinite risk and danger.

"During the remainder of our journey few occurrences varied the usual mode of travelling: the Simooleh was less frequent and less oppressive in its effects, but the heat of the sun seemed to be progressively increasing. I fear no great credit will be attached to my assertion by those who have only experienced its power in the 53d degree of north latitude; but the visitors of the northern sircars in the

the East Indies, during the prevalence of land winds, will have no difficulty in believing me, when I say that Fahrenheit's thermometer rose to 132 under the tent, and when exposed a quarter of an hour to the rays of the sun to 156.

"On the fourth morning from our leaving the Euphrates we came early to our ground. And here were regulated various concerns respecting the merchandize by people belonging to Schaik Tivinee, a most formidable and powerful chief of the Bedouine Arabs. Many merchants also visited us; and the next morning we proceeded to Bassorah, where we arrived about the noon of the forty-eighth day from our leaving Aleppo.

"The universally acknowledged hospitality which travellers have experienced from the gentlemen in the East India Company's service resident at Bassorah, can receive no complimentary embellishments from my pen; all that has been said or printed on the subject can scarcely do justice to the unremitted attentions with which they have favoured their helpless visitors: but I cannot disregard this opportunity of making my permanent acknowledgments to Mr. Griffiths, the late governor of Bombay, who was commercial resident at Bassorah, when I found it an asylum from the complicated sufferings which had assailed me on the Desert. Nor can I omit expressing my sincerest thanks to Mr. Manesty, the present commercial resident, and to Mr. Harford Jones, the East India Company's resident at Bagdad, for their multiplied civilities.

"The Bedouine Arabs, in general, date their origin from Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar, who is supposed to be the common ancestor of all the Arabian Ishmaelites; many tribes of whom, however, preferring a residence in cities and towns, are held in little estimation by those who adhere to the pastoral or rather wandering life of their forefathers. This numerous people preserve, in every respect, the customs and manners of the primitive ages: their mode of life is simplicity itself; their wants inconceivably few; and a state of tranquillity, if they could attain it, would be the *ne plus ultra* of their wishes.

"The schaik who directed our caravan was a man greatly esteemed upon the Desert for the respectability of his connections, and the bravery of his conduct upon many occasions. He was of a particularly handsome countenance, of dignified manners; and, when mounted upon his mare, armed with a lance, yatagaun, and pistols, his appearance was strikingly martial. He frequently braved the danger of meeting with his enemies, by reconnoitring alone, at a considerable distance from the caravan, to the great anxiety of the relations and friends who were left in charge of it; and our confidence and security were diminished whenever he was absent.

"As far as I am able to judge of the character and manners of the Arabs of the Desert, they fully deserve the reputation which various travellers have allowed them for liberality, kindness, and a strict regard to their engagements. Those of superior rank have an inherent principle of politeness also, which is at all times evident; and their easy graceful deportment, combined with a seriousness of manner, inspires both respect and confidence. Sparing of words themselves, they seem to be offended at a repetition of questions; at least so I judged of those with whom it was necessary to treat previous to

my leaving Aleppo, as well as of the schaik and his immediate friends, who composed part of the caravan. Their dissatisfaction was manifested by no act of rudeness: though teazed, they replied, but with more solemnity and precision.

"Their hospitality is sincere; and was exemplified, not only whenever we approached either the schaik or any of his superior servants, whilst drinking coffee, or eating their frugal meal of rice; but also, whenever a kid or sheep was killed, which occurred but seldom, it never escaped them to offer cheerfully some portion of their repast; and repeated inquiries were made by the schaik of our welfare and our wants. When these inquiries were communicated by a servant, he expressed himself in a way to assure us that he was not less interested about us than his master.

"In the simplicity of their cookery, cleanliness is scarcely attended to. Their food, whether animal or vegetable, is placed amongst heated ashes of camels' dung, and covered with the same materials, where it is allowed to remain until sufficiently baked, which they think effected when little more than warmed through, and eat it immediately, without the least regard to the dust which necessarily attaches itself to the external surface. Few dainties grace the Bedouine's table. That which they seem to prefer is meat of any kind pounded with meal or flower, seasoned with pepper and salt; which being formed into balls, is boiled and eaten with *yaourt*, which the Arabs call *lebban*. The common food is rice or piloh.

"In making bread several modes are adopted: but that which is most usual, as being most expeditious, is lighting a fire in a glazed earthen vessel; and after having mixed the meal with water, so as to make a sort of dough, they lay it on the outside of the jar in thin round cakes, which, as they become dry on one side from the heat of the vessel, are replaced upon the other, and soon sufficiently baked to be eaten. Nothing can be more insipid than this kind of bread, of which the Arabs are particularly fond.

"A second mode of baking, is putting a more substantial cake of dough into the embers of camels' dung, or (when near any town) of cow-dung, that burn slowly, where it remains a considerable time. The crust is insufferably nasty, as may be supposed, but the interior is a wholesome and cleanly food.

"The honesty of these simple people appears to be so well attested, that a few individual examples of petty thefts ought not to invalidate the general good opinion which they have deserved; but it is evident that acts of robbery are committed, from what I have already stated to have occurred in the caravan; and from our tent was pilfered a pocket-compass, which I was in the habit of consulting respecting the direction of our march: but these were the only instances of larceny which came to my knowledge; and where opportunities for pilfering daily presented themselves, there is reason to applaud the principle of honest forbearance which prevailed amongst the denuded companions of our journey.

"I do not here consider the plundering of a caravan as a species of theft that contradicts the ideas usually entertained respecting the Arabs' honesty. From time immemorial,

memorial, as I have before mentioned, certain duties have been exacted by schaiks, whose rights of sovereignty in particular districts have been consolidated by publicly avowed or tacit acquiescence. When any endeavour, therefore, is made to evade the payment of these duties, hostilities are supposed to be authorised; and confiscation of property takes place, provided the arms of the schaik, thus injured, prove superior to those of his adversaries; or in cases of established enmity between two tribes, the result will be the same: But this is the general effect produced by war; and however it may be morally characterized, we are taught to express a material political distinction between captures made by the magnanimous arms of great nations and petty-larceny depredations of poor individuals.

"Bassorah is the emporium of this quarter of the world. It is here that richly laden ships, from every part of India, pour in their valuable cargoes. Those from Surat and the Malabar coast consist of pearls, elegant gold and silver cloths, shawls, and other splendid articles of dress for the Persians; coffee, spices, metals, and woollen cloths. The Coromandel coast and Bengal supply rice, sugar, muslins, and an infinity of white and blue cloths for common use.

"The returns are made chiefly in specie or jewels; and a certain number of highly bred Arab horses are annually consigned to India, for which is obtained a very considerable price from gentlemen who promote the pleasures of the turf or the chace.

"The inhabitants are a mixture of Christians, Jews, Arabians, and Indians, who are all more or less engaged in commercial transactions. The Jews and Indians seem to have engrossed that branch which is more immediately connected with jewels, the precious metals, and exchange of money; the Armenians, and other Christian sectaries, attend to the general concerns of an import and export trade.

"The antiquity of this city is traced as far back as the fifteenth year of the Hegira, 637 A. D.; when Omar, the second caliph of the mussulmauns, selected, with political prudence and foresight, this important spot for the foundation of a mart, in which should concentrate the lucrative commerce of India, Persia, Arabia, and Syria. For many centuries the greater part of Europe was supplied by this communication with the splendid produce of the East; but at present Persia and Syria are the greatest consumers of the eastern articles consigned to Bassorah.

"The advantage of an early communication with India is superior to all others which the East India Company may derive from its connection with Bassorah. It is inestimable; and government have hourly proofs of its importance.

"The house of the East India Company's resident is built with a terraced roof, upon which are four turrets, that answer for the purpose of bed-chambers during summer. One of these was appropriated to my use. On the second night after my arrival, my slumbers were deranged by an earthquake. It was about two o'clock in the morning, when the alarm induced me to precipitate myself from my couch, and run upon the terrace; where I found Mr. Griffiths reading dispatches which had just arrived from England. When our consternation had subsided, we calculated

culated that the shock lasted about seventeen seconds. The rumbling noise which preceded it created mingled sensations of surprise and apprehension not easily described; and every animal in the village testified by their respective cries their fear and astonishment.

MANNERS of FLORENCE.

[From Mr. BECKFORD'S LETTERS from ITALY.]

"A FEMALE panegyrist has remarked of the manners of the Florentines, that they are polished into brilliancy. Surely the lady had in her eye the French of the last age, rather than the Florentines of this. It is not from those who have resided long in a country that you are to expect the most faithful account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants. It is impossible not to be in some degree prejudiced one way or the other; either for or against them. It is the common imperfection of human nature, nor do I expect to be more exempt from that failing than the lady herself. Having lived for some time in a habit of civility and friendship with the Florentines, I am become, I believe, almost as partial to their faults, as to my own. Many of them I may not perceive, and others I may wish to conceal. I am aware of my difficulties, but will endeavour to relate with fidelity, nor will I designedly either flatter or censure at the expence of truth. I shall confine my account to circumstances publicly known, rather than intrude into privacies where discretion is a virtue.

"The court, and with that it is my duty to begin, resides very little at Florence. They usually pass the spring at Castello, the summer and autumn at the Imperiale, and the winter at Pisa. Travellers therefore are seldom presented; yet those who are desirous to pay their court, are received by the grand duke and the grand duchess with that gracious affability so peculiar to them both. The palace partakes of the economy of the country. State and magnificence make no part of the expence of the grand duke of Tuscany, and the salaries of his household approach nearer to parsimony than extravagance. The sovereigns are themselves contented with a thousand sequins a month each for pocket money, and the grand duchess spends the greatest part of hers in charity.

"The style of living of the grand duke is best known to his valet de chambre; I can only relate what I hear:—that he keeps early hours, is very temperate, and dedicates the greatest part of his time to the good of his subjects.

"The example of the court is strictly followed by the nobles as far as regards regularity and economy. It is a system that generally prevails both in the education of youth, and their conduct afterwards. Boys of fashion are not allowed to run about the streets in Florence, as in London. A tutor is appointed constantly to attend them, and an attention is shewn

shewn to their health and morals that might put an English parent to the blush.—I wish I could as readily commend the capacity of their instructors. Colleges and professors are not wanting. The university of Pisa is deservedly looked upon as one of the best in Italy; but there is not a single instance at present of a Florentine nobleman having been sent thither to study,—so little do they consider learning as a necessary qualification for a gentleman. The levelling system of the Tuscan government, that embraces every opportunity to humble the nobility, views with pleasure, and encourages with zeal, alliances that prejudice might condemn, and prudence disapprove. It is not impossible but this also may induce the Florentines to keep their sons at home. Improper connections at that age are more easily formed than broken. By a new law, seduction admits not of pecuniary compensation, and the seducer of a virgin, whatever be her condition of life, is obliged to marry her;—a law subject to very great abuses. How will you prove the seduction? How are you to be certain she was a virgin? The cunning of Sancho Panca, in this instance, is preferable to the wisdom of Peter Leopold. Though prudence may, in some measure, justify the preference given in this country to a private education, yet the economy that accompanies it cannot be commended. When I tell you, that a tutor has the trifling sum of four or five crowns a month only, you will conclude that much instruction is not to be acquired at so cheap a rate. Those who are still more economical, hire an Abbé to walk out with their children, and thus save victuals and drink. Those peripatetics are well paid at two crowns a month. Strange as this education must appear, I scarcely know how to blame the Florentines. Learning in Tuscany is discouraged by system. They see that it has no friend at court, and are but too apt to consider it as a useless incumbrance. At eighteen the young gentleman is of age, and has done with his master. He shortly after takes to himself a mistress; commences Cavalier Servente, with the consent and approbation of his parents,—and here all instruction ceases: it ceases, unluckily, at the very time the most useful knowledge is usually acquired; for experience teaches, that that which is done from obligation, is seldom done willingly; and that which is not done willingly, is never done well, and sometimes not done at all.—Condillac tells us, that the most useful knowledge we acquire, is not from our preceptors, but from ourselves.

"The education of their daughters, I am told, is worse. If miss is sent to a convent, she learns little else than to knit stockings; and if kept at home, is either left to the care of common servants, from whom no good can be expected, or is early initiated into Italian customs in the society of her mamma—the duties and privileges of a Cavalier Servente not excepted.

"Having censured, I hope not without reason, the system of education in this country, and, in some instances, the conduct of parents towards their children; I cannot deny myself the pleasure of approving, as I ought, the duty and affectionate attention of children to their parents. Filial piety, believe me, is more observable in Italy than in England; occasioned, probably,

bably, by the different mode of education. Our sons are sent early out of our houses, and delivered up to the care of others. We only see them at their holidays; then chiefly at their meals; and at other times have little of their company: they pass the greatest part of their time without any restraint, and soon lose all sense of attention and duty. Here it is otherwise; and when they are not in the company of their parents, they have constantly a person to attend them, who is responsible for their conduct. Their dress, to be sure, is sometimes ridiculous; but their behaviour is strictly proper: with us, a boarding-school girl and a school-boy are fit company for servants only, to whose care they are usually consigned. The girl is an awkward stiff thing that is afraid to move; and the boy is as troublesome and as mischievous as a monkey.—That our system is better calculated to form men of the world, I will not deny; yet you will allow me to wish it were done with less injury to their health and morals.

"Fathers, brothers, uncles, and aunts; wives, sons and daughters, and their respective families, live all together under the same roof, out of economy;—not always without a feeling of that contempt for each other which familiarity is said to occasion. This outward appearance of cordiality is the cause of innumerable private differences; and the several branches of the same family, thus heterogeneously united, are but too often a mutual plague to each other.—At Pekin, indeed, where the population is said to amount to three millions, it may be necessary to crowd two or three generations together, but not at Florence.

"A wife in this country, I am sorry to say, has but too often a separate interest from her husband, and is frequently treated like a stranger in her own house. She is not trusted with the fingering of any money; she pays no bills, unless, sometimes, her own; and has a trifling assegnamento (pin-money), of about ten or fifteen crowns a month, to supply all her wants: and, in many families, so great is the economy, so regulated the expenditure, that, if she gives a dish of coffee or glass of lemonade to a friend, it is paid for out of her own pocket.—If you observe how well they dress, and consider the insufficiency of the means, you will be in fear for human frailty.—Husbands, take care! beauty can never ask in vain,—and it is needless to remind you, that gratitude is a virtue.

"Notwithstanding this dangerous economy towards their wives, the Florentines are remarkable for an extraordinary piece of extravagance towards their daughters-in-law, peculiar to themselves. When a girl of fashion marries, the father-in-law provides the *corredino*, that is, a wardrobe, containing every part of her dress, in great profusion: this she finds at his house upon her arrival, lest the *corredo*, provided by her own family, should not be ready. Curiosity carried me, with half the town of Florence, to see that of the sposa Riccardi. The room had the appearance of a fair: the walls were hung with gowns, riding-habits, cloaks, hats, and bonnets. A long table in the middle, and several others that surrounded it, were completely covered with every article of wearing apparel, and seemed a provision for life. Expence was not spared, nor was convenience alone

considered. I observed towels with fine Flanders lace, which I conclude the sposa will have the good sense to apply to better purposes. The addition of the corredino to that of the corredo is surely an unnecessary piece of extravagance; and unless the lady prudently disposes of one half, she cannot wear out the other while the fashion lasts. The corredo, found by the family of the sposa, is reckoned as part of her portion; the greatest part of which might be more usefully employed.

"By an old law, in the time of the Medici, the expences attending marriage ceremonies were exceedingly limited. Four strangers only were to be invited; four dishes provided; and a gentleman was severely reprimanded by government for having laid out a whole sequin on his wedding dinner. Compare this with the expences of the present day:—three great *gala* dinners have been given by the family above mentioned; one on the wedding day, the others on the days following. All their relations and all their friends were invited. The very sugar-plums, that it is usual to send on these occasions to their acquaintance, cost the marquis Riccardi a thousand crowns. Our custom is more decent. We give our dinners before the wedding, and leave the happy couple in private afterwards. In this country the conversation at these public dinners puts modesty to the blush, and the sposa hears enough on the wedding day, and those that succeed it, to debauch her mind most completely, if it be not already done. Matrimony, at best, is a very indecent piece of business, think what you will of it; and virtue exposes in this instance what vice with more decency conceals. Among the sumptuary laws of former times, it is curious to observe that the wives of citizens were forbid wearing more than three rings at a time.—I think, while they were about it, they might as well have confined them to one only.

"The news of the day occupies all Florence. Santeuil placed himself in a confessional at Paris, and a woman taking him for a confessor, confessed every thing to him, and then asked his absolution:—'What,' said he, 'do you take 'me for a confessor?'—'If you 'are not, why did you listen to 'me?'—'Why did you tell me?' replied Santeuil.—'Well, sir, I 'will acquaint the bishop.'—'And 'if you do, madam, I will ac-'quaint your husband.' Whether signor P— P— M— thought fit to imitate this gentleman, or was prompted to it by a natural impulse, I know not; but he is in disgrace for a frolic of the same kind, and it is as yet unknown what will be the consequences."

LETTER XXVI.

"Four thousand crowns is a good Florentine income: a sum, at least, equal to as many thousand pounds in the hands of an Englishman. You have already seen, that the assegnamento of a wife does not cost much—the whole additional expence is computed at one thousand two hundred crowns. The sons, when they become men, are usually allowed ten or twelve crowns a month to find themselves in clothes and pocket money. The daughters, who are found in every thing, have a sequin given them, now and then, that they may have some money in their pockets.—Is not a quarterly or monthly allowance preferable? They would

would then learn to make the most of a little, and know what they have to depend on.

"Every expence in this country is calculated. The usual calculation is two hundred crowns a year for a coach and pair of horses, coachman included: sixty crowns each footman, and forty for each maid. Gluttony is not the vice of an Italian. A Florentine nobleman will agree with his cook to provide dinner and supper at the rate of three pauls a head for both; bread, wine, oil, and firing, not included. The pocket never suffers, and the constitution is frequently a gainer. Others fix a certain sum for their daily expences: if they exceed it one day, parsimony the next brings matters even.

"An Italian dinner usually consists of a soup, which never fails winter and summer; a piece of bouilli; a fry of some kind or other; a ragout; and the *roti*, which, whether it be a piece of meat, or a few small birds, is served up last. The soup is no better than broth, being the essence of the bouilli only, which, of course, is boiled to rags; and the roast meat being usually soaked in water before it is put to the fire, loses all its flavour. The table-cloth is not taken off either here or in France; nor, I believe, in any part of the continent:—*their* tables are made of the commonest wood, and are always dirty;—our tables are both handsome and clean, so we may use our pleasure.

"Butter you will sometimes see as a side dish: it is rather a rarity, oil being commonly used in their kitchens. Raw ham, Bologna sausages, figs, and melons, are eaten at the first course. Salt meat, unless it be hams and tongues, is totally unknown. No boiled leg of pork, and peas-pudding; no bubble and squeak;—vulgar dishes, it is true, but excellent notwithstanding: nor have they the *petits plats*, in which the French so much excel, to supply their places. In short, you must not expect good cookery in a country where all the servants are cooks. I have five men in my house, and four of them have acted in that capacity. I am afraid, the worst is he whose business it is to dress the dinner: my coachman is said to be famous at a made dish.

"Though few breakfast, all sup; a custom that cannot but be unwholesome in a country where it is usual to go to bed immediately after. Johnson, who was not partial to the Scotch, used to say, that if an epicure could remove by a wish in quest of sensual gratifications, he would breakfast in Scotland.—If breakfast was that gentleman's favourite meal, he did well not to come into Italy, where the comforts of it are unknown. It is not allowed to servants. It is not reckoned by the vetturino, who supplies you with every necessary on your journey; and those who indulge in this luxury are contented with a dish of coffee or chocolate; a few figs, or a bunch of grapes.—To complete the day, according to Johnson's idea, I think his epicure should dine in London; take his afternoon's *goûté* in Switzerland; and sup at Paris.

"It would be unpardonable, in writing to an Englishman, to talk of the table, and not mention wine: yet I much doubt if Florence wine, though Cosimo III. made presents of it to most of the sovereigns in Europe, and though queen Anne is said to have preferred it to any other, will please a palate accus-

tomed to Claret, Champagne, and Burgundy. The most esteemed are the Aliatico, Chianti, and Monte Pulciano. That which you drink in England for Florence wine is Chianti;—even to this brandy is added at Leghorn to give it strength: no other will bear the sea. The common wine of the country I conclude is weak, as you seldom see a man drunk in the streets, and in good company, never.

"Dress is no article of expence. You are not obliged, as in France, to have different clothes for the different seasons: you are at liberty to dress as you please; and an English frock may be worn throughout the year. We are told that a country gentleman appeared at the opera at Paris the beginning of autumn in his summer suit: he was stared at as a monster, and *habit d'eté, habit d'eté,* was repeated all over the theatre. A friend of ours, by some strange fatality, wore a pair of point-ruffles in the month of May: the impropriety would have utterly ruined another man;—this gentleman, who is a man of wit, excused himself by saying—'he had a cold.' The Florentines are too wise to trouble themselves with numberless suits of clothes, for the sole benefit of their tailors. They go to the opera in frocks; and, during the Carnival, to the balls in bauttes. They have a dress coat, and a gala carriage; the latter lasts them their lives,—nor do they, like some that shall be nameless, change their carriages every two or three years to enrich their coach-makers. They have also gala liveries; but they are made to last as long as they can. Every-day liveries must last two years; those who make a figure give two; one for the summer, the other for the winter,—but each is to last two seasons.

"I cannot commend their taste; their very magnificence is inelegant. Behind the same carriage you will frequently see one footman very tall, the other very short. I have just met two such, who being clothed in green, looked like the sign of Robin Hood and Little John. You will also see one with a cocked hat, the other with a round one. There is a want of feeling in these trifles somewhat beyond a want of taste. Strictly speaking, even their hair should be dressed alike; and, if they wear queues, they should be of equal length.

"In all countries some customs are remarkable. When first I knew Florence, about twenty years ago, an odd custom prevailed at court;—all the men curtsied to the grand duke and the grand duchess; foreigners only were permitted to bow, who were supposed to know no better.

"A refusal is expressed by the fingers in Italy as in other countries by the head. A common salutation is with the fingers up; and they call you, with the fingers down.

"It is said that the voice, in speaking, seldom rises higher, or sinks lower, than three notes and a half. It is otherwise here; they change sometimes from their natural voice to a falsetto, till you are ready to laugh in their faces.

"They tell you, that if it rains on the third of April, it is to continue to rain for forty days after. We run a risk of losing all our faith in this country.

"The Florentine nobility were, as I have said, originally merchants; book-keepers were then necessary. They have retained the

the custom ever since, and in some families not less than eight or ten of those persons are constantly employed—I know not how.

" The noblesse sell wine, and hang out the sign of an empty flask at the palace window. A retail trade, like this of the Florentine nobility, an English wine-merchant would think beneath his dignity. The best tap going at present is that of the bishop of Fiesole.

" It is ridiculous to see a sposa monaca dressed out to the height of the fashion, and driven about from one end of the town to the other. Mercy on us, what a mistake is here!—Content more easily proceeds from ignorance than conviction; nor is it prudent to indulge in any pleasures that are not always within our reach.

" The kitchen frequently is at the top of the house. I asked a reason of a Florentine friend, and he gave me two;—one, he said, was to prevent the smoke of the charcoal and smell of the dinner; the other, to render it more difficult for the servants to carry any thing away. As they are at board wages, the vulgar adage, *safe bind, safe find*, is never forgotten. Their masters know they are not scrupulous, and never put temptation in their way.

" It was the custom in the time of Juvenal to blow the fire with their mouths,---it is so now. I have a fellow in my family whose mouth is better than any bellows.

" The extreme unction which is administered to those who are dying, is carried publicly, and in procession:---a custom as improper as unnecessary. The tinkling bell and hoarse voices of those that accompany it, are unpleasant sounds even to those who are well; and, at a time of epidemy, when deaths are frequent, might be fatal to those who are sick.---A Spanish proverb says:---' If you think you ' *shall* die, you *will* die.'

" They wear mourning but a short time for the nearest relation, and that not constantly. I have known a husband marry two months after his wife's decease. It is true he was an elderly gentleman, and had no time to lose.

" Ladies in child-bed keep the house for forty days, and do not get up till the twelfth day; yet many contadinas, after the third day, are out at work in the fields. I have read that in some parts of America the wife is no sooner delivered of her burden than she gets up, and her husband keeps his bed; she does the work of the house, and he goes through all the ceremonies of a lady in the straw. I had nearly forgotten one custom that I think will surprise you:—they ' feed their cats, and poison their dogs'. Though held in less veneration in Italy than in Egypt, the cat still seems to be an object of general affection. Florence swarms with them. Here are people who make a trade of feeding them, and are paid by the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding their great economy, ' keep more cats than catch mice.' Dogs, on the other hand, are scarce:—that amiable and friendly animal is not only neglected, but, during the summer months, is poisoned in the streets.—If you are here in the summer, take care of Rover.

" I must leave off.—My house is in an uproar of laughter, at the expence of a poor cobler, my opposite neighbour. My servant having frequently missed different sums of money out of a drawer in my bed-chamber, he suspected the

porter, and engaged his friend the cobler to watch and detect him. The affair did not appear difficult, —the money was always taken on a Monday, which was the day my weekly bills were settled; it was also observed, that the robbery was committed at the time the other servants were all of them at dinner: these circumstances caused the porter to be suspected; and it was thought that he used a false key, as the drawer was kept constantly locked. The cobler, who had readily accepted the office, made light of it; he used the common expression of his countrymen, *lascia fare*,—and longed for the arrival of Monday to show his prowess. At length Monday came, and the honest cobler, determined to take the thief, placed himself where he could best observe all that passed in the chamber, and catch him in the fact. It was not long before he appeared:—he was cautious and cunning,—he secured the door,—he listened if all was quiet: —there was a closet in the room, he examined it carefully, and then went to the chest of drawers to begin his operation.—The cobler now thought he had him safe enough,—but unluckily, as the devil would have it, the porter, recollecting that he had not looked under the bed, lifted up the valance, and discovered our friend.— It is not easy to conceive the ridiculous figure the poor cobler made, lugged out from his hiding-place, taken prisoner, and brought down stairs, as a culprit, by the very thief he had promised to detect.— He seems determined never to turn thief-taker again. The porter is discharged."

LETTER XXVII.

"Those who, like you, live in one continued round of public amusement, and, in more senses of the word than one, keep no Lent, cannot conceive the joy that an Italian, whose passions are heightened by a warmer sun, and whose diversions are chiefly confined to this season only, feels at the approach of the Carnival.— Even at Florence, not the gayest town in Italy, it is not without its advantages.

"Masking formerly began on Saint Antonio's day; it is now permitted the last fortnight of the Carnival only:—it then gave the ladies opportunities of intrigue, which the jealousy of their husbands prevented all the rest of the year.—Italian husbands are no longer jealous, and concealment is no longer necessary.—Wives are mistresses of their own persons; receive what company they please in their own houses; and the black veil which they wear when they walk out in the morning alone, conceals them as effectually as a mask:—this, and rooms hired in remote parts of the town, are temptations to intrigue peculiar to Florence.—In short, *amateures* are so plenty, that the *professeures* are starving. The principal advantage they derive from the last days of the Carnival, is that of completely getting rid of a troublesome companion, a *cavalier servente*, who is then left to shift for himself.—It is curious to see fine ladies, who, at another time, cannot stir a step without two horses to draw them along; two cavalier serventes to support them; and two footmen, one to clear the way, and the other to hold up their train: it is curious to see them disguised in their bauttes, walking in the streets alone, and from one theatre to another, with all the ease, and all the

the assurance, of our sex.---They go alone to the casino,—alone to the festa di ballo,—visit whom they please,—and enjoy the most unqualified liberty of men, during the last days of the Carnival.—They assume a freedom their inferiors dare not pretend to; for, though jealousy in the nobility is laughed out of countenance, it is still visible among the bourgeoisie, where the husband maintains his authority, and the wife is always obedient, and sometimes chaste.

"In England, the theatres have one day of rest out of the seven: on the continent they have not even that. I remember, when I first left my own country, I fear, near thirty years ago, I arrived at Brussels on a Sunday:—it was late in the evening, and the street was crowded with carriages in waiting at the play-house. That you may be better able to judge of my astonishment, I must tell you that I had never heard of such doings in my life, and concluded that before the morning the devil would fly away with them all. Bad example, my good friend, is a dangerous thing. The Sunday following I went to the play-house myself. The different appellation of the sabbath is expressive of the different use that is made of it. With us it is called a holyday, or a day to be kept holy; here it is called a *fête* (festival), and consequently a day of merriment.

"Twelve theatres were formerly open at Florence during the Carnival; they are now reduced to six; a number, one might think, more than sufficient for the number of inhabitants, and yet it frequently happens that all are full. I have nothing to remark of either of them, except that the boxes are dark. The Florentines never use lights, partly to be more at their ease, and partly out of economy. It is at the theatre you see the natural disposition of the people. They are lively—animated—awake to every impression. When a new play pleases, and the curtain drops, they not only call for the author, but all the principal actors are made to pass over the stage to receive their share of the applause. If an Iago, or some such villain, be among them, he is sure to be received with groans and hisses; a circumstance which does as much honour to their own sentiments, as to the ability of the actor.

"The comedy I saw last night is founded on a fact of such extraordinary circumstances as could not be credited, were it not authenticated by the best historians of that time. We are told, that on the third of October 1400, Ginevra degli Amieri, wife of Francesco Agolanti, a Florentine nobleman, being in a trance, and thought to be dead, was on the same day removed to the sepulchre of her family on the side of the Duomo, near to the Campanile; that coming to herself, about two o'clock in the morning, and perceiving where she was by the light of the moon, the stone of the vault, by a strange piece of good fortune, not having been fastened down, she delivered herself, not without difficulty, from the horrid mansion; and staggered, weak as she was, to her own house. Her husband, hearing a violent knocking at the door at so late an hour, looked out of the window; but he no sooner saw her pale figure in her shroud, than he fancied it was her ghost come to upbraid him for his cruelties (for they lived on ill terms together), and ran away. She then made a last effort to the house of

Antonio Rondinelli, a former but unfavoured lover. By him she was gladly received, and by his means soon after recovered. You will be glad to hear, however extraordinary it must appear, that the first marriage was set aside; and Ginevra given to the man by whom she had been so kindly received, and so miraculously recovered. The street which leads from the vault to the house where she lived, is to this day called Via della Morte.

"The price of entrance at all the theatres is as moderate as you could wish. A serious opera is not dear at three pauls; a burletta, at two; a comedy, at one; and at the little theatres, four crazie only, somewhat less than three pence English. Men usually go into the pit. Boxes are always to be hired for the night, and, at the comedies, for a few pauls, unless you send your *laquais de place*, who will always cheat you when he can. Moderate as these expences are, those who are *appaltati* pay considerably less. At the serious opera, it does not exceed one paul a night: this is the price paid by the nobility; the townspeople pay less; and many are *appaltati* at the little theatres out of economy, for the oil they consume at home would cost them more. A young Englishman at Turin received a letter from his father, in the middle of the Carnival, directing him to set out immediately for Rome. He was unwilling to leave a place where he had found a mistress much to his liking, but did not know how to extricate himself: he thought, however, of an expedient. His father was an old miser, who had made an immense fortune by strictly observing that excellent rule, of never throwing away a single halfpenny: he, therefore, told him, that though it was his wish to obey his commands immediately, and without delay, yet as, out of economy, he had appaltatied himself at the theatre for the whole Carnival, he concluded he would approve of his staying till it was ended.

"Our present ballet at the Pergola is the most bloody I ever saw, —the principal characters are all slain. It put me in mind of that famous Italian tragedy where, towards the end of the last act, all the personages withdraw for a general engagement.—After a short pause, the prompter makes his appearance on the stage, and says—

'Uditori, m'accorgo che aspettate
'Che nuova della pugna alcun vi porti:
'Ma l'aspettate in van', son' *tutti morti.*'

"If you are fond of dancing, you may have enough of it the last fortnight of the Carnival: besides the balls at the different theatres, others are given at the casino, where, when you have been once presented, you go without invitation. For the coreofili (a subscription ball given by the nobility) strangers obtain tickets by means of their minister, or may buy them for a few pauls in the street. *Feste di ballo* are also frequently given by the cittadini, and your banker, or any other Italian friend, can easily get you admitted. A bautta is the best dress upon all these occasions; and, though it gives a disagreeable gloom to every assembly, is very convenient, particularly to the women, who have no longer the trouble of a toilette, but as they are in the morning remain all day. The bautta, with its white mask, is frightful; with the mask off, though they all look like Edward the black prince with his beaver

beaver up, is not unbecoming: it buttons over the lower part of the face, and hides the chin only; the hair is pulled forward, and when the hat is well put on, most of the women look handsome.

"You must not expect at an Italian masquerade to see the same variety of dresses as at the Hay Market. The Venetian bautta is common to all. Humour is not understood,—no one masks with an intention to promote it; the utmost effort is sometimes to show a handsome dress, and a quantity of diamonds, which the Italian ladies have in the greatest profusion. It is probable that some of them are false.—No bad way, let me tell you, of making up the deficiency of pin-money, or losses at the gaming-table. An English lady thought of this expedient, but she thought of it too late:—when she sent for her jeweller to dispose of her brilliants, and put false stones in their stead, he said he would readily have obliged her, but it was already done 'by order of her husband.' To return to the masquerade. When a beautiful young woman represents an ugly old witch; when a little delicate gentleman represents a woman, or a lusty gentlewoman represents a man; they may deceive their most intimate acquaintance, and contribute to the merriment of the scene:—but an Orpheus and Eurydice, covered with diamonds, stalking about the whole night arm in arm, their heads continually moving from side to side, like the pendulum of a clock, without a single word ever coming from their lips, are surely more to be pitied than admired.—Orpheus, indeed, had an opportunity of regaining my good opinion. He stood a considerable time where a parcel of awkward people were dancing more like bears than human creatures;—had he but once struck his lyre, I could have forgiven him all the rest.

"During the last fortnight of the Carnival, we have five corsos, and all the carriages in Florence drive round the piazza Santa Croce in grand gala. One gentleman has a coach of porcelain.—I have often thought of the havock our hackney coachmen would make of it at Ranelagh. The two last days, all the bauttes of Florence assemble under the *Uffizzi*:—and you may conceive a just idea of the discontent of the country from the general gloom, which, like an infectious vapour, expands itself all over Tuscany, at a time of uncommon festivity, even at Rome itself.

"The Carnival over, it is curious to observe the alteration made in a few hours by a few *ashes* in the manners of the people. The churches are now as much frequented as the theatres were before; and they listen with the same attention to the preacher, as they did to harlequin.—Having been long used to the insipid dulness of an English curate, I could not relish at first the enthusiastic warmth of an Italian friar: I was only astonished at the retentive memory of those religious orators, who are able to repeat every day a fresh sermon of an hour's length, without looking at a note, or the least hesitation: I can now listen to them with pleasure, for their discourse is usually confined to moral duties;—and delivered in a manner highly calculated to engage and fix the attention of their audience. Le Pere Arrius said—'When Le Pere Bourdaloue preach-'ed at Rouen, the tradesmen for-'sook

'sook their shops, lawyers their 'clients, physicians their sick; but 'when I preached there the year 'following, I set all to rights,—'*every man minded his own busi-*'*ness.*'

"Besides the five churches, where sermons are regularly preached every morning for such as are devout, the casino stands open morning, noon, and night, for the idlers and gamblers of both sexes; but so strict are they respecting whom they shall receive, that the wife of a man of the first nobility, if not noble herself, cannot be admitted. This may be the reason why the ladies put upon their visiting cards, Lucrezia A—— *nata* B——; unless they are afraid one should suspect them not to be born at all.—The famous Aspasia, the amiable friend of Pericles, would not meet with the same indulgence and cordiality at Florence, she did at Athens.—It is not talents,—it is not merit,—rank only gains admittance: and yet, without virtue, what is family!—I had some difficulty to make an Italian count comprehend, how I could be a gentleman, and not a nobleman; that the nobility in England were magistrates, and part of the legislature; and that we country gentlemen, lords of manors, were the counts and marquises of other countries: that the eldest son of a peer, till he becomes a peer himself by the demise of his father, is only a commoner; and those that have the titles of lords, have it by courtesy only. It was also necessary to explain to him how gentlemen became peers; some by inheritance, some by parliamentary interest, and some by extraordinary abilities: that certain law offices of themselves made peers of solicitors and attorneys: that the defence of a town, or destruction of a fleet, have justly conferred those honours, which at another time the caprice of a minister has less honourably bestowed on his friends, or his enemies.—Family has seldom been considered in either case; political talents have at all times recommended possessors of mean birth to this mark of ministerial favour: and it is but of late years that the respectable family of Courteney, allied to more crowns than one, has been raised to the peerage.

"The visiting hour in the morning, is from twelve till two. In the evening, it varies according to the season. It is the custom in this country to keep one servant constantly in waiting in the antichamber; they take it by turns. We ring our bell, and nobody comes.—When I was a young man, and had one servant only, I called William, and William came: afterwards, when I had many, and called Who is there?—no one answered. I must, however, acquaint you, that as it is usual to sleep after dinner in summer all over Italy, every servant follows the example of his master; and should you visit at that hour, you may knock and not be heard.—It is no wonder, since the Spanish soldiers at the siege of Gibraltar regularly took their *meridiana* (afternoon's nap), notwithstanding the noise of all the cannon of the citadel. The ancient Romans, who had also their porter, that he might be constantly at his post, had him chained to the door.

"The rooms are so darkened to keep out the sun, that you can hardly find your way across them, and for some time are unable to discover the countenance of the person near whom you sit. We open

open our windows to let in the air; here they are kept shut to keep it out,—and both are in the right. They inhabit the ground floor during the heat of summer, and ascend by degrees as the winter advances, preferring in cold weather the third story to any other. I should have told you, that some strip themselves after dinner in summer, and get into bed; and thus, in some measure, make two days of one.

"At the Ventitre, all go to the corso, and from thence to the theatre. The heat is so great at Florence in the summer, that few stir out before the evening; but the air is so perfectly dry and wholesome, that they remain in the streets, and on the benches in the squares, the greatest part of the night. Nothing can surpass a summer's night in Italy.—A bright moon; a clear sky; a temperature the most desirable; music in the streets; and love and contentment every where.

"After Milan, you will have no more invitations to dine or sup.—Hospitality would not be consistent with the character of economy the Florentines have so justly acquired; nor, for political reasons, are their houses open to strangers, at all hours, with the same freedom as in many parts of Italy. I must, however, mention a ridiculous circumstance that happened to me the other morning, as an exception.—I visited an English lady, who excused herself from receiving me because she was in bed. I then went to an Italian lady, who desired I would wait a few minutes till she got into bed.—I must now explain.—This lady, who was indisposed, was at that instant getting out of a warm bath. Ladies, both in France and Italy, receive company at their toilettes, and even when in their beds, without ceremony.—My fair countrywomen use their own discretion, and will be on their guard against adopting any foreign customs that may not become them in their own country."

MANNERS of SICILY.

[From the Same.]

LETTER XC.

"SHOULD you be at Naples in the spring of the year, leave the dull, beaten track of your countrymen, and visit Sicily; a country favoured by Ceres, and celebrated by poets and historians; whose rural scenes once inspired the Sicilian bard, and whose cities were not less renowned for arts than arms. Here the Romans first extended their conquests; here they began that war which ended at last in the destruction of Carthage, and was the first step to their own ruin.

"At Agrigentum, my good friend, you must not expect ancient hospitality;—persons no longer wait at the gates to invite strangers to their houses. You must content yourself with viewing the elegant remains of the best Grecian architecture. Here once stood the Temple of Jupiter, adorned with the famous statue of that deity by Phidias, and considered as the perfection

fection of an art then at its height: it declined soon after Alexander. Here Zeuxis, from five beautiful nymphs, composed his famous Juno. I doubt if there be one beauty now remaining.

"Syracuse will remind you of Archimedes; of events bordering on romance; of ships lifted out of the sea, and dashed against the rocks; and of a whole fleet destroyed by burning-glasses. It was at the taking of this place by Marcellus that extraordinary man lost his life while solving a mathematical problem. Is it not strange there should have been no great mathematician from his time to that of Galileo?—a space of not less than two thousand years.

"As your age sets fatigue at defiance, I conclude you will not content yourself with the beauties of the plain, but will climb to the top of Ætna, and see the sun rise from its summit. Though I do not think you mad enough to imitate Empedocles, yet in observing the volcano let his fate be a warning to you not to approach too near. Examine the famous chesnut *dei cento cavalli*, and tell me if it be really one tree or several.

"Observe the ravages of former earthquakes, and rejoice that you belong to a country where they are neither felt nor feared.

"What we read of Sylla and Charybdis is partly poetical; they are several miles apart: they have furnished, however, an excellent moral maxim—*to avoid either extreme.*

"I unluckily know nothing of those places but from report, and can speak of Palermo only. An extraordinary destiny drove me, much against my will, out of Tuscany into Sicily: I had no choice; Palermo was the place of my destination. Though under such circumstances it did not appear in its best colours, it is but justice to own, that Palermo is finely situated at the extremity of a beautiful bay, and surrounded with high and picturesque mountains.—A traveller who arrives voluntarily, may leave it reluctantly; but compulsion imbitters every thing.

"Driven by the French invaders out of Tuscany, and exiled to Palermo, a neutral vessel only could transport me thither. I had only the choice of Danes or Swedes; I chose the former, and was made to pay, according to the pressure of the moment, near a thousand crowns. The winds were unfavourable: we had frequent storms, and a great deal of bad management. One night in particular I most firmly believed that the rotten old Dane would have fallen in pieces; she laboured and rolled to such a degree that she seemed at the very last extremity; and, to mend the matter, the cook was at the helm, and the captain in his bed. There are sights at which no description can arrive,—this was one of them. It was confusion itself. However, in the midst of the greatest distress, I had the satisfaction to find, that as the hope that flattered us gave way to the apparent certainty of destruction, the mind became more tranquil, and I felt myself perfectly resigned to a fate (as much as I dislike drowning) that I thought impossible to avoid.—It requires no great share of philosophy to make up our minds to that which we think inevitable.—It is the solicitude of our friends; it is the hope with which our physicians flatter us; it is the cordial which sometimes prolongs life without restoring health,—that makes a death-bed horrible: like the executioners of Damien, they recall us to

to life, that we may suffer more deaths than one. There are dangers that we not only rejoice to have escaped, but are pleased to have encountered.—I wish it had been my good fortune to have served in Kingsley's regiment on the glorious first of August; or in Rodney's ship the no less glorious twelfth of April,—I should then remember with pleasure the dangers I had passed, and should feel an honest pride in the service I had done my country.—In the present instance I have nothing to look back to with pleasure. Every port was shut against us, except that to which we were destined; and the whole voyage was unfortunate, a safe arrival only excepted. Our captain, whose chief look-out was to steer clear of French privateers, was continually alarming us with his dreadful apprehensions. He paid less attention to a leak in his ship, though our pump was frequently going; and I verily believe would rather have seen us all go to the bottom, than fall into their hands. A leaky ship, without a single port that we could make-to for safety, was an unpleasant circumstance. I questioned the captain about the leak; he said he could not tell where it was; they had often searched, but could never find it,—that it was of no *great* consequence, but *the pump was good for nothing*. This communication, you will allow, was not very consolatory; yet it answered one good purpose—it relieved us, in some measure, from the dread of privateers. My servants, who were catholics, and horridly frightened, were constantly on their knees. They put me in mind of what Forbin, an admiral in the time of Louis XIV., said to his sailors, who in a violent storm were recommending themselves to every saint in the calendar:—'Courage, 'my lads!' said he, 'prayers are 'good things,—but Saint Pump is 'the only saint that can save us now.'

"The town of Palermo is little more than four miles in circumference. Its principal beauty is derived from two streets perfectly straight, about a mile in length, that cut each other at right angles, from the centre of which you see the four gates of the city. The palaces are large, but not elegant; and are most shamefully disgraced by paltry shops on the ground floor. This is not uncommon in many parts of Italy, though to an Englishman it must without doubt appear the height of barbarism. Though the palaces are not well furnished, they have mosaic floors. The churches are neither remarkable without nor within. It is the population that will surprise you. In this small compass they reckon not less than two hundred thousand inhabitants. The two principal streets are so crowded that coaches with difficulty can pass, and more coaches are kept than in any town of double its size in Europe. The environs are richly adorned with villas in a style of grandeur and magnificence rarely to be met with out of England. The high and rocky mountains that surround them, have a romantic appearance, and, the first time at least, are seen with pleasure. The climate has little to recommend it, unless in winter. The heat is excessive: the siroc, which comes with a high wind from the south-east, the sun seldom making his appearance, is a hot blast from the coast of Africa that totally enervates you. In the month of September they set fire

to

to the stubbles for manure, the whole atmosphere is consequently heated, and if the siroc happens at that time, it is perfectly intolerable. A friend of mine assured me Fahrenheit's thermometer rose to one hundred and nineteen degrees: and a respectable English lady, of unquestionable veracity, told me, that during the siroc she was called by her servant to see an extraordinary sight—the lead on her terrace melted by the wind. While this horrid wind lasts, no one, who is not obliged, ventures out of his house: the air is kept out as much as possible: not only the windows are kept closed in every apartment, but the window-shutters also; and it is the constant employment of the servants to sprinkle water on the floor. Luckily it does not last long, and a refreshing breeze usually succeeds it.

"The legislative power is in the sovereign; the executive, in a vice-roy and three courts of justice. There are besides a parliament, consisting of the clergy, barons, and commonalty, which assembles every fourth year by order of the king, to confirm the ancient donations (or free gifts), or to grant more. This meeting lasts three days, but it is not necessary they should follow successively; the majority decide. Twelve deputies are chosen to see their resolutions executed, and meet one day in the week afterwards. It is said the king was about to insist on an additional sixty thousand crowns a month; but the necessity that has since obliged him to take refuge in Sicily, and the attachment the Palermitans show to his person, have liberated them from this heavy imposition, at least for the present. The revenue of the king is reckoned at two millions and a half of crowns.

"I fear the administration of justice, whether civil or criminal, is not without its exceptions. Three trials are necessary to render a decision final: two years is the shortest period; but where obstinacy is bent on its own ruin, there are instances of law-suits lasting as long as the life of the parties. That you may form an idea of the spirit of litigation in this country, you should be told that every family has its *procuratore*, *avvocato*, and *perpadrone*, engaged annually, and paid quarterly, whether employed or not; besides which, when they gain a cause, and recover an estate, they receive a whole year's income. The rich retain many of each, that they may not be employed against them. You will not be surprised, therefore, to hear that not less than thirty thousand lawyers gain a livelihood at Palermo.—The most probable way to lessen the number of law-suits, would be to lessen the number of lawyers; these gentlemen must eat, and they have nothing else to feed upon.

"The criminal law of this country has an insuperable defect.—No sentence of death can be passed on a criminal unless he confesses his guilt: it is true, that to oblige him to this, he is kept forty days closely confined on bread and water,—but when he can resist that inconveniency, he has no other punishment.

"When a criminal is condemned to die, he is allowed three days to prepare himself. During this time he is constantly attended by two priests, and two noblemen of a religious company, who make this ceremony an act of devotion. They not

not only administer every spiritual comfort, but indulge the prisoner in whatever he desires, and defray the expence themselves. Hanging is admirably performed at Palermo, and the criminal is sent out of the world, not only expeditiously, but to all appearance with as little bodily suffering as possible. Though my natural feelings incline me to avoid all scenes of misery, curiosity led me, for the first time in my life, to see an execution of this kind. The ceremony was awful, but the suffering was short,—the prisoner no sooner mounted the ladder than he was turned off, and at the same instant one executioner leapt on his shoulders, and another hung at his waist, till he expired. I doubt if any natural death, the apoplexy excepted, is attended with so little pain. If the object of punishment be the removal of a criminal, surely it had better be performed in private;—if it be to deter others by example, it should be rendered as horrible as possible. This certainly had not that effect; and were I to be hanged, I should wish it to be performed at Palermo---though I had rather live any where else.

"The police of the city is intrusted to a nobleman of high rank, who takes the title of *capitano*, and is considered as the head of the nobility. His court possesses all the rights of the great criminal court with regard to the trial and condemnation of criminals, even to death itself. This office is usually continued two years, at the end of which the capitano succeeds to the prætorship. I heard of few robberies, and no murders, during my three months' residence at Palermo.

"The communità, or senate, consists of the prætor (mayor), six senators, and the sindix, or procuratore del publico; all are noble. These have the superintendance of the markets, as well with regard to the quality, as to the price which they fix themselves. The bank, hospital, monte di pieta, the buildings, and the streets, are under their inspection, and the officers belonging to each are appointed by them. The three judges that compose the criminal court of the capitano, serve also for this of the prætor, where such civil causes are tried as appertain to him and the senate.

"I observed fewer beggars, notwithstanding the astonishing population of Palermo, than at Florence; to which the albergo dei poveri may in some degree contribute. This immense building is divided into two equal parts, one of which is for the poor who cannot maintain themselves; the other, which is for foundlings, girls only, is a silk manufactory, worthy the notice of a traveller. They are allowed a small proportion of what they earn; and, when they marry, receive a dower of fifteen ounces. They are not suffered to go out, nor are they very well kept at home. Three days in the week they are allowed half a pound of meat; the other four they must content themselves, as they can, with a thin soup, and bread and cheese only.

"The commerce of Palermo consists chiefly of corn, oil, wine, rice, manna, sommacco, soda, silk, sulphur, salt, cotton, amber, and coral. You know Sicily, in the time of ancient Rome, was considered as the granary of the republic; it still supplies a great part of Italy. Three sacks for one is deemed sufficient to answer the purposes of seed, and home consumption; on an average they make

make from eight to ten; they have consequently much to dispose of. The quality of the grain I saw was much inferior to that of Tuscany. The corn is trod out by oxen or horses in the open air; it is there winnowed by the wind, and kept afterwards, when they have no granaries, in pits under ground. In some parts I observe they sow wheat every other year; in others they take a crop of beans, and then wheat two years following. Grass comes of itself. Oats are little sowed. The ancients fed their horses with barley instead of oats; it is still the custom both here and at Naples: it is given them morning and evening, and, as it is heating, they have a feed of bran and herbs in the middle of the day. The farms are let as in England; which they prefer, not without reason I believe, to the Tuscan manner.

"Many plants are peculiar to this island, and little known to the rest of Europe. The sugar cane is one of them. You who have concerns in America, where you have never been, may here make yourself acquainted with a plant from which you derive the principal part of your income. The papyrus is also worthy your inquiry: it is a kind of reed, which, split into thin pieces, and joined together with a kind of gum, forms a hard smooth substance, on which the ancients wrote. Our paper, though made from rags, has taken its name: it is all that now remains to remind us of that ancient manufactory. Parchment was its immediate successor, and from its superior quality is likely to remain for ever. The Herculaneum manuscripts are on papyrus. Manna is produced in the months of July and August from a tree called frasino. The pistaccio nut is common here: it is reported of this tree that the female only bears fruit, and then only when the male is near. The liquorizia is a shrub, the root of which is the stick-liquorice we used to eat at school. The sommacco is used by the tanners. The soda is a kind of grass, of which they make glass and soap. The leaves of the palma silvestris are twisted when dry, and make seats for chairs, &c.; and of the aloe, which grows here to a considerable height, and whose bloom is beautiful, they make a thread much stronger than our pack-thread: the leaves of this tree being long and prickly, serve also as a fence against cattle. Fichi d'India, besides being good to eat, are also an excellent fence; the leaves are very large and very prickly; and so close that they admit of no passage through them —both are evergreens. They have also the cotton tree: but one of the most remarkable plants is *la musa*; the leaves are of an extraordinary size, and the fruit is in great estimation. The aromatic herbs render the honey famous, and I am told, that at Mazara they carry their bees in the night many miles distant, during the summer months, to feed on the wild thyme, which is there in the greatest abundance. The hedges near Palermo are adorned with a red flower of peculiar elegance—the laurier rose.

"Though my stay at Palermo was short, though I associated but little with the inhabitants, yet you will still expect some account of their customs and manners. It shall be the subject of another letter."

LETTER XCI.

"I shall begin with the women. Marriage dowers are higher here than in Tuscany, and pin-money has

has no fixed rule, but is more or less, according to the income of the husband. Wives are better treated than in Italy. In ancient Rome, the wife, at her entrance into the house of her husband, was presented with all the keys except that of the cellar, which, as she was prohibited the use of wine, he prudently kept himself.—In modern Rome they are not intrusted with any keys at all. Here they are better treated:—they not only can inherit, not only have a monthly allowance sufficient to supply every necessary want, but are intrusted with the internal management of the family, as in England.

"Education is as usual, a college or an abbé for the boys, both bad; and a convent for the girls. The monastic life is particularly encouraged, and nuns enjoy a degree of liberty at Palermo unheard of in any other country. They not only may go out of the convent four days in the year, at their own choice, but have their villas, where they reside a month at a time. They have windows they can look out of; they have terraces where they take the air, and enjoy the prospect; and, in one respect, these vestal virgins are better treated than those of ancient Rome,—they have not a similar punishment for incontinency: nor will you any longer pity them when you are told, that they may quit the veil if they can prove it was taken against their will, and the effect of obedience only. We should rather pity ourselves; for, if they are sincere in their professions, surely the love of GOD is more likely to render them happy and contented than the love of man.

"Cavalier serventes are not compatible with Sicilian jealousy; nor are love's mysteries publicly revealed to profane eyes, as in most parts of Italy. If the fine ladies intrigue, they intrigue at least with decency; and many affect a virtue that have it not. They keep late hours, and gamble immoderately, the women as well as the men.

"Princes are numerous, both here and at Naples. Their titles are for the most part expressive of some quality, and have one advantage over ours—they sound well. *Clanbrazil*, if I mistake not, is an English title.—What an unharmonious sound is that, compared to Campo-florido, Leon-forte, Villa-ermosa, Castel di Mirto, and others of the nobility of this country!

"The Palermitans live much at their ease on an income of four thousand crowns. There is, however, a great inequality; and some families are immensely rich. All that can afford it, pass the months of May and October in the country, and their villas are in a style of neatness and magnificence little seen in Italy. Of their hospitality I can give no account: the discontent with which I staid, and a determined resolution to depart at the first opportunity, prevented me from forming any intimacy. As to their language, though it is Italian, it is not easily understood, and they have expressions totally unintelligible to a foreigner. In a letter from Siena I mentioned certain abbreviations in use among the Italians;—here they are still more extraordinary. Agata, Concetta, which they call *Agatuzza, Concettuzza*, as well as others ending in *ta*, are all indiscriminately called *tuzza*. The men have their diminutives also: Nicolo they call *Co Co*. Salvatore, which they pronounce *Salvature, Tu Tu*. In

short, an Italian cannot always understand a Sicilian.

"Public diversions are not famous at Palermo. They have two theatres, an opera and a comedy, but both were very indifferent. They have a cassino, and assemblies, to which foreigners, when once known, are readily admitted. The inhabitants live chiefly in the open air (I can speak of the summer only). The two principal streets, and the doors of the coffee-houses, are crowded in the day; but the marino is the principal rendezvous at midnight. A concert is performed there every night at the expense of government. There they assemble, chiefly in couples, to enjoy the freshness of the night air by the sea side, and indulge in those familiarities that darkness is ever a friend to. It is probably this taste for nocturnal rambles that has rendered the Sicilians so famous for illuminations and fireworks: the former are only surpassed by the illuminara at Pisa; the latter, by the girandola at Rome.

"The flora is the only public walk. This garden, though small, is pleasant. Fresh air and sweet smells are never more acceptable than at Palermo. Arbours of lemon-trees afford a constant shade in summer, and might encourage you, as they sufficiently denote the mildness of the climate, to pass a winter among them. A botanic garden is annexed; where you not only see the most curious productions of Sicily, but many exotics seldom to be met with in other countries.

"The corso is at the marino. The equipages are not elegant; and the horses, though well made and full of spirit, are very small. The marino, considered as a corso, is much too short for the carriages that regularly assemble there; but the prospect is delightful. The bay of Palermo is always beautiful, and was particularly interesting when I saw it,—an English fleet, 'the Heroes of the Nile,' being all of them at anchor there.

"The fish at Palermo is excellent, and of various kinds. The tunny and the sword-fish are much esteemed, and are both of them a most excellent substitute for flesh on a maigre day: you should see the former caught; the whole process is curious and entertaining. Butchers' meat is but indifferent; you must entirely forget, my good sir, the roast beef of Old England, for they have neither jacks nor chimneys. In many families the cookery is on a table, and the kitchen any where. Fruit, oranges excepted, is in general bad; and ices, which form one of the chief comforts of a hot country, are here abominable; they are sweetened with manna, instead of sugar. Accommodation at the inns is so bad that you should order your banker to provide you a lodging before you arrive.

"The fête of Santa Rosalia, the fifteenth of July, is the great festival at Palermo, and the time, without doubt, that the town appears to the greatest advantage. I was out of luck; it was put off on account of the absence of the king till his return. I saw the preparations only, which were truly magnificent; for the fête itself, I must refer you to Brydone. If you have a day to spare, visit the saint. You may go in your carriage to the foot of the mountain, and must be contented to ride on a jackass afterwards. On one side you have an admirable view of the town and the villas that surround it; and on the other, an extensive

view

view of the sea. Santa Rosalia is the tutelary saint of Palermo; her statue is placed in the grotto on the top of the mountain, where her bones were first discovered in the year 1624. Hither the good catholics of all ranks occasionally resort out of devotion; and hither the incredulous, like yourself, come out of curiosity. The fine ladies are carried in sedan chairs.

"Should you visit La Bagaria, you will be not a little astonished at the very extraordinary and particular taste of prince Palagonia.—I shall not attempt to describe it. Il Colle is another fashionable drive that will repay your trouble with the beauties of its situation, and elegance of the villas that surround it. Monreale, about five miles distant, should also be seen, if you have time to spare.

"I have only one more excursion to propose to you,—a visit to the Capuchins' convent, where they have carried the art of pickling and preserving to the greatest perfection,—and where the inhabitants of Palermo wisely retire 'after they are dead.'—The figures stand all erect, skin and bone. After the first months are passed, they show no alteration: and hither their friends and relations occasionally come to visit them. It is not a pleasant sight, but may be an useful lesson: and, to put you out of conceit with vanity, I can assure you, that a person lately dead, whom my conductor pointed out as one of the handsomest young men of Palermo, was, in the opinion of every person present, the most ugly and most disgusting figure there.—So much for the dead; a word or two more concerning the living, and I have done.

"Physicians gain less than the lawyers at Palermo: they are paid but four tarins a day (not quite eighteen pence English), and make two visits for it; at the second, they receive their fee. Barbers let blood, and are paid a third more than the physician. I saw a remarkable instance of longevity in a labouring man. He was ninety-five years of age: he walked upright, had almost all his teeth, and at ninety-two let his hair grow. He drank no wine; and when indisposed, used no other remedy than a strict diet and warm water. His father lived to one hundred and five.

"The women of Palermo are not in general handsome, though the Monte Leone, a lady retired into a convent, is a celebrated beauty; and if you can see her before the Capuchins lay their hands on her, you will see her with pleasure. Were I to judge of the men by the gentleman in whose house I lodged, I should say they are well bred and well informed; but as I know full well how erroneous such general suppositions are, I shall content myself with declaring, that the person I knew best is one of the most amiable men I ever met with; and I should esteem myself happy to meet him again in any other place.—I left Palermo with pleasure; but I left him with regret."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

On the THEISM of the SCHOOL of EPICURUS.

[From Mr. GOOD'S TRANSLATION of LUCRETIUS.]

"BUT the Epicureans, it may be said, were atheists: they denied the existence of a God, and of a future state; and some parts of the poem of Lucretius are expressly written to establish such denial.—Let us examine these assertions separately.

"If, in the first place, it be atheism to deny the existence of those absurd and vicious deities, who were the sole objects of adoration with the multitude, the Epicureans were certainly guilty of atheism; for such they did deny. But it is so far from being proveable that they uniformly disbelieved the existence of an eternal first cause of all things; that it is, perhaps, impossible to produce an Epicurean philosopher of any age against whom such a charge can be legitimately substantiated. The philosophers of this school, on the contrary, have, at all times, as openly avowed the existence of such a deity, and, in many instances, as strenuously contended for the truth of such an avowal, as the disciples of any system whatsoever. Such, in the seventeenth century, were Gassendi, and Cudworth, whose physics are altogether founded upon the atomic hypothesis; such was Abelard in the twelfth, Alexander, who was a contemporary with Plutarch, in the first century, and such was Epicurus himself. Thus, in the opening of a letter addressed to a favourite disciple: 'Believe, *before all things*, 'that God is an immortal and blessed being; as, indeed, common 'sense should teach us concerning 'God. Conceive nothing of him 'that is repugnant to blessedness 'and immortality, and admit every 'thing that is consistent with these 'perfections.' This belief of Epicurus is, indeed, acknowledged by ancient writers in general: Cicero expressly tells us, that he was punctilious in the discharge of his religious duties; and Seneca, that he worshiped God on account of his most excellent majesty and supreme nature alone, without any idea either of future reward or punishment.

"He admitted, moreover, the existence of orders of intelligences, possessed of superior powers to the human race, whom, like the angels and archangels of the Christian system, he conceived to be immortal from their nature; to have been created anterior to the formation of the world, to be endowed with far ampler faculties of enjoyment than mankind, to be formed of far purer materials, and to exist in far happier abodes. The chief

chief difference which I have been able to discern between the immortal spirits of the Epicurean system, and of the Christian theologist, is, that while the latter are supposed to take an active part in the divine government of the world, the former are represented as having no kind of connexion with it: since it was conceived by Epicurus that such an interference is absolutely beyond their power, and would be totally subversive of their beatitude.

"In the passage immediately subsequent to that I have just quoted, he purposely and obviously discriminates them from the Supreme Being, whom he speaks of in the singular number, and consequently represents as one, and undivided. 'There are also *deities*,' says he, 'and our knowledge of them is certain; yet not such deities as the vulgar apprehend, who cannot possibly trace the qualities they ascribe to them: hence, he is not impious who would take away the gods of the people, but he who attributes to them the opinions of the people: for it is the opinions, and not the presentiments of the people concerning these divinities, that are false.'

"In deep abstraction from the world, and profound meditation on the mysteries of creation and providence, the venerable founder of the Epicurean sect maintained, that some knowledge might be acquired of the glorious figures, and the happiness of these immortal essences; and that, in proportion as we acquire this knowledge, and are consequently induced to imitate the purity and tranquillity of life in which their happiness was conceived to consist, our own felicity would be increased and exalted. To such abstractions from the world Epicurus therefore habitually resigned himself, and in such kind of quietism consisted the whole of his religion. Incapable of developing the essence of the supreme Godhead, he here contemplated the most perfect proofs of his wisdom, his power and his goodness, and fortified himself in the most unqualified resignation to his will. On the advantages of this disinterested piety, and subjects connected with it, he wrote several treatises: and Lucretius, in a variety of passages of the ensuing poem, is as urgent as Epicurus could possibly have been, in recommending the same. With respect to the popular religion, he asserts:

'No—it can ne'er be piety, to turn
To stocks and stones with deep-veil'd visage; light
O'er every altar incense; o'er the dust
Fall prostrate, and with outstretch'd arms invoke
Through every temple every god that reigns;
Soothe them with blood, and lavish vows on vows.
This rather thou term piety,—to mark
With calm untrembling soul each scene ordain'd.'

"Without this calmness of the soul, this sacred freedom from every gross and ungovernable passion, it is in vain, he asserts in another place, to expect any benefit from these hallowed and religious seclusions, this spiritual quietism and devotion, offered up not at the shrines of the fabulous gods of the people, but in the great temple of 'the immense concave of heaven,' the pure abode of superior intelligences, who are well entitled to the appellation of divinities—being, themselves, the fairest resemblance of the Supreme Creator. On this sublime subject he thus expresses himself:

'For, O ye Powers Divine! whose tranquil lives
Flow free from care, with ceaseless sunshine blest,—
Who the vast whole could guide, midst all your ranks?
Who grasp the reins that curb th' Entire of Things,
Turn the broad heavens, and pour through countless worlds
Th' ethereal fire that feeds their vital throngs—
Felt every moment, felt in every place?
Who form the louring clouds, the lightning dart,
And roll the clamorous thunder, oft in twain
Rending the concave? or, full-deep retir'd,
Who point in secret the mysterious shaft
That, whilst the guilty triumphs, prostrates stern
The fairest forms of innocence and worth?'

"This magnificent and tremendous Being he no where attempts to describe; but, to prove his existence, he adverts, in a variety of places, to those arbitrary and mysterious events which are perpetually recurring through all nature, baffling the expectations of the most prudent, and elevating us to the contemplation of a Divinity, supreme, individual, and omnipotent:

'So, from his awful shades, some Power unseen
O'erturns all human greatness; treads to dust
Rods, ensigns, crowns, the proudest pomps of state,
And laughs at all the mockery of man.'

"The *unseen, incomprehensible*, or *mysterious Power*, is a phrase not unfrequently applied to the Divinity in most languages, but in none, perhaps, with so much appropriation as the Latin, in which the term *Vis*, or *Power*, even without an adjunct, is put in apposition with *Numen, Mens Divina*, or the present God, and often used synonymously for these appellations. Thus the author of the Panegyric to Constantine Augustus: 'O supreme Creator! whose 'names are as numerous as thou 'hast willed there should be languages among the nations; whom, 'for thou authorisest it to be so said, "*it is impossible for us to know*— 'dwells not in thee that *certain* 'Power, and *divine Mind*, which is 'diffused through the whole world?" The writer has selected the very words of Lucretius, 'Vis quædam,' but has, at the same time, omitted his truly elegant and appropriate epithet of *abdita*, unseen, inscrutable, or mysterious:—'Vis abdita quædam.' Cicero, in his Milonian oration, has a passage still more to the point: 'Nor can any one,' says he, 'think otherwise, unless he 'disbelieve that there exists a *Power* or *divine Energy*. But there 'does, there does exist this *Power*; 'nor is it possible that a *something*, 'which perceives and actuates, 'should be present in these bodies, 'even in the midst of their infirmities, and not be present in so 'grand, so excellent a movement 'of nature: unless, indeed, such a 'power be to be denied for the sole 'reason that it is not seen, or perceived; as though we were able 'to behold this mind of ours by 'which we determine, by which 'we foresee, by which, at this 'moment, I myself act, and speak, 'or could plainly ascertain of 'what it consists, or where it resides. This, this, then, is *the* 'Power that has so often favoured 'this city with an incredible pro'sperity and happiness.' Let not, therefore, the theism of Lucretius be suspected, because, in conjunction with his countrymen in general, he represents the great author and arbiter of all things as an *unseen* or *inscrutable Power*. Even

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in the present age of the world, we only know him from his attributes, —from his word and from his works, 'for no man hath hitherto seen God, or can see him.' The sacred scriptures are full of the same representation. Thus, Moses, in the very midst of an intercourse with which he was favoured by the Almighty, inquires what is his name, that he might inform the Israelites of it. To the same effect, Zophar, in his interview with Job:

'Canst thou by searching find out God?
Canst thou completely find out the Almighty?'

"With which, the following sublime apostrophe of Job himself is in perfect unison:

'O that I knew where I might find him:—
Behold! I go forwards, but he is not there;
And backwards, but I cannot perceive him:
On the left hand I feel for him, but trace him not;
He enshroudeth the right hand, and I cannot see him.'

So, the devout Asaph:

'In the sea is thy way,
And thy path in the deep waters,
And thy footsteps are not known.'

"And hence the Athenians, in future ages, erected an altar to this same inscrutable and *mysterious Power*, and inscribed it ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩι ΘΕΩι, 'to the unknown God.' St. Paul remarked the inscription in his visit to this city, and particularly alludes to it in his address to the Athenians: 'whom, there-'fore,' says he, 'ye ignorantly 'worship, him declare I unto you.' It was about a century before St. Paul's visit to Athens, that Lucretius was studying in the same seat of philosophy and superstition; and, as there can be little doubt that this altar was at that time in existence, it is no extravagant conjecture that our poet himself had repeatedly noticed it, and had its inscription in his recollection when composing the passage before us.

"It is absurd, therefore, to contend, that either Epicurus or his disciples were systematic atheists, since their precepts and practice, the writings both of themselves and their antagonists, establish a contrary position. It has again been said that, whatever may have been their opinion respecting a Supreme intelligence, they never believed him to have been concerned in the creation of the universe, which they expressly declared to have sprung from the fortuitous concurrence of insensible atoms, and hence to have been the mere result of blind and brutal chance.

"Old as is the date of such an assertion, and widely as it has been circulated in every age, it appears to me to wander as remotely from the truth as the defamation I have just examined. I doubt much whether, if minutely analysed, this ever were, or ever could be, the opinion of any philosopher, or of any philosophic school in the world. Of all the atomic teachers, Democritus appears to have approached nearest to such a position: yet, even Democritus himself did not contend that all atoms were insensible, and, consequently, that there was no intelligence whatever manifested in the creation of the world. His elementary corpuscles were divided into two classes, the intelligent and the non-intelligent, the power governing, and the power governed; and he contended, that it was by the common consultation and result of the former, and the necessary submission of the latter, and not by the contingent ef-

fect of chance or fortune, that the universe sprang into existence. The absurdity of thus dividing the intelligent and creative power into parts, is too obvious to be dwelt upon; yet Democritus is not the only philosopher who is chargeable with this extravagant incongruity; for Aristotle and Plato are both guilty of the same error; since they both conceived the world, although manifestly a compound and divisible substance, to be eternal and intelligent as a whole. Far from coinciding, however, in any of these principles, Epicurus, and consequently Lucretius, opposed them with the utmost strength of their reasoning; and while they attempted to prove that matter, taken collectively, had no pretensions to sensation or consciousness, they asserted, at the same time, that it was no more capable of sense in its elementary, than in its collective state, and that every monad or primordial atom was alike intrinsically unintelligent and insensate. But this was not all: they expressly denied the existence of *Chance* or *Fortune*, either as a deity or a cause of action; and as positively asserted, that all the phænomena of the heavens, the alternation of the seasons, the eclipses of the planets, the return of day and night, are the effects of eternal and immutable laws established at the beginning, in the very origin and creation of all things. 'Whom,' says Epicurus, in a letter to Menæceus that has yet survived the ruthless hand of time, 'do you believe to be more excellent than he who piously reveres 'the gods, who feels no dread of 'death, and rightly estimates the 'design of nature? Such a man 'does not, with the multitude, regard *Chance* as a God, for he 'knows that *God can never act at 'random;* nor as a *contingent 'cause* of events; nor does he 'conceive that from any such power flows the good, or the evil, 'that attempers the real happiness 'of human life.' And in another place, 'Think not that the different 'motions and revolutions of the 'heavens, the rising, setting, eclipses, 'and other phænomena of the planets, are produced by the *im-'mediate* control, superintendance, 'or ministration of him who possesses all immortality and beatitude; it is from immutable laws 'which they received at the beginning, in the creation of the universe, that they inflexibly fulfil 'their various circuits.' *Fortune, chance, accident,* are terms, indeed, which occur in the writings of Epicurean philosophers; but they occur also in writings the most sacred and unimpeachable; our established liturgy, the scriptures themselves, are not free from such expressions. We well know, that in these latter they are to be taken in their popular sense alone; Epicurus expressly tells us, that they are thus only to be understood under his own system; and in common justice, as well as common sense, we ought not therefore to understand them otherwise.

"But it may be said, that Epicurus contended for the eternity of matter. He did so; yet this is a doctrine which by no means exclusively attaches itself to the Epicurean school. Perhaps, if closely investigated, there is not an individual sect of ancient philosophers, against whom the same charge cannot be substantiated. The Tuscans, indeed, are reported to have formed an exception to this universality of opinion; but we know so little of their cosmological

logical tenets, and the little we do know, appears to be so loose and indefinite, that we have no satisfactory datum from which to draw a conclusion. The present day itself, and even the Christian church, is not without espousers of the same doctrine; nor were the Hebrew theologians uniformly free from attachment to it. The short narrative of the creation given by Moses seems to leave the question undecided, as he evidently speaks proleptically, and intimates the existence of matter in a chaotic state anterior to the formation of the world; consistently with which, the author of the Book of Wisdom asserts, in the most express manner possible, that, 'the almighty 'hand of the Lord created the 'world out of unfashioned matter.' I ought, nevertheless, to observe that Maimonides contended that the Hebrew term ברא (created) as employed by Moses, in Genesis i. 1, implies, of itself, an absolute *creation out of nothing*; and that Origen, who followed the same opinion, objected to the above proposition contained in the Wisdom of Solomon, as issuing from a book which is not universally admitted to form a part of canonical scripture. Philo, however, as well as the greater part of the Christian fathers, are well known to have coincided in the sentiment expressed in the latter book; and Justin Martyr directly affirms it to have been the common belief of his own æra, that the Creator of the world *formed it out of unfashioned matter*; in which respect, says he, Moses, the Platonists, and ourselves, are all agreed: 'that 'the whole world was created, by 'the word of God, out of plastic 'matter, (as asserted by Moses,) 'Plato and his adherents affirm, 'and ourselves have been taught 'to believe.' The grand motive for such a dogma appears to have been a supposed absurdity in conceiving that any thing could be created out of nothing. The Epicureans, and many other schools of philosophers, who borrowed it from them, perpetually appeal to this position. It originated, perhaps, with Democritus, who expressly asserted, according to Diogenes Laertius, 'that nothing 'could spring from nothing, or 'could ever return to nothing.' Epicurus echoed the tenet in the following terms: 'Know first of 'all, that nothing can spring from 'non-entity.' It was thus given by Aristotle: 'To suppose what 'is created to have been created 'from nothing, is to divest it of 'all power; for it is a dogma of 'those who thus pretend to think, 'that every thing must still possess 'its own nature.' From the Greeks it passed to the Romans, and appears as follows, in Lucretius:

'Admit this truth—that nought from nothing springs,
And all is clear.'

And it was thus, long afterwards, recorded by Persius:

'Nought springs from nought, and can to nought return.'

"It is singular, that the very same reason is advanced among the Bramins, and is thus urged, in identic terms, in an upanishad, from the Yajur Veda, in the course of an address to Bremah, or the Supreme Being: 'The ignorant as-'sert, that the universe, in the be-'ginning, did not exist in its author, 'and that it was created out of 'nothing. O ye whose hearts are 'pure, *how could something arise out* 'of nothing?'

" Let it not be conceived, however, that I hereby enter into the justification of this tenet. In showing the degree of its universality, I only mean to contend, that whatever be its opprobrium with respect to religion, or its inconsequence with respect to ratiocination, the Epicureans are not more guilty than the greater part of ancient, and several modern philosophers. There are three systems which have been alternately advanced to avoid the supposed absurdity of the proposition thus universally appealed to, 'that nothing can proceed from 'nothing,' or, in other words, that the world was produced by an eternal and intelligent power from non-entity; yet they all, if I mistake not, plunge us into an absurdity ten times more deep and inextricable. The first is that contended for by all the old atomic schools, that matter is, in itself, necessarily and essentially eternal. But by such a dogma we are put into possession of two co-eternal, co-existent, and independent principles, destitute of all relative connexion, and common medium of action. The second, which has had even more espousers than the first, asserts, that the universe is an expansion of the essence of the Supreme Creator. But under this belief, the Creator himself becomes material, or in other words, matter itself becomes the Creator, a doctrine not only very generally advanced by former philosophers, but lately revived and re-accredited on the continent, although far more irrational than the atomic creed. The third hypothesis is that of the idealists; to wit, that there is no such thing as a material or external world; that the existence of man consists of nothing more than impressions and ideas, or of pure incorporeal spirit which surveys every thing in the same insubstantial manner as the visions of a dream. Germany has still some advocates for this tenet; the Kantian philosophy, or as the professor at Königsburg prefers it should be called, the Criticism of Pure Reason, has an obvious inclination to it; but its boldest advocates, at least in modern days, were our own countrymen, Berkeley and Hume.

" But, after all, why is it an absurdity to suppose that something may spring from nothing, when the proposition is applied to Omnipotence? I may be answered, perhaps, Because it is a self-contradiction. But this is only to argue *in circulo*, for why is it a self-contradiction? 'It is impossible,' said M. Leibnitz, 'for things to 'be, and not to be, at the same 'time.' This position I admit, because the contrary would imply a self-contradiction absolute and universal, founded upon the very nature of things, and consequently impossible to be performed by Omnipotence itself. But the position that 'nothing can spring from no-'thing,' is of a very different character:—it is true when applied to man, but it does not follow that it is true when applied to God. Instead of being absolute and universal, it is relative and limited; the nature of things does not allow us to reason from it when its reference is to the latter; and hence, we have no authority to say that it is impossible to the Deity, or to maintain that an absolute creation out of nothing is an absurdity and self-contradiction. It is absurd to suppose that matter does not exist; it is absurd to suppose that it does exist eternally and independently of the Creator; it is absurd to suppose that it constitutes the Creator himself;

himself: but as it is not absurd to suppose its absolute formation out of nothing by the exercise of Almighty power, and as one of these four propositions must necessarily be true, reason should induce us to embrace the last with the same promptitude with which we reject the other three.

"So far, indeed, from intimating any absurdity in the idea, that matter may be created out of nothing by the interposition of an Almighty intelligence, reason seems, on the contrary, rather to point out to us the possibility of an equal creation out of nothing of ten thousand other substances, of which each may be the medium of life and happiness to infinite orders of beings, while *every one* may, at the same time, be as distinct from *every one*, as the whole may be from matter, or as matter is from what, without knowing any thing farther of, we commonly denominate spirit. Spirit, as generally used among modern metaphysicians, is, to say the most of it, but a mere negative term, employed to express something that is not matter; but there may be ten thousand somethings, and substrata of being, and moral excellence and felicity, which are not matter, none of which, however, we can otherwise characterise. Yet why, between all, or any one of these, and matter itself, there should be such an utter opposition and discrepancy as was contended for by Des Cartes, and has since been maintained by most metaphysicians, I cannot possibly conjecture; nor conceive why it should be so universally thought necessary, as it still appears to be thought, that the essence of the eternal Creator himself must indispensably consist of the essence of some one of the orders of beings whom he has created. Why may it not be as distinct from that of an archangel, as from that of a mortal? from the whole of those various substances, which I have just supposed, and which we cannot otherwise contemplate, or characterise, than by the negative term spirit, as it is from matter which is more immediately submitted to our eyes, and constitutes the substratum of our own being and sensations?

"But I return to the subject before me: and repeat it, that my intention, instead of defending the erroneous doctrine of Epicurus respecting the eternity of matter, has been merely to prove that, in erring, he only erred with the greater part of the world at large, and upon a point which it would be absurd and dogmatic to affirm is possessed of no difficulties whatever. In other respects, the doctrine he inculcated was perfectly coincident with the creed of almost every modern geologist, whether Plutonic or Neptunian, and which has been gradually gaining ground from the age of Des Cartes; I mean, that matter which was originally possessed of the mere qualities of extent and solidity, was endowed, by the Supreme Creator, with such additional properties of motion and gravitation, as enabled it, in process of time, after a long lapse of intervening ages, and an infinite reiteration of collisions, repulsions, and re-combinations, to produce, by the mere effect of such superadded powers alone, from a rude and undigested chaos, a vital and harmonious world.

"An examination into the internal structure of the earth demonstrates, that such must have been the fact; and the Neptunian philosopher, or he who traces the origin

gin of things from an aqueous, instead of an igneous, or Plutonic chaos, perceives, from the very lineaments of nature herself, the truth of the Mosaic narrative; he perceives, that the present arrangement and phænomena of the chaotic mass were not educed instantaneously, but by a series of separate and creative operations; that the different fluids of vapour and water were secerned in the first instance; that the water, for a considerable portion of time, must have covered the entire surface of the globe; that it at length gradually subsided, and disclosed the summits of our primary, or granitic mountains, which contain no organic remains, and, of course, must have existed anterior to all animal, or even vegetable life. He perceives, from the book of nature, that the waters were first animated with living creatures, the shells and exuviæ of marine animals being traced in immense quantities, even to the present moment, on the summits of the loftiest and most inland primary mountains, whence it is certain that they existed, and in prodigious shoals, even prior to the subsidence of the waters, and the disclosure of the dry land. He, without difficulty, can conceive, still pursuing the order of the sacred historian, which is in every respect analogous with that of the Epicurean system, and he is supported in such conception by the best principles of ornithology,—that, the summits of the primary mountains being covered with the verdure of the grassy herb, as the waters progressively retreated, the atmosphere was next inhabited; and that the different genera of birds—many of which have long since become extinct, and perhaps existed but for a short period from the date of the general creation, but whose skeletons are still occasionally detected on the surface, or but a little below the surface of our loftiest hills—drew their nutriment from the summits of these primary mountains, as soon as they began to be disclosed, and to be furnished with herbaceous food, being the only animals, excepting fishes, which hitherto possessed a habitation. It follows of necessity, therefore, as stated in the sacred writings, and as is expressly affirmed in the poem before us, that terrestrial animals must have had a posterior creation, the surface of the earth now gradually assuming a more solid and extensive appearance, and accommodating them with an augmenting theatre of existence. The Mosaic account, indeed, limits this process to a period in which, if the terms be understood in their strict and literal sense, the existing phænomena of nature seem to evince they could not possibly have occurred; for it confines the entire work of creation within the compass of six days. In other parts of the scriptures, however, we have undeniable proofs, that the term day, instead of being restrained to a single revolution of the earth round its axis, is used, in a looser and more general sense, for a definite, indeed, but a much more extensive period; and we have as ample a proof from the book of nature, the existing face of the earth, that the six days or periods of creation referred to, in the Mosaic cosmology, imply epochs of much greater duration than so many diurnal revolutions, as we have, in the page of human history, that the same terms were employed with the same laxity of meaning by the prophet Daniel. Thus interpreted, scepticism is driven from her last

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and inmost fortress; every subterfuge is annihilated, and the word and work of the Deity are in perfect unison with each other. That the Creator might have produced the whole by a single and instantaneous effort, is not to be denied; but, as both revelation and nature concur in asserting that such was not the fact, it is no more derogatory to him, with whom a thousand years are but as one day, and one day as a thousand years, to suppose that he allotted six thousand years to the completion of his design, than that he executed it in six days. And, surely, there is something far more magnificent in conceiving the world to have progressively attained form, order, and vitality, from the mere operation of powers communicated to it in a state of chaos, or unfashioned matter, than in supposing the actual and persevering exertions of the Almighty for a definite, although a shorter period of time.

"That Epicurus and his disciples disbelieved a future state, is a fact that I pretend not to deny. Whence were they to acquire a knowledge of this important doctrine? The evidences offered in its favour by nature, and the reflection of our own minds when directed to moral considerations, are, at best, but feeble and inconclusive; and if the Jews themselves, the only people at this period who were favoured with a revelation of any kind, hesitated upon this mysterious subject, and the Sadducees, a large and considerable body of them, openly rejected it; if Solomon himself, renowned through every æra as the profoundest sage of his nation, believed that the wise or righteous man died even as the fool or the wicked; that 'that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth 'beasts, even one thing befalleth 'them; as the one dieth so dieth 'the other; yea, they have all one 'spirit; so that a man hath no pre-'eminence above a beast, for all is 'vanity: all go unto one place; 'all are of the dust, and all turn 'to dust again;' it surely can be no impeachment of the wisdom or virtue of a sect of heathen philosophers, that, after a full and critical examination of this momentous point, they could not bring themselves to accredit what was professedly denied by men who were in possession of an express revelation from heaven.

"The belief of a future existence can only result from that of a resurrection of the body after its dissolution, or of the survival of the soul as a separate and independent principle. With respect to the former, although, intermixed with a multitude of the grossest conceits imaginable, it became an early tenet among the Egyptians, and was strenuously contended for by the Pharisaic Jews, it made little or no progress in either Greece or Rome at any time; and hence, when St. Paul, with inimitable eloquence, asserted this sublime doctrine at the bar of Agrippa's court, Festus accused him of being mad from excess of learning. 'That the dead shall 'rise, and live again,' observes Mr. Locke, 'is beyond the discovery of 'reason, and is purely a matter of 'faith:' the knowledge of immortality is alone brought to light by the gospel; and nothing but the irrefragable proofs we possess of our Saviour's resurrection can afford us, at the present moment, any full or decisive evidence upon the subject.

"Of the separate survival of the soul, we know as little from any intimations afforded by the light of nature,

nature, as we do concerning the resurrection of the body. And hence, though the former was a tenet far more widely acceded to than the latter, it appears to have been derived from no common foundation, nor possessed of any uniformity of conception. Generally speaking, moreover, the tenet itself was destroyed by the mode in which it was explained. What was the nature of the soul, in the opinion of those who contended for its incorruptibility? An emanation from the divine and universal mind—a particle of the divine aura, an idea, an æon. How was it disposed of, upon its separation from the body? It transmigrated into some other body; it remigrated to the soul of the world; it was resorbed by the divine universal Mind. But in either case, the soul is possessed of no *separate entity*, and as much ceases to exist *per se*, or to be what it was before, as if it perished with the body, and returned to the common mass of the material world. We cannot wonder, therefore, that, even among the Stoics and Platonists, the doctrine of a post-existence of the soul appeared to be frequently doubtful and undecided. They believed, and they disbelieved; they hoped, and they feared; and life passed away in a state of perpetual anxiety and agitation. But this was not all: perplexed, even when they admitted the doctrine, about the will of the Deity, and the mode of securing his favour after death, with their own philosophic speculations they intermixed the religion of the people. They acknowledged the existence of the popular divinities; clothed them with the attributes of the Eternal himself; and, anxious to obtain their benediction, were punctilious in attending at their temples, and united in the sacrifices that were offered. Such was the conduct of the most worthy and the most enlightened; of Socrates and of Plato, of Cicero and Seneca.

"An incorruptible soul, however, being thus generally conceived to constitute a portion of the human frame, it became, from a very early period, necessary to inquire into the part it was destined to perform while connected with the body. And from its being admitted on all hands, by those who denied as well as by those who contended for incorruptibility, to be of a more volatile and attenuate nature than the body properly so called, it required no great degree of acuteness to appropriate to it, as its peculiar prerogative, the principle of thought and consciousness; or to maintain consecutively, that thought or consciousness could not result from pure elementary matter under any combination. It is commonly imagined that this latter tenet was the foundation of the former: but whoever examines the history of mankind will perceive that the idea of an immortal or incorruptible soul was very generally accredited for ages before the science of metaphysics or psychology was heard of, or even conceived; and the parent is hence transmuted into the offspring.

"Such was the general belief in the age of Epicurus, and such it continued to be in the time of Lucretius; and hence it was necessary to reduce the doctrine to the crucible of minute examination and experiment, in order to ascertain its veracity. This each of them appears to have done with a precision that scarcely leaves a wish ungratified; and the result is, admitting their reasoning to be correct, that the frame of man is simple, uncompounded

pounded matter; that matter, in its gross and cruder state, composes the body, and in its more refined or gaseous, the soul or spirit,

'That rears th' incipient stimulus, and first
Darts sentient motion through the quivering frame.'

"Has modern science added any thing to this discovery, or rests the question as handed down to us in the pages of Lucretius? The Christian scriptures, I admit, which have brought life, as well as immortality, to light, the present nature of man, as well as his future destiny, teach us, in my apprehension, most clearly and unequivocally, not only that the body will arise from the grave, but that the soul will exist antecedently to such an event in a state of separation. In this respect, therefore, the Epicureans were more estranged from the truth than their opponents, or rather the phænomena of nature, in which they implicitly confided, afforded them no direct evidence upon the subject, and tended to a contrary conclusion: but so far as relates to the constitution of the entire man, to the materiality of the soul itself, the indications of nature, and their own deductions, appear to have been equally correct, and by no means to be contradicted by revelation. To render the soul immortal, why is it necessary that it should be immaterial? Immaterial is a term that does not occur in the scriptures: it has been introduced in aid of reason alone; but it has, unquestionably, engendered more perplexity than its fondest advocates ever flattered themselves it would remove. Perception, consciousness, cognition, we continue to be told, are qualities which cannot appertain to matter; there must hence be a thinking, and an immaterial principle, and man must still be a compound being.

"Yet why thus degrade matter, the plastic and prolific creature of the Deity, beyond what we are authorised to do? Why may it not peceive, why not think, why not become conscious? What eternal and necessary impediment prevents? or what self-contradiction and absurdity is hereby implied? Let us examine nature, as she presents herself to us in her most simple and unorganized forms; let us trace her through her gradual and ascending stages of power and perfection.

"Matter is denominated inert and brutish: as an individual monad or atom, however, and placed at an infinite distance from all other atoms, can it alone deserve such an appellation, if it deserve it under any circumstances? Admit the existence of two or more atoms, and whatever be the distance at which they are placed from each other, they will begin to act with reciprocity; diminish the distance, and the action will be sensible; the power of gravitation will obviously exert itself; they will approximate, they will unite. In its simplest form, therefore, matter evinces the desire of reciprocal union, or, as it is commonly called, the attraction of gravitation. Increase its mass, arrange it in other modifications, and it immediately evinces other powers of attractions—and these will be perpetually, and almost infinitely, varied, in proportion as we vary its combinations. If arranged, therefore, in one mode, it discloses the power of magnetism; in another, that of electricity, or galvanism; in a third, that of chemical affinities; in a fourth, that of mineral assimilations, of which the very beautiful *flos ferri* affords

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us a striking example. Pursue its modifications into classes of a more complex, or rather, perhaps, of a more gaseous or attenuate nature, and it will evince the power of vegetable or fibrous irritability; ascend through the classes of vegetables, and you will, at length, reach the strong stimulative perfection, the palpable vitality of the mimosa pudica, or the hedysarum gyrans, the former of which shrinks from the touch with the most bashful coyness, while the latter perpetually dances beneath the jocund rays of the sun. And when we have thus attained the summit of vegetable powers and vegetable life, it will require, I think, no great stretch of the imagination to conceive, that the fibrous irritability of animals, as well as vegetables, is the mere result of a peculiar arrangement of simple and unirritable material atoms.

"But let us not trust to conjecture; let us mark the progress of nature through the animal kingdom, as well as through the vegetable, and trace the first doubtful and evanescent symptoms of incipient perception and spirit. The seeds of plants possess no irritability whatever; yet nothing but an evolution or augmentation, a mere change and increased organization, are sufficient to produce this new and higher power. It is precisely the same with animals. The fecundated egg of a hen, or other bird, when first laid, is as destitute of all irritability as the acorn of an oak-tree; the mother nourishes it with heat, and the embryon chick expands in growth, and becomes susceptible of new faculties, till, at length, it bursts its inclosure, and the senseless embryon speck is transmuted into an active and perfect animal. The mother, however, after she has deposited her egg, communicates nothing but heat; for the warmth of an oven would have answered the purpose as well as that of her own body; and, in many countries, the former is preferred to the latter. The same fact occurs with respect to viviparous animals; for, whatever be the theory of generation we may adopt, the first filaments of the fœtus, although formed within the body, are as destitute of sensation as the first fibres that pullulate from the seed or egg after its discharge from the parent stock: and hence the aphis, and some other animals, are possessed of a double power of propagating their young according to the season of the year; in the spring-time producing them oviparously, and viviparously in the summer. Hence, then, animal sensation, and, hence, necessarily and consequently, ideas and a material soul or spirit; rude and confined indeed in its first and simplest mode of existence, but, like every other production of nature, beautifully and progressively advancing from power to power, from faculty to faculty, from excellence to excellence, till it at length terminate in the perfection of the human mind.

"Such appears to be the clear indication and gradual progress of nature, and such was the doctrine of Epicurus. But such was not the whole of his doctrine. He pursued the mind into her inmost recesses; he analysed her powers, and endeavoured to develope her very texture, as distinguished from the external and grosser body. To enter minutely into this subject would occupy far too much space, and I refer the reader, therefore, to the following poem, Book III. v. 100—265. and the explanatory notes which will be found appended.

ed. Let it at present suffice to observe, that the mind was supposed to be the result of a combination of the most volatile and ethereal auras or gasses, diffused over the whole body, though traced in a more concentrate form in some organs than in others. Nor could any conception be more correct or happy: it is the very philosophy of the present day, boldly predicted and accurately ascertained. Such, from the clearest and most convincing experiments, are the sources of all nervous communication; and why may not a certain modification of such gasses constitute the mind itself, and form the very texture of that separate state of existence which the infallible page of revelation clearly indicates will be ours? Analogy, I admit, points out to us, as it did to Epicurus and his disciples, that such a texture can be no more incorruptible, than the less subtilized body itself, which is avowedly doomed to the grave; and it may moreover be questioned, whether a frame so attenuate be capable either of organization, or permanent endurance. As the suggestions of analogy, however, are erroneous with respect to the body, we can place no dependence upon them with regard to the mind, admitting it to be material in its frame. Matter is not *necessarily* corruptible under any form. The body, which is now mouldering in its grave, will hereafter experience a glorious resurrection; the corruptible will put on incorruption; the mortal, immortality. As then the material body is privileged to enjoy incorruptibility in a future period, so may the material mind be privileged to enjoy it from its birth. Why it should be requisite for that which seems to constitute one harmonious whole to separate, and for the mind to exist by itself in an intermediate state of being, is a mystery which equally attaches to the material and immaterial systems. But the power that is capable of giving personality and consciousness to matter in its grosser and more palpable form, must unquestionably possess a similar power of bestowing the same qualities on matter in its most attenuate and evanescent.

"This opinion, however, I offer as a speculation to be pursued, rather than as a doctrine to be precipitately accredited. Yet its tendency is by no means idle or unimportant: since, if capable of establishment, it will in a considerable degree remove the objections which attach to the common systems of materialism, elucidate the Mosaic account of the first creation of the soul from a divine *breath* or *aura* infused into the body, and give stability to universal tradition, by developing the nature of that evanescent and shadowy texture, under which, among all nations, the soul has ever been supposed to exist. Opposed as the two theories of materialism (in the manner in which it is commonly professed) and immaterialism are to each other, it is curious to observe how directly and equally they tend to one common result with respect to a point upon which they are supposed to differ diametrically: I mean, an assimilation of the human soul to that of the brute. The materialist, who traces the origin of sensation and thought from a mere modification of matter, refers the perception, cognition, and reflection of brutes, to the very same principle which produces such endowments in man; and believing that this modification is equally, in

both instances, destroyed by death, maintains, like Solomon, that 'as 'the one dieth, so dieth the other; 'so that a man hath no pre-emi-'nence above a beast:' and his hope of a future existence depends exclusively upon the resurrection of the human body, as positively predicted in the christian scriptures. The immaterialist, on the contrary, who conceives that mere matter is incapable, under any modification, of producing the effect of sensation and ideas, is under the necessity of supposing the existence of another and a very different substance in a state of combination with it: a substance not subject to the changes and infirmities of matter, and altogether impalpable and incorruptible. But if sensation and ideas can only result from such a substance in man, they can only result from a possession of the same substance by brutes: and hence the level between the two is equally maintained by both parties, the common materialist lowering the man to the brute, and the immaterialist exalting the brute to the man. The immaterialist, however, on the approach of dissolution finds a difficulty to which his antagonist is not subject, for he knows not at that period how to dispose of the brutal soul: he cannot destroy an incorruptible and immaterial substance, and yet he cannot bring himself to a belief that it is immortal. This difficulty is extreme, and no system that has hitherto been invented has been able to surmount it. By some immaterialists, and particularly by Vitringa and Grotius, it has been conceived, that as something distinct from matter must be granted to brutes to account for their powers of perception, mankind are in possession of a principle superadded to this, and which alone constitutes their immortal spirit. But such an idea, while it absurdly supposes every man to be created with two immaterial spirits instead of one, leaves us as much as ever in the dark as to the one immaterial, and, consequently, incorruptible soul or principle possessed by brutes. The insufficiency of the solution has not only been felt but acknowledged by other immaterialists, and nothing can silence the objection, but to advance boldly, and deny that brutes have a soul or percipient principle of any kind; that they have either thought, perception, or sensation; and to maintain, in consequence, that they are mere mechanical machines, acted upon by external impulsions alone. Des Cartes was sensible that this was the only alternative; he therefore cut the Gordian knot, and strenuously contended for such a theory: and Polignac, who intrepidly follows him, gravely devotes almost a whole book of his Anti-Lucretius to the elucidation of this doctrine; maintaining, that the hound has no more will of his own in chasing the fox or the hare, than the wires of an harpsichord have in the excitation of tones; and that, as the latter is mechanically thrown into action by the pressure of the fingers upon the keys, so the hound is mechanically driven forwards by the pressure of the stimulating odour that exhales from the body of the fox or hare upon his nostrils. Such are the fancies which have been invented, to explain what appears to elude all explanation whatever, and, consequently, to prove that the original theory itself is unfounded.

"Yet the objections that apply to the theory of materialism, as commonly understood and professed,

ed, are still greater. By the denial of an intermediate state of being between the two periods of death and the resurrection of the body, it opposes what appears to be, not only the general tenor, but, in some instances, the direct declarations of the christian scriptures: and by conceiving the entire dissolution and dispersion of the animal machine, of which all the atoms may become afterwards constituent portions of other intelligent beings, it renders a future and resumed personality almost, if not altogether, impossible. The idea I have thrown out seems to avoid the difficulties attached to both systems. It says to the materialist, Matter is not *necessarily* corruptible; you admit that it is not so, upon your own principle, which strenuously asserts that the body itself will hereafter arise incorruptible and immutable. It says to the immaterialist, The term *immaterial* is the mere creature of system, at the same time that it by no means answers the purpose of its creation: it tells him that it is a term not to be found in the scriptures, which, so far from discountenancing a belief that the soul, spirit, or immortal part of man, is a system of gaseous or ethereal matter, seem rather to authorize such a conception by expressly asserting that it was originally formed from an air or aura, which was breathed into the body of Adam, in consequence of which he became a living soul, and by presenting it to us under some such modification in every instance in which the dead are stated to have re-appeared.

In reality, the difference between this hypothesis and that of immaterialists in general, is little more than merely verbal. For, there are few of them who do not conceive that the soul, in its separate state, exists under some such shadowy and evanescent form, and that, if never suffered to make its appearance in the present day, it has thus occasionally appeared in earlier times, and for particular purposes. Yet, what can in this manner become palpable to material senses must itself be material in its texture, otherwise it could produce no impression on the external organs, and must for ever remain impalpable and imperceptible: a similar texture of existence seems, therefore, to be pre-supposed by both systems; and the only discrepancy between them is, that while the one denominates it *material*, the other, but I think less accurately, denominates it *immaterial*. From what source universal tradition may have derived the same idea of disembodied spirits I pretend not to ascertain; the inquiry would, nevertheless, be curious, and might be rendered important: its universality, independently of the sanction afforded to it by revealed religion, is no small presumption of its being founded on fact. My only object, in this digression, has been to conciliate discordant opinions, and to connect popular belief with philosophy.

"But to return to the subject before me. I have already observed, that the Epicureans were addicted to religious abstractions, and that the great founder of the sect composed various treatises upon the duties of piety and holiness. These, according to Cicero, were possessed of an ardour and enthusiasm which would have become a priest; and it has hence been inquired what could be so absurd as to recommend piety, and engage in devotional exercises, if the soul be not immortal, if there be no

resurrection of the body, and the Deity interfere not with moral actions lest the human will be curtailed in its liberty? This question has been proposed often; and the adversaries of Epicurus have maliciously replied to it, that he was only influenced to such a conduct by a ar of offending the civil power. It is impossible, however, to form a more false conjecture of his motives, nor can any one give credit to such reply for an instant, who is acquainted with the magnanimity he evinced throughout every stage of his life; the fortitude with which he opposed the prevailing superstitions of the people; and the simplicity of his own religious tenets. 'We are accus-'tomed,' observes Gassendi, upon this very point, 'to assign two 'causes why mankind should wor-'ship the Deity: the one is, his 'own excellent and supreme na-'ture; and the other, the benefits 'he is continually conferring upon 'us by restraining us from evil, or 'vouchsafing to us some positive 'good.' It was then, by the former, and the far purer of these motives, by which Epicurus was actuated. Seneca, indeed, expressly tells us so: 'He worshipped 'God,' says he, 'induced by no 'hope, by no reward, but on ac-'count of his most excellent Majes-'ty, and Supreme Nature alone.' 'And why should we not,' inquires Bayle, 'allow to Epicurus the idea 'of a worship which our most or-'thodox theologians recommend 'as the most legitimate and the 'most perfect? For they preach to 'us, from day to day, that though 'there should be no paradise to 'hope for, and no hell to dread, 'we should, nevertheless, be obliged 'to honour God, and to do what-'ever we think agreeable to his 'nature.' But, independently of these considerations, the devotional services of the Epicureans carried a positive and physical benefit along with them. By occasional abstractions from the world, all undue attachment to it was diminished, if not totally eradicated; and by confirming themselves, during these periods of retirement, in a calm and confidential resignation to the determined series of events, they obtained a complete victory over their passions, and gave the truest enjoyment to life.

"What, then, is there so much worse, so much more impious, in the tenets of Lucretius and Epicurus, than in those of their contemporaries? That we of the present day are possessed of more knowledge and illumination, upon the important doctrine of a future life, should be a source of continual thankfulness,—and a stimulus to superior virtue. The advantages they enjoyed, however, they improved as far as they were able: let us in this respect, at least, follow their example,—and go and do likewise."

Revival of Classical Criticism in Italy.

[From Mr. Roscoe's Life of Leo the Tenth.]

"ALTHOUH the study of the ancient languages had long been revived in Italy, yet no idea seems to have been entertained before the time of Leo X. of improving the style of Italian composition, by a closer adherence to the regularity and purity of the Greek and Roman writers. Some efforts had, indeed, been made to transfuse the spirit, or at least the sense of these productions into the Italian tongue. The Metamorphoses of Ovid, and Æneid of the Mantuan bard, had thus been translated into prose; and the Thebaid of Statius, and Pharsalia of Lucan, the Satires of Juvenal, with some detached parts of the writings of Ovid, and of Virgil, had been translated into Italian verse; but in so rude and unskilful a manner, as to produce, like a bad mirror, rather a caricature than a resemblance. As the Italian scholars became more intimately acquainted with the works of the ancients, they began to feel the influence of their taste, and to imbibe some portion of their spirit. No longer satisfied with the humble and laborious task of translating these authors, they, with a laudable emulation, endeavoured to rival the boasted remains of ancient genius by productions of a similar kind in their native tongue. In order to attain an equality with their great models, they ventured also to discard the shackles of rhyme, and to introduce a kind of measure which should depend for its effect on the elevation and harmony of its language, and on the variety of its pauses, rather than on the continual recurrence of similar sounds. The person who is entitled to the chief credit of having formed, and in some degree executed, this commendable design, is the learned Gian-Giorgio Trissino; and although his powers as a poet were inadequate to the task which he had imposed upon them, yet the chaste and classical style which was thus introduced, has given rise to some of the most correct and pleasing productions in the Italian tongue.

"Trissino was born of a noble family at Vicenza, in the year 1478, and for some time received instructions from the celebrated Greek, Demetrius Chalcondyles, at Milan. On the death of his wife, of whom he was early in life deprived, he repaired to Rome, where he obtained the particular favour of Leo X. who employed him on several important missions; and in particular, to the emperor Maximilian. The *versi sciolti*, or blank verse of the Italian language, was first employed by Trissino, in his tragedy of Sofonisba; and is certainly much better calculated than either the *terza rima*, or the *ottava stanza*, to works of length. The same mode of versification was, however, employed about the same time by several men of considerable talents, and an eminent Italian critic has asserted, that 'it was first 'used by Luigi Alamanni, in his 'translation from Catullus of the 'epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis; afterwards by Lodovico Martelli, in translating the fourth 'book of the Æneid, and by the 'cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, in

'translating the second; in imitation of whom, Trissino afterwards 'composed, in the same measure, 'his epic poem of Italia liberata 'da' Goti.' But it must be observed, that the Italia liberata was not the first work in which Trissino had employed the versi sciolti, his tragedy of Sofonisba having been written at least ten years before he began his epic poem, and completed in the year 1515. It is, however, certain, that in the same year, Giovanni Rucellai wrote, in blank verse, his tragedy of Rosmunda; but as he has himself addressed Trissino as his literary preceptor, and as the pretensions of Trissino to the precedency in this respect are confirmed by the explicit acknowledgment of Palla Rucellai, the brother of Giovanni, we may with confidence attribute to Trissino the honour of the invention; unless the pretensions of the Florentine historian, Jacopo Nardi, who gave a specimen of blank verse, in the prologue to his comedy entitled L'Amicizia, supposed to be represented before the magistrates of Florence, about the year 1494, may be thought to invalidate his claim. The tragedy of Sofonisba is, however, entitled to notice, not only as having first introduced the versi sciolti into general use, but as being the first regular tragedy which made its appearance after the revival of letters. The appellation of tragedy had indeed been already adopted, and even the story of Sophonisba had been the subject of a dramatic performance, in *ottava rima*, by Galeotto, marquis of Carretto, and presented by him to Isabella, marchioness of Mantua; but this piece, like the Virginia of Accolti, and other productions of a similar nature, was so imperfect in its arrangement, and so ill adapted to theatrical representation, that it rather increases than diminishes the honour due to Trissino, who, disregarding the example of his contemporaries, introduced a more correct and classical style of dramatic composition. The affecting story of this tragedy, founded on the relation of Livy, in the thirtieth book of his history, is already well known, having been frequently the subject of theatrical representation in this country. It may therefore be sufficient to observe, that Trissino, without greatly deviating from the records of history, has given a dramatic form to the incidents, which renders his production not uninteresting, and has interspersed it with some passages of expression and pathos. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the dignity of the tragic style is not always equally supported, and that the author frequently displays a prolixity, languor, and insipidity, both of sentiment and of style, which greatly detract from the interest of the piece.

"It was not, however, until the year 1547, that Trissino published the nine first books of his epic poem of Italia liberata da' Goti; of which the additional eighteen books made their appearance in 1548. In this poem, to the completion of which the author had dedicated upwards of twenty years, he proposed to exhibit to his countrymen a specimen of the true epic, as founded on the example of Homer, and confirmed by the authority of Aristotle. The subject is the liberation of Italy from the Goths by Belisarius, as general of the emperor Justinian. In the execution of it, Trissino asserts, that he had examined all the Greek and Roman writers, for the purpose

purpose of selecting the flowers of their eloquence to enrich his own labours. That Trissino was a man of talents and of learning, is evident from his other writings, and his various acquirements in mathematics, physics, and architecture, are highly celebrated by his contemporaries; yet of all the attempts at epic poetry which have hitherto appeared, the Italia liberata may be considered as the most insipid and uninteresting. In Berni, Mauro, Folengi, and other writers of burlesque poetry, their simplicity or vulgarity is evidently assumed, for the avowed purpose of giving a greater zest to their satire or their wit; but the low and pedestrian style of Trissino is genuine and unaffected, and is often rendered still more striking by the unconscious gravity of the author. Yet more reprehensible is the plan and conduct of the poem, in which the heathen mythology is confounded with the christian religion, and an invocation to Apollo and the Muses introduces the Supreme Being as interfering in the concerns of mortals, in such language, and by such means, as must, in the estimation of either true piety or correct taste, appear wholly unworthy of the divine character. Hence neither the industry of Trissino, nor the high literary character which he had before attained, could raise into credit his unfortunate poem, which, as one of his contemporaries informs us, was never read, but seemed to have been buried on the same day that it first saw the light. About the year 1700, a feeble attempt was made, by the associates of the academy of cardinal Ottoboni at Rome, to transpose the Italia liberata into ottava rima, each member selecting a separate book for the exercise of his talents; but although some of them performed their task, the work was never completed. The critics of Italy, unwilling to detract from the character of a man, whose merits have in other respects done honour to their country, have, however, seldom mentioned the Italia liberata but in terms of respect; although it never was reprinted until the year 1729, when it was inserted in the general collection of the works of its author.

"Subsequent to Trissino in the adoption of the versi sciolti, but more successful in the manner in which he employed it, was his friend Giovanni Rucellai, whose near consanguinity to the pontiff Leo X. as well as his own extraordinary merits, entitle him to particular notice. He was one of the four sons of Bernardo Rucellai, by his wife Nannina, sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and was born at Florence in the year 1475. The example of his father, who is justly ranked among the most eminent scholars, and correct Latin writers of his time, and the instructions of the celebrated Francesco Cataneo da Diaceto, were a sure pledge of his early proficiency; and it has been said of him with undoubted truth, that he was highly accomplished, as well in the Greek and Latin languages, as in his own. In the year 1505, he was sent as embassador from his native city to the state of Venice, and was present when the envoy of Louis XII. required that the senate would permit the learned civilian Filippo Decio to return as his subject to Pavia, to teach the canon law: with which the senate refused to comply; an incident which it seems made a great impression on Rucellai, as being a proof of the value of literature, and the great

importance of a man of talents. In the tumult raised by the younger citizens of Florence on the return of the Medici, in the year 1512, and which contributed so greatly to facilitate that event, Giovanni Rucellai, and his brother Palla, took a principal part; in which they appear to have acted in opposition to the wishes of their father, who was a firm adherent to the popular cause. On the elevation of Leo X. and the appointment of his nephew Lorenzo to the government of Florence, Giovanni remained at that city in a respectable employment, and is supposed to have accompanied Lorenzo to Rome, when he went to assume the insignia of captain-general of the church. Soon after his arrival, Rucellai entered into the ecclesiastical order, and attended the pontiff on his visit to Florence, at the close of the year 1515, when Leo was entertained, in the gardens of the Rucellai, with the representation or recital of the tragedy of Rosmunda, written by Giovanni, in Italian blank verse. It has excited surprise, that Leo did not confer the dignity of the purple on a man so nearly related to him, to whom he was so much attached, and who was in every respect worthy of that honour. Some authors have attributed this circumstance to the timid jealousy of Giuliano de' Medici, who is said to have represented to his brother the danger that might accrue to their family in Florence, from any increase of the credit and authority of the Rucellai, who could number amongst them one hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms; whilst others have supposed, that as Leo did not choose to advance to the rank of cardinal some of his relations as near to him as Rucellai, on account of the opposition which they had shown to his family, he on this account postponed also the nomination of Giovanni: but whatever was the reason of the conduct of the pope, which was probably neither of those before assigned, it is certain, that it arose not from any want of esteem or confidence, as may be inferred from his dispatching Rucellai, at a very important crisis, as his legate to Francis I. in which station he succeeded Lodovico Canossa, and continued until the time of the death of the pontiff.

"After this unexpected event, Rucellai returned to Florence; and on the elevation of Adrian VI. the successor of Leo, he was deputed, with five others of the principal citizens, to congratulate the pope on his new dignity. Rucellai, as chief of the embassy, addressed the pontiff in a Latin oration, which is yet preserved. The short pontificate of Adrian was succeeded by that of Clement VII. to whom Rucellai stood in the same degree of kindred as to Leo X. and who, immediately after his elevation, gave a decisive proof of his regard for Rucellai, by appointing him keeper of the castle of S. Angelo; a dignity which has usually been considered as the proximate step to that of a cardinal, and whence Rucellai is commonly named Il Castellano. This honour he did not, however, long enjoy; having terminated his days about the beginning of the year 1526, and before the deplorable sacking of Rome, which soon afterwards occurred.

"During the residence of Rucellai at the castle of S. Angelo, he completed his tragedy of Oreste, and his beautiful didactic poem Le Api; neither of which was, however, during his life-time, committed

mitted to the press. The reason of this will appear from the words of the author, addressed, a short time before his death, to his brother Palla Rucellai. 'My Api,' said he, 'have not yet received my 'last improvements; which has 'been occasioned by my desire to 'review and correct this poem in 'company with our friend Trissino, 'when he returns from Venice, 'where he is now the legate of our 'cousin Clement VII. and which 'poem I have, as you will see, al'ready destined and dedicated to 'him. I therefore entreat, that 'when you find a fit opportunity, 'you will send him this poem for 'his perusal and correction; and if 'he approve it, that you will have 'it published, without any testi'mony but that of his perfect judg'ment to its merits. You will 'likewise take the same method 'with my Oreste; if he should 'not think it troublesome to take 'so much labour for the sake of 'one who was so affectionately at'tached to him.' The poem of the Api was accordingly published in the year 1539, and will secure to its author a high rank among the writers of didactic poetry. Without rendering himself liable to the charge of a servile imitator, he has chosen a subject already ennobled by the genius of Virgil; and has given it new attractions and new graces. His diction is pure without being insipid, and simple without becoming vulgar; and in the course of his work, he has given decisive proofs of his scientific acquirements, particularly on subjects of natural history.

"The injunctions of Giovanni Rucellai, with respect to his tragedy of Oreste, were not so punctually complied with; the cause of which is, however, assigned by his brother Palla, in his dedication of the Api, to Trissino. 'As to the 'Oreste, I have thought it better 'to wait awhile, until your Beli'sario, or to speak more accurate'ly, your Italia liberata, a work 'of great learning, and a new Ho'mer in our language, shall be 'perfected and brought to light.' This tragedy remained in manuscript until nearly two centuries after the death of its author, when it was published by the count Scipione Maffei, in his collection of Italian tragedies. The subject of this piece is similar to that of the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides; but the author has introduced such variations, and ennobled his tragedy with so many grand and theatrical incidents, that it may justly be considered as his own, and not as a mere translation from an ancient author; insomuch that Maffei, who from his own performances must be admitted to be a perfect judge, considers it as not only superior to the Rosmunda of the same author, but as one of the most beautiful pieces which any author, either ancient or modern, has adapted to theatrical representation.

"Another Italian writer, who distinguished himself by the elegance and harmony of his blank verse, was Luigi Alamanni; who was born of a noble family at Florence, in the year 1475, and passed the early part of his life in habits of friendship with Bernardo and Cosimo Rucellai, Trissino, and other scholars who had devoted themselves more particularly to the study of classical literature. Of the satires and lyric poems of Alamanni, several were produced under the pontificate of Leo X. In the year 1516, he married Alessandra Serristori, a lady of great beauty, by whom he had a numerous

ous offspring. The rank and talents of Alamanni recommended him to the notice and friendship of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who, during the latter part of the pontificate of Leo X. governed on the behalf of that pontiff, the city of Florence. The rigid restrictions imposed by the cardinal on the inhabitants, by which they were, among other marks of subordination, prohibited from carrying arms under severe penalties, excited the indignation of many of the younger citizens of noble families, who could ill brook the loss of their independence, and among the rest of Alamanni; who, forgetting the friend in the patriot, not only joined in a conspiracy against the cardinal, immediately after the death of Leo X. but is said to have undertaken to assassinate him with his own hand. His associates were Zanobio Buondelmonti, Jacopo da Diaceto, Antonio Brucioli, and several other persons of distinguished talents, who appear to have been desirous of restoring the ancient liberty of the republic, without sufficiently reflecting on the mode by which it was to be accomplished. The designs of the conspirators were, however, discovered, and Alamanni was under the necessity of saving himself by flight. After many adventures and vicissitudes, in the course of which he returned to Florence, and took an active part in the commotions that agitated his country, he finally withdrew to France, where he met with a kind and honourable reception from Francis I. who was a great admirer of Italian poetry, and not only conferred on him the order of S. Michael, but employed him in many important missions. On the marriage of Henry duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II. with Catherine de' Medici, Alamanni was appointed her maitre d' hotel; and the reward of his services enabled him to secure to himself great emolument, and to establish his family in an honourable situation in France. The writings of Alamanni are very numerous; but his most admired production is his didactic poem La Coltivazione, written in versi sciolti, and addressed by him to Catherine de' Medici, by a letter, in which he requests her to present it to Francis I. This work, which Alamanni completed in six books, and which he appears to have undertaken rather in competition with, than in imitation of the Georgics, is written not only with great elegance and correctness of style, but with a very extensive knowledge of the subject on which he professes to treat, and contains many passages which may bear a comparison with the most celebrated parts of the work of his immortal predecessor. His tragedy of Antigone, translated from Sophocles, is also considered by Fontanini as one of the best dramatic pieces in the Italian tongue; but his epic romances of the Avarchide, and the Girone Cortese, both written in ottava rima, have not had the good fortune to obtain for their author any considerable share of applause.

"From this brief review of some of the principal Italian poets, who wrote in the pontificate of Leo X. it will not be difficult to perceive, that they may be divided into four distinct classes. I. Such as continued to adopt in their writings, although in different degrees, the rude and imperfect style of composition which was used towards the latter part of the preceding century. II. The admirers of Petrarca,

rarca, who considered him as the model of a true poetic diction, and closely imitated his manner in their writings. III. Those who, depending on the vigour of their own genius, adopted such a style of composition as they conceived expressed in the most forcible and explicit manner the sentiments which they had to communicate. And IV. Those authors who followed the example of the ancients, not only in the manner of treating their subjects, but in the frequent use of the versi sciolti, and in the simplicity and purity of their diction. That in each of these departments a considerable number of writers, besides those before mentioned, might be enumerated, will readily be perceived; but the limited object of the present work will be sufficiently obtained, by demonstrating the encouragement which the poets of the time derived from Leo X. and the proficiency made, during his pontificate, in this most popular and pleasing branch of literature. It is to this period that we are to trace back those abundant streams which have now diffused themselves throughout the rest of Europe; and although some of them may be pursued to a still higher fountain, yet it was not until this time that they began to flow in a clear and certain course. The laws of lyric composition, as prescribed by the example of Sanazzaro, Bembo, Molza, and Vittoria Colonna, have since been adopted by the two Tassos, Tansillo, Costanzo, Celio Magno, Guidi, Filicaja, and a long train of other writers; who have carried this kind of composition, and particularly the higher species of ode, to a degree of excellence hitherto unattained in any other country. In epic poetry, the great work of Ariosto excited an emulation which, in the course of the sixteenth century, produced an immense number of poems on similar subjects; many of which are of great extent, and some of which, if they have not equalled the Orlando Furioso in fertility of invention and variety of description, have excelled it in regularity and classical chastity of design, and have displayed all those poetical graces, that without surprising, delight the reader. If to the satires of Ariosto we add those of Ercole Bentivolio, who was nearly his contemporary, and which are written on a similar model, we shall be compelled to acknowledge, that neither these, nor the singular productions of Berni, Bini, Mauro, and their associates, have in any degree been rivalled in subsequent times. Nor have the later writers of blank verse, among whom may be enumerated Annibale Caro, Marchetti, and Salvini, greatly improved upon the correct and graceful example displayed in the writings of Rucellai, Alamanni, the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and frequently in those of Trissino.

"With respect to the drama, much, however, remained to be done. Neither the Sofonisba of Trissino, nor the Rosmunda or Oreste of Rucellai, although highly to be commended, when compared with the works which preceded them, and when considered with relation to the times in which they were produced, can be regarded as perfect models of tragedy, adapted to theatrical representation. It must also be observed, that the efforts of the cardinal da Bibbiena, and even of Ariosto, to introduce a better style of comic writing, are rather scholastic attempts to imitate the ancient writers, than examples of that true comedy which

which represents by living portraits, the follies, the vices, and the manners of the age. It is only in later times that the dramatic works of Maffei, of Metastasio, of Alfieri, and of Monti, have effectually removed from their country, the reproach of having been inferior in this great department of letters, to the rest of Europe. In comedy, the Italians have been yet more negligent; for between the dry and insipid performances of the early writers, and the extravagant, low, and burlesque exhibitions of Goldoni, Chiari, and similar authors of modern comedy, lies a spacious field, in which the genius of a Moliere, a Goldsmith, or a Sheridan, would not fail to discover innumerable objects of pursuit and of amusement."

LITERARY ANECDOTES.

[From Mr. CUMBERLAND'S MEMOIRS of HIMSELF.]

"AT this time I did not know Oliver Goldsmith even by person; I think our first meeting chanced to be at the British coffee-house; when we came together, we very speedily coalesced, and I believe he forgave me for all the little fame I had got by the success of my West-Indian, which had put him to some trouble, for it was not his nature to be unkind, and I had soon an opportunity of convincing him how incapable I was of harbouring resentment, and how zealously I took my share in what concerned his interest and reputation. That he was fantastically and whimsically vain all the world knows, but there was no settled and inherent malice in his heart. He was tenacious to a ridiculous extreme of certain pretensions, that did not, and by nature could not, belong to him, and at the same time inexcusably careless of the fame, which he had powers to command. His table-talk was, as Garrick aptly compared it, like that of a parrot, whilst he wrote like Apollo; he had gleams of eloquence, and at times a majesty of thought, but in general his tongue and his pen had two very different styles of talking. What foibles he had he took no pains to conceal, the good qualities of his heart were too frequently obscured by the carelessness of his conduct, and the frivolity of his manners. Sir Joshua Reynolds was very good to him, and would have drilled him into better trim and order for society, if he would have been amenable; for Reynolds was a perfect gentleman, had good sense, great propriety with all the social attributes, and all the graces of hospitality, equal to any man. He well knew how to appretiate men of talents, and how near akin the Muse of poetry was to that art of which he was so eminent a master. From Goldsmith he caught the subject of his famous Ugolino; what aids he got from others, if he got any, were worthily bestowed and happily applied.

"There is something in Goldsmith's prose, that to my ear is uncommonly sweet and harmonious; it is clear, simple, easy to be understood; we never want to read his period twice over, except for the pleasure it bestows; obscurity never

never calls us back to a repetition of it. That he was a poet there is no doubt, but the paucity of his verses does not allow us to rank him in that high station, where his genius might have carried him. There must be bulk, variety and grandeur of design to constitute a first-rate poet. The Deserted Village, Traveller and Hermit are all specimens beautiful as such, but they are only birds eggs on a string, and eggs of small birds too. One great magnificent whole must be accomplished before we can pronounce upon the maker to be the ὁ ποιήτης. Pope himself never earned this title by a work of any magnitude but his Homer, and that being a translation only constitutes him an accomplished versifier. Distress drove Goldsmith upon undertakings, neither congenial with his studies, nor worthy of his talents. I remember him, when in his chamber in the Temple, he shewed me the beginning of his *Animated Nature;* it was with a sigh, such as genius draws, when hard necessity diverts it from its bent to drudge for bread, and talk of birds and beasts and creeping things, which Pidcock's show-man would have done as well. Poor fellow, he hardly knew an ass from a mule, nor a turkey from a goose, but when he saw it on the table. But publishers hate poetry, and Paternoster-Row is not Parnassus. Even the mighty doctor Hill, who was not a very delicate feeder, could not make a dinner out of the press till by a happy transformation into Hannah Glass he turned himself into a cook, and sold receipts for made dishes to all the savoury readers in the kingdom. Then indeed the press acknowledged him second in fame only to John Bunyan; his feasts kept pace in sale with Nelson's Fasts, and when his own name was fairly written out of credit, he wrote himself into immortality under an alias. Now though necessity, or I should rather say the desire of finding money for a masquerade, drove Oliver Goldsmith upon abridging histories and turning Buffon into English, yet I much doubt if without that spur he would ever have put his Pegasus into action; no, if he had been rich, the world would have been poorer than it is by the loss of all the treasures of his genius and the contributions of his pen.

" Who will say that Johnson himself would have been such a champion in literature, such a front-rank soldier in the fields of fame, if he had not been pressed into the service, and driven on to glory with the bayonet of sharp necessity pointed at his back? If fortune had turned him into a field of clover, he would have laid down and rolled in it. The mere manual labour of writing would not have allowed his lassitude and love of ease to have taken the pen out of the inkhorn, unless the cravings of hunger had reminded him that he must fill the sheet before he saw the table cloth. He might indeed have knocked down Osbourne for a blockhead, but he would not have knocked him down with a folio of his own writing. He would perhaps have been the dictator of a club, and wherever he sate down to conversation, there must have been that splash of strong bold thought about him that we might still have had a collectanea after his death; but of prose I guess not much, of works of labour none, of fancy perhaps something more, especially of poetry, which under favour I conceive was not his tower of strength. I think we should

should have had his Rasselas at all events, for he was likely enough to have written at Voltaire, and brought the question to the test, if infidelity is any aid to wit. An orator he must have been; not improbably a parliamentarian, and, if such, certainly an oppositionist, for he preferred to talk against the tide. He would indubitably have been no member of the whig club, no partisan of Wilkes, no friend of Hume, no believer in Macpherson; he would have put up prayers for early rising, and laid in bed all day, and with the most active resolutions possible been the most indolent mortal living. He was a good man by nature, a great man by genius, we are now to inquire what he was by compulsion.

"Johnson's first style was naturally energetic, his middle style was turgid to a fault, his latter style was softened down and harmonized into periods more tuneful and more intelligible. His execution was rapid, yet his mind was not easily provoked into exertion; the variety we find in his writings was not the variety of choice arising from the impulse of his proper genius, but tasks imposed upon him by the dealers in ink, and contracts on his part submitted to in satisfaction of the pressing calls of hungry want; for, painful as it is to relate, I have heard that illustrious scholar assert (and he never varied from the truth of fact) that he subsisted himself for a considerable space of time upon the scanty pittance of fourpence halfpenny per day. How melancholy to reflect that his vast trunk and stimulating appetite were to be supported by what will barely feed the weaned infant! Less, much less, than master Betty has earned in one night, would have cheered the mighty mind, and maintained the athletic body of Samuel Johnson in comfort and abundance for a twelvemonth. Alas! I am not fit to paint his character; nor is there need of it; *Etiam mortuus loquitur:* every man, who can buy a book, has bought a *Boswell;* Johnson is known to all the reading world. I also knew him well, respected him highly, loved him sincerely: it was never my chance to see him in those moments of moroseness and ill humour, which are imputed to him, perhaps with truth, for who would slander him? But I am not warranted by any experience of those humours to speak of him otherwise than of a friend, who always met me with kindness, and from whom I never separated without regret. When I sought his company he had no capricious excuses for withholding it, but lent himself to every invitation with cordiality, and brought good humour with him, that gave life to the circle he was in. He presented himself always in his fashion of apparel; a brown coat with metal buttons, black waistcoat and worsted stockings, with a flowing bob wig was the style of his wardrobe, but they were in perfectly good trim, and with the ladies, which he generally met, he had nothing of the slovenly philosopher about him; he fed heartily, but not voraciously, and was extremely courteous in his commendations of any dish, that pleased his palate; he suffered his next neighbour to squeeze the China oranges into his wine glass after dinner, which else perchance had gone aside, and trickled into his shoes, for the good man had neither straight sight nor steady nerves.

"At the tea table he had considerable demands upon his favour-

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ite beverage, and I remember when sir Joshua Reynolds at my house reminded him that he had drunk eleven cups, he replied—'Sir, I did not 'count your glasses of wine, why 'should you number up my cups 'of tea?' And then laughing in perfect good humour he added—'Sir, I should have released the 'lady from any further trouble, 'if it had not been for your re-'mark; but you have reminded 'me that I want one of the dozen, 'and I must request Mrs. Cumber-'land to round up my number—' When he saw the readiness and complacency, with which my wife obeyed his call, he turned a kind and cheerful look upon her and said—'Madam, I must tell you 'for your comfort you have escaped 'much better than a certain lady 'did awhile ago, upon whose pa-'tience I intruded greatly, more 'than I have done on yours; but 'the lady asked me for no other 'purpose but to make a zany of 'me, and set me gabbling to a 'parcel of people I knew nothing 'of: so, madam, I had my re-'venge of her; for I swallowed 'five-and-twenty cups of her tea, 'and did not treat her with as 'many words—' I can only say my wife would have made tea for him as long as the New River could have supplied her with water.

"It was on such occasions he was to be seen in his happiest moments, when, animated by the cheering attention of friends whom he liked, he would give full scope to those talents for narration, in which I verily think he was unrivalled both in the brilliancy of his wit, the flow of his humour and the energy of his language. Anecdotes of times past, scenes of his own life, and characters of humourists, enthusiasts, crack-brained projectors, and a variety of strange beings, that he had chanced upon, when detailed by him at length, and garnished with those episodical remarks, sometimes comic, sometimes grave, which he would throw in with infinite fertility of fancy, were a treat, which though not always to be purchased by five-and-twenty cups of tea, I have often had the happiness to enjoy for less than half the number. He was easily led into topics; it was not easy to turn him from them; but who would wish it? If a man wanted to show himself off by getting up and riding upon him, he was sure to run restive and kick him off; you might as safely have backed Bucephalus, before Alexander had lunged him. Neither did he always like to be over-fondled; when a certain gentleman out-acted his part in this way, he is said to have demanded of him—'What 'provokes your risibility, sir? Have 'I said any thing that you under-'stand?—Then I ask pardon of 'the rest of the company—' But this is Henderson's anecdote of him, and I won't swear he did not make it himself. The following apology, however, I myself drew from him, when speaking of his Tour I observed to him upon some passages as rather too sharp upon a country and people, who had entertained him so handsomely—'Do you 'think so, Cumbey?' he replied, 'Then I give you leave to say, 'and you may quote me for it, that 'there are more gentlemen in Scot-'land than there are shoes.—'

"But I don't relish these sayings, and I am to blame for retailing them; we can no more judge of men by these droppings from their lips, than we can guess at the contents of the river Nile by a pitcher of its water. If we were

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to estimate the wise men of Greece by Laërtius's scraps of their sayings, what a parcel of old women should we account them to have been!

"The expanse of matter, which Johnson had found room for in his intellectual storehouse, the correctness with which he had assorted it, and the readiness with which he could turn to any article that he wanted to make present use of, were the properties in him which I contemplated with the most admiration. Some have called him a savage; they were only so far right in the resemblance, as that, like the savage, he never came into suspicious company without his spear in his hand and his bow and quiver at his back. In quickness of intellect few ever equalled him, in profundity of erudition many have surpassed him. I do not think he had a pure and classical taste, nor was apt to be best pleased with the best authors, but as a general scholar he ranks very high. When I would have consulted him upon certain points of literature, whilst I was making my collections from the Greek dramatists for my essays in The Observer, he candidly acknowledged that his studies had not lain amongst them, and certain it is there is very little show of literature in his Ramblers, and in the passage where he quotes Aristotle, he has not correctly given the meaning of the original. But this was merely the result of haste and inattention: neither is he so to be measured, for he had so many parts and properties of scholarship about him, that you can only fairly review him as a man of general knowledge. As a poet his translations of Juvenal gave him a name in the world, and gained him the applause of Pope. He was a writer of tragedy, but his Irene gives him no conspicuous rank in that department. As an essayist he merits more consideration; his Ramblers are in every body's hands; about them opinions vary, and I rather believe the style of these essays is not now considered as a good model; this he corrected in his more advanced age, as may be seen in his Lives of the Poets, where his diction, though occasionally elaborate and highly metaphorical, is not nearly so inflated and ponderous as in the Ramblers. He was an acute and able critic; the enthusiastic admirers of Milton and the friends of Gray will have something to complain of, but criticism is a task, which no man executes to all men's satisfaction. His selection of a certain passage in The Mourning Bride of Congreve, which he extols so rapturously, is certainly a most unfortunate sample; but unless the oversights of a critic are less pardonable than those of other men, we may pass this over in a work of merit, which abounds in beauties far more prominent than its defects, and much more pleasing to contemplate. In works professedly of fancy he is not very copious; yet in his Rasselas we have much to admire, and enough to make us wish for more. It is the work of an illuminated mind, and offers many wise and deep reflections, clothed in beautiful and harmonious diction. We are not indeed familiar with such personages as Johnson has imagined for the characters of his fable; but if we are not exceedingly interested in their story, we are infinitely gratified with their conversation and remarks. In conclusion, Johnson's æra was not wanting in men to be distinguished for their talents; yet if one was to be selected out as the first

first great literary character of the time, I believe all voices would concur in naming him.' Let me here insert the following lines, descriptive of his character, though not long since written by me, and to be found in a public print——

'On Samuel Johnson.

'Herculean strength and a Stentorian voice,
Of wit a fund, of words a countless choice:
In learning rather various than profound,
In truth intrepid, in religion sound:
A trembling form and a distorted sight,
But firm in judgment and in genius bright;
In controversy seldom known to spare,
But humble as the Publican in prayer;
To more, than merited his kindness, kind,
And, though in manners harsh, of friendly mind;
Deep ting'd with melancholy's blackest shade,
And, though prepar'd to die, of death afraid—
Such Johnson was; of him with justice vain,
When will this nation see his like again?'

"Oliver Goldsmith began at this time to write for the stage; and it is to be lamented that he did not begin at an earlier period of life to turn his genius to dramatic compositions, and much more to be lamented that, after he had begun, the succeeding period of his life was so soon cut off. There is no doubt but his genius, when more familiarised to the business, would have inspired him to accomplish great things. His first comedy of The Good-natured Man was read and applauded in its manuscript by Edmund Burke, and the circle in which he then lived and moved: under such patronage it came with those testimonials to the director of Covent Garden theatre, as could not fail to open all the avenues to the stage, and bespeak all the favour and attention from the performers and the public, that the applauding voice of him, whose applause was fame itself, could give it. This comedy has enough to justify the good opinion of its literary patron, and secure its author against any loss of reputation; for it has the stamp of a man of talents upon it, though its popularity with the audience did not quite keep pace with the expectations that were grounded on the fiat it had antecedently been honoured with. It was a first effort, however and did not discourage its ingenious author from invoking his Muse a second time. It was now, whilst his labours were in projection, that I first met him at the British coffee-house, as I have already related somewhat out of place. He dined with us as a visitor, introduced as I think by sir Joshua Reynolds; and we held a consultation upon the naming of his comedy, which some of the company had read, and which he detailed to the rest after his manner with a great deal of good humour. Somebody suggested—She Stoops to Conquer—and that title was agreed upon. When I perceived an embarrassment in his manner towards me, which I could readily account for, I lost no time to put him at his ease, and I flatter myself I was successful. As my heart was ever warm towards my contemporaries, I did not counterfeit, but really felt a cordial interest in his behalf, and I had soon the pleasure to perceive that he credited me for my sincerity—'You and I,' said he, 'have very 'different motives for resorting to 'the stage. I write for money, 'and care little about fame.'—I was touched by this melancholy confession, and from that moment busied

busied myself assiduously amongst all my connexions in his cause. The whole company pledged themselves to the support of the ingenuous poet, and faithfully kept their promise to him. In fact he needed all that could be done for him, as Mr. Colman, then manager of Covent Garden theatre, protested against the comedy, when as yet he had not struck upon a name for it. Johnson at length stood forth in all his terrors as champion for the piece, and, backed by us his clients and retainers, demanded a fair trial. Colman again protested, but, with that salvo for his own reputation, liberally lent his stage to one of the most eccentric productions that ever found its way to it, and She Stoops to Conquer was put into rehearsal.

"We were not over sanguine of success, but perfectly determined to struggle hard for our author: we accordingly assembled our strength at the Shakespear tavern in a considerable body for an early dinner, where Samuel Johnson took the chair at the head of a long table, and was the life and soul of the corps: the poet took post silently by his side with the Burkes, sir Joshua Reynolds, Fitzherbert, Caleb Whitefoord, and a phalanx of North-British predetermined applauders, under the banner of major Mills, all good men and true. Our illustrious president was in inimitable glee, and poor Goldsmith that day took all his raillery as patiently and complacently as my friend Boswell would have done any day, or every day of his life. In the mean time we did not forget our duty; and though we had a better comedy going, in which Johnson was chief actor, we betook ourselves in good time to our separate and allotted posts, and waited the awful drawing up of the curtain. As our stations were preconcerted, so were our signals for plaudits arranged and determined upon, in a manner that gave every one his cue where to look for them, and how to follow them up.

"We had amongst us a very worthy and efficient member, long since lost to his friends and the world at large, Adam Drummond, of amiable memory, who was gifted by nature with the most sonorous, and at the same time the most contagious, laugh, that ever echoed from the human lungs. The neighing of the horse of the son of Hystaspes was a whisper to it; the whole thunder of the theatre could not drown it. This kind and ingenuous friend fairly forewarned us that he knew no more when to give his fire than the cannon did that was planted on a battery. He desired therefore to have a flapper at his elbow, and I had the honour to be deputed to that office. I planted him in an upper box, pretty nearly over the stage, in full view of the pit and galleries, and perfectly well situated to give the echo all its play through the hollows and recesses of the theatre. The success of our manœuvres was complete. All eyes were upon Johnson, who sat in a front row of a side box, and when he laughed every body thought themselves warranted to roar. In the mean time my friend followed signals with a rattle so irresistibly comic, that, when he had repeated it several times, the attention of the spectators was so engrossed by his person and performances, that the progress of the play seemed likely to become a secondary object, and I found it prudent to insinuate to him that he might halt his music without any prejudice to the author: but, alas, it

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was now too late to rein him in; he had laughed upon my signal where he found no joke, and now unluckily he fancied that he found a joke in almost every thing that was said; so that nothing in nature could be more mal-à-propos than some of his bursts every now and then were. These were dangerous moments, for the pit began to take umbrage; but we carried our play through, and triumphed not only over Colman's judgment, but our own.

"As the life of poor Oliver Goldsmith was now fast approaching to its period, I conclude my account of him with gratitude for the epitaph he bestowed on me in his poem called Retaliation. It was upon a proposal started by Edmund Burke, that a party of friends, who had dined together at sir Joshua Reynolds's and my house, should meet at the St. James's coffee-house, which accordingly took place, and was occasionally repeated with much festivity and good fellowship. Dr. Bernard, dean of Derry, a very amiable and old friend of mine, Dr. Douglas, since bishop of Salisbury, Johnson, David Garrick, sir Joshua Reynolds, Oliver Goldsmith, Edmund and Richard Burke, Hickey, with two or three others constituted our party. At one of these meetings an idea was suggested of extemporary epitaphs upon the parties present; pen and ink were called for, and Garrick off hand wrote an epitaph with a good deal of humour upon poor Goldsmith, who was the first in jest, as he proved to be in reality, that we committed to the grave. The dean also gave him an epitaph, and sir Joshua illuminated the dean's verses with a sketch of his bust in pen and ink, inimitably caricatured. Neither Johnson nor Burke wrote any thing; and when I perceived that Oliver was rather sore, and seemed to watch me with that kind of attention which indicated his expectation of something in the same kind of burlesque with theirs, I thought it time to press the joke no further, and wrote a few couplets at a side table; which when I had finished and was called upon by the company to exhibit, Goldsmith with much agitation besought me to spare him; and I was about to tear them, when Johnson wrested them out of my hand, and in a loud voice read them at the table. I have now lost all recollection of them, and in fact they were little worth remembering; but as they were serious and complimentary, the effect they had upon Goldsmith was the more pleasing for being so entirely unexpected. The concluding line, which is the only one I can call to mind, was—

'All mourn the poet, I lament the man.—'

"This I recollect, because he repeated it several times, and seemed much gratified by it. At our next meeting he produced his epitaphs as they stand in the little posthumous poem above mentioned, and this was the last time he ever enjoyed the company of his friends.

"As he had served up the company under the similitude of various sorts of meat, I had in the mean time figured them under that of liquors; which little poem I rather think was printed, but of this I am not sure. Goldsmith sickened and died, and we had one concluding meeting at my house, when it was decided to publish his Retaliation; and Johnson at the same time undertook to write an epitaph for our lamented friend, to whom we

proposed to erect a monument by subscription in Westminster-abbey. This epitaph Johnson executed; but in the criticism that was attempted against it, and in the Round-Robin signed at Mr. Beauclerc's house, I had no part. I had no acquaintance with that gentleman, and was never in his house in my life.

"Thus died Oliver Goldsmith, in his chambers in the Temple, at a period of life when his genius was yet in its vigour, and fortune seemed disposed to smile upon him. I have heard Dr. Johnson relate with infinite humour the circumstance of his rescuing him from a ridiculous dilemma by the purchase-money of his Vicar of Wakefield, which he sold on his behalf to Dodsley, and, as I think, for the sum of ten pounds only. He had run up a debt with his landlady for board and lodging of some few pounds, and was at his wit's-end how to wipe off the score and keep a roof over his head, except by closing with a very staggering proposal on her part, and taking his creditor to wife, whose charms were very far from alluring, whilst her demands were extremely urgent. In this crisis of his fate he was found by Johnson in the act of meditating on the melancholy alternative before him. He showed Johnson his manuscript of The Vicar of Wakefield, but seemed to be without any plan, or even hope, of raising money upon the disposal of it: when Johnson cast his eye upon it, he discovered something that gave him hope, and immediately took it to Dodsley, who paid down the price above mentioned in ready money, and added an eventual condition upon its future sale. Johnson described the precautions he took in concealing the amount of the sum he had in hand, which he prudently administered to him by a guinea at a time. In the event he paid off the landlady's score, and redeemed the person of his friend from her embraces. Goldsmith had the joy of finding his ingenious work succeed beyond his hopes, and from that time began to place a confidence in the resources of his talents, which thenceforward enabled him to keep his station in society, and cultivate the friendship of many eminent persons, who, whilst they smiled at his eccentricities, esteemed him for his genius and good qualities.

"My father had been translated to the see of Kilmore, which placed him in a more civilised country, and lodged him in a more comfortable house. I continued my yearly visits, and again went over to Ireland with part of my family, and passed my whole summer recess at Kilmore. I had with unspeakable regret perceived some symptoms of an alarming nature about him, which seemed to indicate the breaking up of a most excellent constitution, which, nursed by temperance and regularity, had hitherto been blest with such an uninterrupted course of health, that he had never through his whole life been confined a single day to his bed, except when he had the small-pox in his childhood. In all his appetites and passions he was the most moderate of men; ever cheerful in his family and with his friends, but never yielding to the slightest excess. My mother in the mean time had been gradually sinking into a state of extreme debility and loss of health, and I plainly saw that my father's ceaseless agitation and anxiety on her account had deeply affected his constitution. He had flattered me with

with the hope that he would attempt a journey to England with her, and in that expectation, when my time was expired, I painfully took leave of him—and, alas! never saw him, or my mother, more."

ANTIQUITIES in the VICINITY of NAPLES.

[From Mr. BECKFORD'S LETTERS from ITALY.]

LETTER LXXXV.

"THOUGH the town of Naples has few antiquities to boast, the environs afford an ample field of amusement. At every step we meet with some remains of ancient Roman grandeur in the midst of those natural beauties which bid defiance even to time itself. No fancy can conceive the splendour of ancient Rome from the ruins that remain, though so justly celebrated for magnificence and taste. The Forum no longer exists: the Campidoglio is no longer that which Manlius defended, nor that where Pompey and Cæsar triumphed: the Colosseo is diminished: the Circus lost. Even the Pantheon, the most perfect of temples, stands at present in a hole, surrounded by paltry and filthy habitations. What idea can we form of the forum of Trajan from the pillar only that remains? What idea can a few ruins give of the palace of Nero, the *aurea domus*, which, from its magnitude, had more the appearance of a city than a house?

"It is not so here: the beauties of nature receive no diminution. It is not Neapolis, but Naples we enjoy;—Naples, whose climate and situation are the same they were when Lucullus, the most luxurious of the Romans, made it his winter residence.

"The usual tour of Rome employs several weeks; Naples will only require as many days. A cicerone is necessary at both. This gentleman, whose business it is, will give you a distinct relation of every part. I shall only mention that which particularly interested me. Calaches are always ready; an agreeable and speedy conveyance. You drive yourself; but, though the coachman, who gets behind, gives you the reins, he prudently keeps the whip in his own hands.

"The grotto of Pausilippo is the first object that presents itself. A subterraneous passage, cut through the bottom of the mountain, in a direct line with the town of Naples: it is long and narrow. Seneca complains of its obscurity. It is a little improved since, but is still dark; and unluckily is the only entrance into Naples on the side of Baia. There is not any certainty by whom it was made. Some attribute it to Lucullus; while the populace, who in all countries incline to the marvellous, more readily believe it to be the work of magic; and the Mantuan bard, whose tomb is on the top of the mountain, is thought by many to have been the magician. Of this tomb some doubt the authenticity; yet as the consul Silius Italicus, a lover of poetry, and himself a poet, considered this as the tomb of his favourite author, whose birth-day he kept with more solemnity than his own, and whose tomb he often visited with a religious respect, let

others doubt if they think fit, I firmly believe this to be the tomb of Virgil,—nor will I suffer any person whatever to deprive me of so great a pleasure. It is simple and unadorned, suited to the modesty of the man whom it is meant to commemorate.—Let those who have no other means to remind posterity that they ever existed, have superb monuments!—Virgil has immortalized himself; and may say with his friend Horace, '*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*'

"The lake Agnano, and baths of San Germano, I shall leave to your cicerone: but the *Grotta del Cane* merits some remark. This little cave takes its name from the repeated experiments made on that faithful domestic animal the dog, who being forcibly held within the vapour, which rises about a foot above the surface, in less than two minutes is deprived of all sentiment, and, if continued, is shortly after deprived of life. Many of these animals are kept on purpose. They fly the approach of a stranger, and are not always easy to be caught. Were they not sensible of what they have to suffer, I should pity them less; were they permitted to die when deprived of sentiment, I should not pity them at all; but they are restored to life at the moment they cease to feel; are thrown out of the cave into the open air to recover their faculties—to be reserved for future experiments, to satisfy the rapacious cruelty of their masters, and the curiosity of travellers. The cave, we are told, is ten feet long, four feet wide, and nine feet high.—I did not measure it; nor was I inclined to stay an instant longer than was necessary in so detested a place;—I could almost have detested myself for being of the same species with those who so unnecessarily torment so affectionate, so obedient, so amiable an animal!—I say unnecessarily; for, allowing the pernicious consequences of this vapour to proceed from the fixed air it contains, as is generally believed, a lighted candle would answer the purpose of experiment to the full as well: you would see by that how far it extends; that it is fatal, we know too well.

"The Solfatarra is a large oval, on a plain about a mile in length, surrounded by hills of no great elevation. Sulphur, alum, and sal ammoniac, are collected here in considerable quantities, particularly the former. It is hollow underneath. On the top the earth is too hot to be handled; and both dries and consumes paper without burning it. There is little doubt that the Solfatarra was once a volcano like Vesuvius; and it is not improbable but Vesuvius may in time become another Solfatarra.

"Pozzuoli, which contains at present ten thousand inhabitants, was a place of considerable importance in the time of ancient Rome. Several ruins of its former splendour still remain. The temple of Jupiter Serapis is most worthy observation.

"You are shown a ruin which they call the Bridge of Caligula. Whether it be so or not is of little importance; it could only serve to ascertain the exact spot where that mad buffoon, who sometimes fancied himself Jupiter, sometimes Juno, Diana, and Venus, vainly thought to triumph over the sea itself.

"The Lucrin lake, once famous for its oysters, and celebrated on that account by Horace, Martial, and Juvenal, is now no more; in its stead you have *Monte Nuovo*,

—a

—a new and astonishing excrescence, which produces nothing. That a mountain like this should make a sudden and unexpected appearance without any visible reason, is indeed wonderful; less extraordinary will it be, if, in length of time, when the burning mountain of Vesuvius shall have consumed all its materials, it should become a lake.

" The lake Avernus, where the ancients sacrificed to the infernal gods, and whose noxious vapours, if you believe the poets, killed whatever passed over its surface, is much altered since their time; nor does its present appearance in the least agree with the dismal account they give of it. You are now at the entrance of the Infernal Regions, where I shall beg leave to quit you.—Take Virgil for your guide.

" All here is classic ground; and this delightful spot, once the scene of luxury and voluptuousness, is now one common ruin of temples, palaces, villas, baths, and tombs—melancholy relics of former magnificence! Here are the miserable remains of the palaces of Marius and Sylla; the villa of Cicero; the baths of Nero; the tomb of Agrippina,—she was the sister, wife, and mother of an emperor. Though the brutality of Nero on this occasion is without example, Agrippina deserved to receive her death from an unnatural and incestuous son, whose morals she herself had corrupted. Here also is the tomb of Scipio,—Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal, destroyed Carthage, and died an injured, voluntary exile from the country he had saved. You have the temples of Venus, Mercury, and Diana.—*Cuma* and *Baia* you have them not!—Fancy must supply their places, and represent what they once were, when one was the retreat of Tarquin, and the other the favourite residence of the debauchees of Rome.

LETTER LXXXVI.

" Portici, where the royal family frequently reside, is about five miles from Naples. However delightful this situation may appear to the eye of a traveller, it is surely a very dangerous and precarious residence; and may serve as an example, among a thousand others, that man is little benefited by experience. The perils that surround this town do not intimidate the inhabitants; and a sovereign, who has the whole country at his command, has built him a palace on the very ruins of Herculaneum. As the chief merit of this habitation depends on the antiquities it contains, I shall make some few remarks on the ill-fated towns of Herculaneum and Pompeia, from whence they have been taken; and shall afterwards slightly mention some of the various beauties of this valuable collection, leaving the remainder, which would require volumes minutely to detail, to the antiquarian, who of course will accompany you.

" We may conclude, on the authority of both ancient and modern writers, that Herculaneum and Pompeia were destroyed at the same time by an eruption of Vesuvius, in the first year of the reign of Titus, and the seventy-ninth of the christian æra. Whatever doubt may still remain with regard to Herculaneum, whether overwhelmed or not by the lava of the mountain, it is certain that Pompeia, which is not only farther distant, but out of the usual course of the lava, perished by the ashes only. It is

probable the inhabitants of both places had sufficient warning to effectuate their escape, as few skeletons have been found. The elder Pliny was one of the few that lost their lives. The account his nephew gives of this fatal accident is very interesting. It is not less certain that six eruptions at different intervals have taken their course over Herculaneum, either of which would equally have destroyed the city.

"That Herculaneum, buried near a hundred feet under the surface of the earth, should have remained concealed for so many centuries, is less extraordinary than that it should be discovered, unsought for, so late as the eighteenth century, by a countryman while digging a well. Had not some marbles, which at that time made their appearance, encouraged further and more important researches, we should have known nothing of Herculaneum.—Thus it is that great events frequently proceed from the most trivial causes.

"The forum and the theatre are the most considerable edifices hitherto discovered at Herculaneum; the latter only remains uncovered. Little more is to be expected from thence; for to restore Herculaneum, would be to destroy Portici. It is otherwise at Pompeia; the buildings there are barely covered, and excavations are made at the trifling damage of a few vineyards only. Is it not extraordinary that this important discovery should not have been made till near forty years after the other!

"The soldiers' barrack, where you enter first, is very curious. *Caricaturas,* and other drawings, are still remaining on the walls,—occupations of their idle hours. The houses already discovered at Pompeia are in general small; all nearly of the same size, and on the same plan. An inner court, with a fountain in the middle; an open portico, which served both for air and shade, are pretty common to all. You will see but few windows towards the street, and those are so constructed as to prevent the curiosity of passengers. They had no glass windows; a transparent stone was used instead of it; and the light frequently entered at the door, or through a hole in the ceiling. They had no chimneys; they had neither the pleasure of stirring a fire, or looking out of a window. Though the proportion of the rooms is not to be admired, they have a certain degree of simple elegance which cannot fail to please. The walls and ceilings are painted, and some of the ornaments are not ill executed. The floors are mosaic. Some of the houses are painted on the outside; others are easily distinguished to have been shops, and one in particular has a sign over the door that clearly denotes the kind of traffic which was carried on within. The streets, which are paved with the lava of a former eruption, are straight, and have an elevation on each side for people on foot. Though apparently narrow, they were sufficiently broad for two carriages to pass,—such carriages as were then in use, the breadth of which from wheel to wheel may now be exactly ascertained from traces still remaining on the pavement. I did not measure them; Mr. Martin tells us they are four feet.

"A country house, little distant from the town, had it not been spoiled of its furniture, would have been a very interesting object of curiosity, and might have afforded more real satisfaction to the spectator

tator than all the accumulated antiquities of Portici. We visit with pleasure the houses and furniture of distant countries; but how much would that pleasure be increased, if, in the eighteenth century, we could see the exact manner of living of a country gentleman of Pompeia of the year 79!

"The temple of Isis is the building of the greatest importance, and the best pictures were found there; —pictures, that though I cannot but lament their removal from their proper places, you will still see with pleasure at Portici, where without doubt you will make more than one visit. I cannot express, nor can you easily conceive, the satisfaction that is usually felt at the view of treasures so long hidden under the earth; once instruments of utility or pleasure to a people who have ceased to live upwards of seventeen hundred years. —But to describe them, my good friend, would infinitely exceed the limits of a letter.

"The statues of the Balbi, father and son, though inferior to that of Marcus Aurelius in bronze, are the best equestrian marble statues at present existing. Other statues and other busts, though they have a certain merit, are little worthy of notice after those of Rome.

"The Etruscan vases, as they are usually called, are peculiarly elegant. They were chiefly used in sepulchres, and contained the ashes of the dead. Some also served for domestic purposes. When you consider that all this country, to the very extremity of Calabria, once belonged to the Etruscans, you will less wonder at the astonishing quantity of Etruscan vases that of late years have been found there. When the Grecians became masters of this country, then called Magna Grecia, they added to their figures that grace and elegance so peculiar to themselves; it is probable, therefore, that the best of these are of Grecian workmanship.

"The domestic utensils are all deserving of notice. You will perceive that female coquetry has been nearly the same in all ages: nor were the ancients so far behind us in luxury as is generally imagined. Ladies will see mirrors of polished metal, combs, rouge, and pins; ear-rings, necklaces, rings, and bracelets; in short, every requisite to adorn their persons:—and a French cook might dress an excellent dinner with the very utensils he will find at Portici. Instruments of husbandry; instruments of surgery; instruments of worship (some of which are curious enough), with a long etcætera, will occupy you rationally and agreeably for several hours.

"Herculaneum was neither Athens nor Syracuse; nor would it be fair to judge of ancient painting by the pictures that have been found there. The arts were then on the decline, nor is it probable that these paintings were by the best painters then existing. It cannot be supposed, when sculpture was arrived at a degree of excellence that has not been equalled since, that painting should have been deficient, in design at least; but to judge of its comparative merit we should see the works of the best masters. The Iphigenia of Timantes; the Campaspe of Apelles; the Helen of Zeuxis, &c., and those wonderful works of art that were once the ornament of the Temple of Peace at Rome. They represented beauty, to the admiration of those who must be allowed to have been competent judges of it. We are told, that a pic-

a picture, representing the parting betwixt Hector and Andromache, drew tears from Portia. The resemblance it bore to her own misfortunes might have contributed, but, surely, no mean representation could have produced such an effect on a mind like hers. When Demetrius besieged Rhodes, and could have reduced the city, by setting it on fire, he chose rather to raise the siege, than thus destroy a famous picture called Jasylus, the master-piece of Protogenes. Surely this also could have been no indifferent performance.

"The extravagant prices ancient pictures bore, is a presumptive proof of their extraordinary excellence. Poussin said, that in his time he knew but one painter—Domenichino: and yet this famous painter received only fifty crowns for his best picture, *San Girolamo*; while Augustus, a person of some taste and discernment, paid a hundred talents for the Venus of Apelles.

"Nicomedes king of Bithynia offered the Gnidians to pay their debts, which were very considerable, if they would give him their Venus by Praxiteles. The offer was however refused. This would be a convenient way of paying off the national debt, had we such artists, and could find such kings. I believe there is not an alderman nor a common council-man in the city of London that would have any objection.

"As to the valuable manuscripts this cabinet contains, the only ancient books at present existing, I am sorry to inform you they are likely to remain in the same state they were found. It is true, some measures have been taken to restore them to the public; but the difficulty attending unrolling the sheets, and the little curiosity the proprietor has expressed to know what they contain, have occasioned the little progress that has hitherto been made; and have put an entire stop, I fear, to so useful but troublesome an undertaking. I am heartily sorry for it. To complete the works of Denis Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, Tacitus, and Livy, would be an inestimable acquisition to literature; and I should even read with pleasure the pleadings of Hortensius, the comedies of Menander, a tragedy by the author of the Art of Love, and those farces of Labianus that Cæsar so much admired.

"You will of course visit Vesuvius, to which we are indebted for our amusement at Portici; a volcano which for so many centuries has carefully covered those precious remains of antiquity with its lava, and by destroying saved them. It is at the town of Portici that mules and guides are usually procured. You must not flatter yourself, my good sir, that to ascend the mountain is as easy as to walk on the plain; nor must you consider it as a party of pleasure only; you will find it a very serious business, I can assure you, and not to be accomplished without much fatigue and trouble. The lava is either insufferably hot, or as sharp as a flint; the ashes roll from under your feet at every step you take; you will sometimes go backward, instead of forward; and it will frequently happen, that the more eager your impatience, the more violent your exertions, the less you will advance. Mr. Martin tells us, it requires an hour and a half from Portici to the foot of the cone; little more than an hour to ascend it, and about half

half that time to come down again. I can only speak from recollection, and my memory is not the best. I was there at the famous eruption in 1766: I have not seen it since. It was then, indeed, a most extraordinary and most tremendous sight. What has been said of Ætna was equally applicable, though in a lesser degree, to Vesuvius. The *liquefacta saxa* which Virgil mentions, the lava of the present day, was then seen in its brightest colours:—a stream of red-hot liquid fire, slow in its motion, but burning, overturning, and destroying all that opposed its passage. The heat of the atmosphere was insufferable, and my donkey, after a short time, became the more welcome object; I unfatigued myself on his hollow back, and gradually cooled by the slow pace he went.

"If your principal design be to visit the crater, you should set out in the evening. If you are a naturalist, the different courses of the lava will employ several hours, and you may satisfy your curiosity without ascending the mountain, the height of which, on Mr. Martin's authority, is not less than three thousand six hundred and ninety-four feet above the level of the sea. Should you wish to be further informed of this volcano, sir W. Hamilton has written amply on the subject, to whom I refer you."

On the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.

[From the Report of the Highland Society appointed to inquire into their Nature.]

"THOUGH the committee, as has been hinted at in the beginning of this Report, wished sedulously to avoid any thing like controversy on this subject, desirous rather of procuring evidence and information, than of drawing inferences from them, yet it cannot help, very shortly, taking notice of some difficulties in this investigation, which have struck, and must strike, every impartial person at all acquainted with the subject, and conversant at the same time with the history of nations, or the progress of society.

"The first of these is the circumstance of the language, in poems of such antiquity, being so nearly what it still is, in the common use and understanding of the country. Perhaps the situation of the highlands and islands, where this poetry has been preserved, and the little communication they had with other countries, may in some measure account for this circumstance. Language is changed from its use in society, as coins are smoothed by their currency in circulation. If the one be locked up among a rude, remote, and unconnected people, like the other when it is buried under the earth, its great features and general form will be but little altered. Certain it is, that, with the allowance of a somewhat different orthography, and a few words now in disuse, which the best Celtic scholars could not make out without the help of the context, the language of the ancient MSS. published by miss Brooke and others, in Ireland, and also

also that of those in the possession of the society, is very much the same with that which proficients in the Gaelic now write, and is perfectly intelligible to such persons.

" Another circumstance of difficulty is, that any human memory should be able to retain poems of such length, and so numerous, as some of those Highlanders, from whose oral recitation the collectors of such poems obtained them, repeated. But the power of memory in persons accustomed from their infancy to such repetitions, and who are unable to assist or to injure it by writing, must not be judged of by any ideas or any experience possessed by those who have only seen its exertions in ordinary life. Instances of such miraculous powers of memory (as they may be styled by us), the committee believes are known in most countries where the want of writing, like the want of a sense, gives an almost supernatural force to those by which that privation is supplied. In the case in question, the committee itself includes several individuals who have listened with astonishment, in their younger days, to the recitation of old Highlanders, whose habit, whose profession in some sort it was, to repeat the traditionary tales and poems of their ancestors; and the reverend Dr. Steuart of Luss, with whose highly respectable character, and uncommon extent of knowledge, the society is well acquainted, has given his testimony to the committee, that when a very young man, ardent in his love of Gaelic antiquities and poetry, he had procured, in the Isle of Sky, an old Highlander to recite to him: the man continued, for three successive days, and during several hours in each day, to repeat, without hesitation, with the utmost rapidity, and, as appeared to Dr. Steuart, with perfect correctness, many thousand lines of ancient poetry, and would have continued his repetitions much longer, if the doctor's leisure and inclination had allowed him to listen.

" A third difficulty, which has always appeared to intelligent inquirers the hardest to be surmounted in this matter, is, the style of manners and of sentiment exhibited by the poems in question. Some eminent critics have endeavoured to show, that there was, at the same period with that which is supposed to be the æra of Fingal, an equal, or nearly equal degree of heroic refinement among different northern nations, in other respects rude and uncivilized. The committee, in all the ancient Celtic poetry which it has heard or seen, perceives a distinction made between the *Fingalian* race and their invaders or enemies; uniformly assuming to the former a degree of generosity, compassion, and in particular of attention and delicacy towards the female sex, which they do not allow to the latter. They, like the Greeks of old, represent every other people as barbarous, in comparison with the race and people of Fingal; and this refinement, it must be observed, or a not much inferior degree of it, is to be found in the poems confessed by all parties to be genuine, which Macpherson and other collectors thought unworthy of being published or translated, which always exhibit a sort of chivalrous valour in combat, and generosity in victory, that seem to have particularly belonged to the Fingalian character. Some of the poems, indeed, particularly those of an inferior and more corrupted

rupted class, speak of the spoil to be acquired by the conquerors; but it seems to have been more a mark of superiority, or an acknowledgment of subjection, than the fruit of pillage; and inhumanity to the conquered and the captive is never supposed to be a legitimate use of victory.

"In considering this matter, the committee begs leave also to suggest, that some allowance ought always to be made for the colouring of poetry, on the manners and sentiments of the heroic persons of whom it speaks. If Ossian, or whoever he was who composed the poems in question, had that humanity and tenderness which are so generally the attendants on genius, he might, though he could not create manners of which there was no archetype in life, transfuse into his poetical narrative a portion of imaginary delicacy and gentleness, which, while it flatters the feelings of the poet himself, gives at the same time a dignity, a grace, and an interest to his picture.

"On the whole, the committee beg leave to report,

"That there are two questions to which it has directed its inquiries, on the subject which the society was pleased to refer to it, and on which it now submits the best evidence it has been able to procure.

"1st, What poetry, of what kind, and of what degree of excellence, existed anciently in the Highlands of Scotland, which was generally known by the denomination of *Ossianic*, a term derived from the universal belief that its father and principal composer was Ossian the son of Fingal?

"2d, How far that collection of such poetry, published by Mr. James Macpherson, is genuine?

"As to the first of those questions, the committee can with confidence state its opinion, that such poetry did exist, that it was common, general, and in great abundance; that it was of a most impressive and striking sort, in a high degree eloquent, tender, and sublime.

"The second question it is much more difficult to answer decisively. The committee is possessed of no documents, to show how much of his collection Mr. Macpherson obtained in the form in which he has given it to the world. The poems and fragments of poems which the committee has been able to procure, contain, as will appear from the article in the Apendix, No. 15 already mentioned, often the substance, and sometimes almost the literal expression (the *ipsissima verba*), of passages given by Mr. Macpherson, in the poems of which he has published the translations. But the committee has not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title and tenor with the poems published by him. It is inclined to believe that he was in use to supply chasms, and to give connection, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language, in short by changing what he considered as too simple or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what in his opinion was below the standard of good poetry. To what degree, however, he exercised these liberties, it is impossible for the committee to determine. The advantages he possessed, which the committee

committee began its inquiries too late to enjoy, of collecting from the oral recitation of a number of persons now no more, a very great number of the same poems, on the same subjects, and then collating those different copies or editions, if they may be so called, rejecting what was spurious or corrupted in one copy, and adopting from another something more genuine and excellent in its place, afforded him an opportunity of putting together what might fairly enough be called an original whole, of much more beauty, and with much fewer blemishes, than the committee believes it *now* possible for any person, or combination of persons, to obtain.

"The committee thinks it discovers some difference between the style both of the original (one book of which is given by Macpherson) and translation of *Temora*, and that of the translation of Fingal, and of the small portion of the original of that poem, which it received from his executors. There is more the appearance of simplicity and originality in the latter than in the former. Perhaps, when he published Fingal, Mr. Macpherson, unknown as an author, and obscure as a man, was more diffident, more cautious, and more attentive, than when at a subsequent period he published Temora, flushed with the applause of the world, and distinguished as a man of talents, and an author of high and rising reputation. Whoever will examine the original prefixed to some of the editions of the 7th book of Temora, and compare it with the translation, will, in the opinion of the committee, discover some imperfections, some *modernisms*, (if the expression may be allowed,) in the Gaelic, which do not occur in the specimen of Fingal, given in the Appendix to this Report; and, in the English, more of a loose and inflated expression (which however was an error into which Macpherson was apt to fall) than is to be found in his earlier translations. He had then attained a height which, to any man, but particularly to a man of a sanguine and somewhat confident disposition like Macpherson, is apt to give a degree of carelessness and presumption, that would rather command than conciliate the public suffrage, and, in the security of the world's applause, neglects the best means of obtaining it. He thought, it may be, he had only to produce another work like Fingal, to reap the same advantage and the same honour which that had procured him; and was rather solicitous to obtain these quickly, by a hasty publication, than to deserve them by a careful collection of what original materials he had procured, or by a diligent search to supply the defects of those materials.

"The committee submits this report to the society with considerable diffidence. It encountered many more difficulties, and was obliged to bestow more labour, than it was at all aware of, when it undertook the investigation committed to it by the society. That labour has, after all, it is sensible, effected its purpose in a very imperfect manner; but the committee's inquiries have at least produced something which it believes the society will receive with considerable interest, and the public will not read with indifference. One merit it can venture to assume to itself, without fear of contradic-

ion,—perfect impartiality and candour in its researches, and in its report. It has not unfrequently, indeed, withheld evidence, because t did not approach near enough to conviction, and assertion, because t was not founded on evidence, which, on a less cautious principle, it might have laid before the society. But it acted, in this respect, with a jealousy and a circumspection, which it conceived to be due to itself, to the society, and to truth."

On the Style best adapted to Philosophical Subjects.

[From Mr. Drummond's Academical Questions.]

"THE merit of an author, who illustrates his subject well, cannot fail to be acknowledged by every candid reader. Just and splendid illustration is to a discourse, what fine and beautiful colouring is to a picture. It gives a glow and animation to composition; it pleases with all the charms of variety, while it preserves the constancy and simplicity of truth; and it enables the mind easily to conceive the principal subject, by presenting to the fancy some distinct resemblance, or some natural association. Who can fail to be pleased with that expression of Pericles, which is cited by Aristotle? 'When the youth of a country,' said the orator, 'have perished in battle, and are lost to the state, it is as if the spring were taken from the year.'

"The dryness of aphorisms is by no means suited to metaphysical disquisitions. 'Aphorismi enim,' it is remarked by Bacon, 'nisi prorsus forent ridiculi, necesse est, ut ex medullis et interioribus scientiarum conficiantur: abscinditur enim illustratio et excursio; abscinditur varietas exemplorum; abscinditur deductio et connexio; abscinditur descriptio practicæ: ut ad materiem aphorismorum nihil relinquatur præter copiam observationum bene amplam.' Such a style as this would, indeed, be but ill-chosen by the expounders of the most obscure, and, as it has been called, the most contentious of the sciences.

"From what I have said, I trust, it will be evident, that I am no enemy to figurative language. The use of figures can hardly be dispensed with. Dionysius of Halicarnassus pretends, that they are requisite even in invitations to private suppers: *αἱ κλήσεις εἰς ἴδια δεῖπνα σχηματίσμας δεόνται.* I think they can never be excluded with advantage, unless from books of pure science.

"But although the use of figures be thus readily granted, yet it ought never to be forgotten, that the proper choice of them constitutes one of the principal difficulties in the art of writing. The less the taste is refined, and the less the judgment is matured, the more men are dissatisfied with simplicity. When I was young, I was delighted with rhetorical flourishes, with the sonorous cadences of harmonious periods, and with the pomp and splendour of Asiatic eloquence. I had yet to learn, that the subject should determine the style; that when the thought is simple, the language should be plain; and that perspicuity

perspicuity is the first of an author's virtues, and the foundation of all the rest. I have given this example from my own experience, because young men are seldom willing to believe, that they may probably live to be totally dissatisfied with the compositions of their early years. Taste is, indeed, generally the last of our acquisitions; and results not less from the study of the best models, than from the force of natural genius. We may think ourselves already in the way to attain it, when we really feel a decided preference for those works of nature and of art, which have been always considered as the most admirable by men of acknowledged capacity and judgment. Thus he, who is more pleased with the orations of Demosthenes than with those of Isocrates, and who tries to imitate the style of Cicero rather than that of Seneca, may flatter himself that he is no incompetent judge of eloquence. We ought, however, always to distrust our own taste, until by long habit and patient observation we have become enabled to distinguish between grace and affectation, between the elegance of suitable embellishment, and the tawdry tinsel of superfluous decoration. When we can perceive and blame redundancies in our own writings; when in the end we can sacrifice meretricius ornaments, which pleased us in the beginning; and when we have obtained such a command over language as to render our style either close or diffuse, either simple or brilliant, as the subject seems to require; we may then believe ourselves to have made some progress in the art of criticism. But we may be convinced, that the taste is not yet formed, while it can be delighted by figures which are introduced without any just association, or by imagery which has been suggested by no obvious or natural resemblance; and we ought, whether we write or whether we judge, to be aware of the weakness of that intellectual vision, which is quickly attracted by the glare of a trope, or easily dazzled by the corruscation of a metaphor.

"Every one, who is instructed even in the elements of criticism, knows, that there is a certain character of style adapted to different subjects. We expect loftiness and majesty in an epic poem—dignity and force, or tenderness and pathos in a tragedy—wit, sprightliness, and urbanity, in a comedy—correctness, order, grace, variety, and harmony, in didactic poetry—neatness, brevity, in the epigram—elevation, beauty, splendour, energy, sublimity, in the higher species of the ode. It becomes the orator to be cogent and vehement—the historian to be grave—the philosopher to be precise and perspicuous. The subject of a work, then, in indicating to us the proper character of the style, may help to guide us in the choice and employment of figurative expressions. These cannot be so often suitable in prose as in verse; nor are they so advantageous to him who desires to persuade, or to convince, as to him who only wishes to shine and to be admired.

"It seems, however, that of all those who write, the philosopher ought to be the most cautious in the use of figures, which, as Cicero observes, were first employed in speech from necessity, and afterwards for ornament. In proportion as a subject is obscure it requires illustration; and still in the same proportion it is liable to be mistaken and misrepresented when

shown under false colouring, or when seen by the aid of passing and unsteady lights. Longinus has remarked, 'that imagery is employed by rhetoricians and poets for 'different purposes. Astonishment 'is the object of it in poetry; illustration in prose; it is equally 'required in both to create emotion, and to rouse attention.—'Poetical images are generally 'mixed with something fabulous, 'and are calculated to excite terror 'and amazement; whereas it is 'always a beauty in the figures of 'rhetoric, when they represent what 'may be conceived as placed be'fore the eyes, and what is agree'able to truth and probability.' If this rule be just for the rhetorician, it is not less so for the philosopher, who ought to address the understanding, rather than the imagination and the passions. When then shall we say for the figurative language of Tucker, who, we are told, is unrivalled in illustration? He, who speaks of a spirit, employs a metaphor; but he, who speaks of a spirit as of an uncompounded essence, which is sometimes penetrable, and sometimes solid, which, though extended, has no parts, and which, though immaterial itself, has a material organization; either mistakes, or abuses, the use of words, and only expresses what is contradictory and impossible.

"Quinctilian remarks, that that, which is assumed for the purpose of illustrating another thing, ought itself to be clearer than that which is illustrated. Metaphysics are generally considered to be of so dark a nature, that it may appear difficult for an author who treats of them to offend against this rule; and yet those, who are not acquainted with English law, will probably think, that it has been violated by Tucker in the following sentence: 'The old notion of 'the mind's existing like the estate 'of a coparcener in law jargon per 'my and per tout, or being all in 'every part throughout the whole 'human frame, has been long since 'exploded.'

"'Id imprimis est custodiendum,' says Quinctilian, 'ut quo 'genere cœperis translationem, hoc 'finias.' This excellent precept seems either never to have been known, or to have been seldom remembered by Tucker. Take the following example: 'We live im'prisoned in walls of flesh and 'bone, and like a snail can stir 'no where without our houses ac'companying us; when we walk, 'we act upon our legs, which thrust 'the body forward, and that moves 'the mind along, so that in walk'ing we are as much carried as 'when riding in a coach driven by 'our own orders.'

"There are both writers and readers, who are so easily satisfied with a likeness, that provided they find that, they care neither for beauty, nor for grace, nor even for propriety. 'How natural is that 'image!' they cry, 'and how ex'actly it represents the truth!' But these good people forget, that it is the business of art often to conceal, and always, where it does not conceal, to embellish nature. Sometimes it happens, that good taste will direct us to lay aside art altogether, and to leave nature as she is. When this is the case, however, there must be nothing to offend judgment, or to hurt delicacy, to excite new sensations of uneasiness by present objects, or to recall disagreeable feelings by unavoidable associations. Many things are in nature, which are

not to be brought before the eye. A similitude may be striking; but it will not meet with the approbation of a refined mind, if it be rude, or vulgar, or unseemly. The man of taste perceives the likeness of two objects as soon as another; but he rejects the comparison between them, if one of them offer a mean or trivial image which is unsuitable to the gravity and dignity of his subject. 'Quamvis sit simile,' he will observe, 'tamen deformis est cogitatio similitudinis.' It appears to be no inconsiderable defect in Tucker, as an author, that he generally takes a resemblance wherever he can find one, and seldom stops to examine, whether it be a portrait, or a sign-post. Thus, in speaking of the happiness of God, he says, 'If any sparks of 'evil should be sprinkled upon him 'by contemplation of the miserable 'wretches in the two embodied 'states, they would be so overwhelmed with the joys flowing 'from elsewhere, that he would 'feel no more disturbance thereat 'than a man, having just received 'news of some great good fortune 'befallen him, would feel at breaking a china saucer.' In another place he tells us, 'deliberation and 'investigation are like the hunting 'of a hound; he moves and sniffs 'about by his own activity, but 'the scent he finds is not laid nor 'the trail he follows drawn by himself.' After having stated the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of conceiving mathematical superficies separated from the solids which they constitute, he presents his readers with the following illustration: 'Thus our solids resemble a quantity of fine paper piled up in a 'stationer's shop: if you set a man 'with gloves on, or a rustic whose 'hands are hard by labour, to take 'off a single sheet, he will fumble 'about a long while, and at last 'take up two or three together: 'so, if we attempt to take off a superficies, we cannot do our work 'neatly, but our clumsy-fisted imagination pulls up another adhering to it beneath.'

"'Simile vitiosum est,' says Cicero, 'quod ex aliqua parte dissimile, nec habet parem rationem 'comparationis, aut sibi ipsi obest 'qui affert.' The author of The Light of Nature pursued asserts, that our being out of heaven 'is 'not owing to any distance we 'stand at from thence, but to our 'being pent up in walls of flesh 'which cut off our communications 'with the blessed spirits, and shut 'us out from all participation in 'their lights and their joys. We 'are like persons,' continues he, 'inclosed each in a sentry box having all the chinks and crannies 'stopped that might let in the least 'light or sound, and in this condition set down among the splendid throng in a full ridotto.' Now it is evident, that this whimsical comparison either is not just, or is detrimental to his cause who brings it forward: for, if a person were so shut up in a sentry box, that neither light nor sound could pass through it to him, he might be in a full ridotto for ever, without ever guessing that he was there. The author strangely asserts, that he has only to get out of his own flesh to get into heaven. But if he knew his assertion to be true, his comparison could not have been just; and if he were sure that his comparison was just, he ought to have been aware, that his assertion was rash and idle, and made wholly in the dark.

"It might have been expected of him, 'who is unrivalled in illustration,'

'lustration,' that he would not have attempted to explain one thing by the help of another, which by its nature cannot be different in the very point to be illustrated. We do not say that ice is as cold as ice, because this would be a ridiculous tautology; and we ought not, therefore, to say that this body is as incapable of thought as that, if we already presume the incapacity to be common to both. 'If a grain of sand,' says Tucker, 'were placed where the spirit re-'sides in the most exquisite organi-'zation that can be contrived, there 'would be no more percipience in 'this compound than there is in the 'Venus de Medicis.' No person, I believe, ever pretended that unorganized matter can think. Every body is ready to admit, that a grain of sand, while it continues such, is incapable of thought and perception; and nobody is made wiser by being told that place it where you will, it will no more be mind than a marble statue. Thus nothing results from this illustration, unless it be the unmeaning pleonasm, that one unthinking substance must be as devoid of intelligence as another.

"'Exemplum vitiosum est,' Cicero has observed, 'si aut fal-'sum est, aut majus, aut minus, 'quam res postulabit.' The author tells us that he has an idea of a thing extended without parts. This certainly appears to me to be a very extraordinary idea; and if I were not in the habit of avoiding positive assertions as much as I can (though I know they escape me in spite of all my endeavours to the contrary), I should pronounce it impossible, that any man could have such an idea. But the author is too generous to allow of a monopoly even in his own favour. 'I have an idea of a thing 'being extended without parts,' says he, 'and so have other people, 'if one may judge by their dis-'courses: for I have heard of the 'stench of a brick-kiln reaching in-'to the houses in London, and of 'a noise extending many miles 'around; yet I never heard any 'body talk of the half, or quarter, 'or any other part of a smell or a 'sound.' This example is as false as it is childish and absurd. A smell, or a sound, take which you please, is not a thing, according to the vulgar philosophy, but the quality of a thing, or a sensation produced by one. We may say, that the matter, which excites the perception of a stench or a noise, is extended, and that the aërial particles, which are put in motion by impulses from odoriferous or sonorous bodies, reach from one place to another. No man, however, who understands what he is talking about, when he speaks of a smell reaching him, or of a sound extending miles around him, really supposes, either that his own sensation is travelling away from him to somebody else, or that a secondary quality of body, if he should choose so to call it, can be endowed with the quality of extension. He must know very well, that nothing but a substance can possess a quality; and he will perceive, that logic and common sense equally forbid him to talk of the quality of a quality. When he says, the smell, or the sound, has extended around, he is aware that he speaks figuratively, and that he puts these words by metonymy for the particles which transmit the quality, and excite the sensation. Philosophers have not yet been quite so extravagant as to talk of an extended idea, or of the parts of a feeling; and, therefore, none

have ever spoken of the half, or the quarter, of a smell or a sound: but they have generally agreed, that an extended substance must have parts, simply, because that which is long may be shorter, because that which is broad may be narrower, because that which is thick may be thinner, and because the case may be reversed in all these instances.

"In entering thus minutely into an examination of the style of Tucker, I may seem to have too much deviated from my general plan. I must confess, then, that I have been induced to make this digression from having suspected, that the exaggerated praises, which have been bestowed on the style of the work, had already led some young readers to look for a model of philosophical composition in The Light of Nature pursued. More than half a century has elapsed, since English literature has passed its zenith; but we ought to lose no opportunity of endeavouring to arrest the progress of its too visible decline. Our taste in the arts, and especially in poetry, was always considered as singular by other nations; our drama, which formerly excited their surprise, not unmingled, indeed, with some portion of disgust, can now only move their pity, or provoke their contempt; the eloquence of our best writers in prose, though neither correct nor refined, was allowed to be strong, manly, and dignified: but in the sciences, in philosophy, in the exercise of reason, in the noblest employments of the mind, we took the tone of masters, and we guided the inquiries, the pursuits, and the judgment of admiring Europe. Let us then guard to the last this ancient province of our glory. Let us here, at least, be cautious and severe. False taste is inseparable from bad reasoning. We must extend the scrutiny of rigid criticism not only to the opinions and systems but to the language and style of philosophers. The monstrous metaphors, the mean comparisons, the pompous amplifications, the vapid hyperboles, the idle illustrations, the gaudy antitheses of some modern writers ought not to be endured in grave discussions on moral, metaphysical, or political subjects. We must crush this spurious race, the sickly progeny of depraved understandings. Where they are not detected by the judgment they deceive it—where they do not offend the taste they pervert it. Let us, at least when we would write on philosophical questions, learn that he who would finish by being elegant, must begin by being correct—let us endeavour to blend grace with force, and skill with both—let us, until we have considered it well, dread a trope as a snare, and suspect an illustration for an illusion of our own imaginations—let us often look back to the models of antiquity which our fathers studied—and let us meditate, who were great, and how they were so, before we exhibit ourselves too ostentatiously to the world.

"Since I have said so much of style, I shall not conclude without venturing to recommend some examples, which, I think, may be followed with advantage by an author who treats of philosophy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, that Plato had two different manners in writing. In the one he affected elevation—in the other he aimed only at simple elegance. Upon this latter style the judicious critic has bestowed a splendid eulogy. The slovenliness and the

mouldiness of antiquity, says he, steal upon it almost imperceptibly; and, if I recollect rightly, he compares it with a flower, which still preserves its early bloom, its freshness, and its fragrance, even in the fulness of the season. To Plato, then, the writer of a philosophical work ought to look for one model in that mode of composition which is most worthy of imitation. He will not admire the puerile ornaments, and the gaudy trappings, which are sometimes awkwardly assumed by the Grecian sage, and which suit but ill with the plain mantle of the philosopher. He will not copy those expressions, which Dionysius and Longinus have censured as frigid or bombast; but he will gladly imitate the grace, the suavity, and the brilliancy, which are not unfrequently combined in the dialogues of Plato. Second only to Plato in magnificence of diction, surpassing him, perhaps, in perspicuity, variety, and harmony, Cicero has adorned and illustrated philosophy with all the splendour of the brightest eloquence. The road which he took must at first have appeared to many to be rugged and difficult, for it had then been explored by few of his countrymen; but he showed so many various prospects, pointed out such interesting objects, and conversed all the while with so much spirit, elegance, and urbanity, that labour forgot its fatigues, and prejudice its alarms; nor can it be doubted but that the taste for learning, which distinguished his age, was owing in a considerable degree to the influence and the example of Tully. It is pleasing to be instructed in the wisdom of Greece by the greatest orator of Rome. It is consoling to the solitary metaphysician of the present day when he recollects, that his favourite studies, which have been falling into disrepute ever since English literature has been in its wane, were assiduously cultivated in the most brilliant æras of human grandeur, by the sages and the heroes of Greece, by the chiefs of the Roman commonwealth, by warriors who subdued, and by statesmen who governed the world.

"Among the writers of this country, there are some whose style (for I mean to speak at present only of their style) deserves the attention of the philosopher. We may be often offended with the quaintness of Bacon's language; yet we must also often admire the boldness and beauty of his metaphors, the clearness of his expressions, and the felicity of his illustrations. The stately Shaftesbury, while he praises simplicity, is himself too fond of rhetorical ornaments. Locke is frequently incorrect in his language, and his style is too diffuse; he allows himself many repetitions which are ungraceful, and many expressions which are vulgar: but he has the merit of being generally perspicuous; there is no affectation about him; his images serve well to illustrate his subject; he is never pedantic, and never frivolous. Among the various accomplishments of the celebrated Berkeley, the art of writing well is to be esteemed as one of the most splendid. Bolingbroke is eloquent, and often employs to advantage that figure of speech which the ancients called amplification: yet he is too declamatory; and his language abounds with errors, which are common indeed in those crude discourses, delivered by our orators without sufficient preparation, before popular assemblies, where there are many

hearers and few critics; but which are not to be so easily pardoned when frequently recurring in the works of an author, who would pretend to undeceive a mistaken world, and to teach it the elements of the *first philosophy*. It has been objected to Hume, that he is occasionally guilty of Gallicisms in his writings; and, I think, I have remarked, that he is not sufficiently attentive in placing the verb in the subjunctive after the words *if*, *unless*, *although*, &c.; though, generally speaking, it is impossible not to admire the graces of his style, and the elegance of his chaste and classical language. Doctor Reid's manner deserves praise for being plain, unaffected, impressive, and forcible. In the works of professor Dugald Stewart we easily distinguish the hand of a master. His style possesses many beauties: sometimes it is a rapid, more frequently a gentle, but always a clear, a deep, and a powerful stream."

LETTERS of COWPER on his TRANSLATION of the ILIAD.

[From Mr. HAYLEY'S SUPPLEMENTARY PAGES to his LIFE.]

LETTER V.

"To the Rev. WALTER BAGOT.

"Olney, May 20, 1786.

"My dear friend,

"ABOUT three weeks since I met your sister Chester at Mr. Throckmorton's, and from her learned that you are at Blithfield, and in health. Upon the encouragement of this information it is that I write now; I should not otherwise have known with certainty where to find you, or have been equally free from the fear of unseasonable intrusion. May God be with you, my friend, and give you a just measure of submission to his will, the most effectual of all remedies for the evils of this changing scene! I doubt not that he has granted you this blessing already, and may he still continue it!

"Now I will talk a little about myself. For except myself, living in this *terrarum angulo*, what can I have to talk about? In a scene of perfect tranquillity, and the profoundest silence, I am kicking up the dust of heroic narrative, and besieging Troy again. I told you, that I had almost finished the translation of the Iliad, and I verily thought so. But I was never more mistaken. By the time when I had reached the end of the poem, the first book of my version was a twelvemonth old. When I came to consider it after having laid it by so long, it did not satisfy me. I set myself to mend it, and I did so. But still it appeared to me improvable, and that nothing would so effectually secure that point, as to give the whole book a new translation. With the exception of very few lines I have so done, and was never in my life so convinced of the soundness of Horace's advice to publish nothing in haste; so much advantage have I derived from doing that twice which I thought I had accomplished notably at once. He indeed recommends nine years' imprisonment of your verses before you

you send them abroad; but the ninth part of that time is, I believe, as much as there is need of to open a man's eyes upon his own defects, and to secure him from the danger of premature self-approbation. Neither ought it to be forgotten that nine years make so wide an interval between the cup and the lip, that a thousand things may fall out between. New engagements may occur, which may make the finishing of that, which a poet has begun, impossible. In nine years he may rise into a situation, or he may sink into one, utterly incompatible with his purpose. His constitution may break in nine years, and sickness may disqualify him for improving what he enterprised in the days of health. His inclination may change, and he may find some other employment more agreeable, or another poet may enter upon the same work, and get the start of him. Therefore, my friend Horace, though I acknowledge your principle to be good, I must confess that I think the practice you would ground it upon carried to an extreme. The rigour that I exercised upon the first book, I intend to exercise upon all that follow, and have now actually advanced into the middle of the seventh, no where admitting more than one line in fifty of the first translation. You must not imagine that I had been careless and hasty in the first instance. In truth I had not; but in rendering so excellent a poet as Homer into our language, there are so many points to be attended to, both in respect of language and numbers, that a first attempt must be fortunate indeed if it does not call aloud for a second. You saw the specimen, and you saw (I am sure) one great fault in it; I mean the harshness of some of the elisions. I do not altogether take the blame of these to myself, for into some of them I was actually driven, and hunted by a series of reiterated objections made by a critical friend, whose scruples and delicacies teased me out of all my patience. But no such monsters will be found in the volume.

"Your brother Chester has furnished me with Barnes's Homer, from whose notes I collect here and there some useful information, and whose fair and legible type preserves me from the danger of being as blind as my author. I saw a sister of yours at Mr. Throckmorton's, but I am not good at making myself heard across a large room, and therefore nothing passed between us. I felt however, that she was my friend's sister, and much esteemed her for your sake.

"Ever yours,

"W. C.

"P. S.—The swan is called *argutus* (I suppose) *a non arguendo*, and *canorus a non canendo*. But whether he be dumb or vocal, more poetical than the eagle or less, it is no matter. A feather of either, in token of your approbation and esteem, will never, you may rest assured, be an offence to me."

LETTER VI.

"To the Rev. WALTER BAGOT.

"July 4, 1786.

"I rejoice, my dear friend, that you have at last received my proposals, and most cordially thank you for all your labours in my service. I have friends in the world, who knowing that I am apt to be careless when left to myself, are determined to watch over me with a jealous eye upon this occasion. The

consequence will be, that the work will be better executed, but more tardy in the production. To them I owe it, that my translation, as fast as it proceeds, passes under the revisal of a most accurate discerner of all blemishes. I know not whether I told you before, or now tell you for the first time, that I am in the hands of a very extraordinary person. He is intimate with my bookseller, and voluntarily offered his service. I was at first doubtful whether to accept it or not; but finding that my friends above-said were not to be satisfied on any other terms, though myself a perfect stranger to the man and his qualifications, except as he was recommended by Johnson, I at length consented, and have since found great reason to rejoice that I did. I called him an extraordinary person, and such he is. For he is not only versed in Homer, and accurate in his knowledge of the Greek to a degree that entitles him to that appellation, but, though a foreigner, is a perfect master of our language, and has exquisite taste in English poetry. By his assistance I have improved many passages, supplied many oversights, and corrected many mistakes, such as will of course escape the most diligent and attentive labourer in such a work; I ought to add, because it affords the best assurance of his zeal and fidelity, that he does not toil for hire, nor will accept of any premium, but has entered on this business merely for his amusement. In the last instance my sheets will pass through the hands of our old school-fellow Colman, who has engaged to correct the press, and make any little alterations that he may see expedient. With all this precaution, little as I intended it once, I am now well satisfied. Experience has convinced me, that other eyes than my own are necessary, in order that so long and arduous a task may be finished as it ought, and may neither discredit me, nor mortify and disappoint my friends. You, who I know interest yourself much and deeply in my success, will, I dare say, be satisfied with it too. Pope had many aids, and he who follows Pope ought not to walk alone.

"Though I announce myself by my very undertaking to be one of Homer's enraptured admirers, I am not a blind one. Perhaps the speech of Achilles given in my specimen, is, as you hint, rather too much in the moralizing strain, to suit so young a man, and of so much fire. But whether it be, or not, in the course of the close application that I am forced to give to my author, I discover inadvertencies not a few; some perhaps that have escaped even the commentators themselves, or perhaps, in the enthusiasm of their idolatry, they resolved that they should pass for beauties. Homer however, say what they will, was man, and in all the works of man, especially in a work of such length and variety, many things will of necessity occur, that might have been better. Pope and Addison had a Dennis; and Dennis, if I mistake not, held up as he has been to scorn and detestation, was a sensible fellow, and passed some censures upon both those writers, that had they been less just would have hurt them less. Homer had his Zoilus; and perhaps if we knew all that Zoilus said, we should be forced to acknowledge, that sometimes at least he had reason on his side. But it is dangerous to find any fault at all with what the

world

world is determined to esteem faultless.

"I rejoice, my dear friend, that you enjoy some composure, and cheerfulness of spirits: may God preserve and increase to you so great a blessing!

"I am affectionately and truly yours,

"W. C."

LETTER VII.

"To the Rev. WALTER BAGOT.

"Olney, August 31, 1786.

"My dear friend,

"I began to fear for your health, and every day said to myself—I must write to Bagot soon, if it be only to ask him how he does—a measure that I should certainly have pursued long since, had I been less absorbed in Homer than I am. But such are my engagements in that quarter, that they make me, I think, good for little else.

"Many thanks, my friend, for the names that you have sent me. The Bagots will make a most conspicuous figure among my subscribers, and I shall not, I hope, soon forget my obligations to them.

"The unacquaintedness of modern ears with the divine harmony of Milton's numbers, and the principles upon which he constructed them, is the cause of the quarrel that they have with the elisions in blank-verse. But where is the remedy?—In vain should you or I, and a few hundred more perhaps who have studied his versification, tell them of the superior majesty of it, and that for that majesty it is greatly indebted to those elisions. In their ears they are discord, and dissonance; they lengthen the line beyond its due limits, and are therefore not to be endured. There is a whimsical inconsistence in the judgment of modern readers in this particular. Ask them all round, Whom do you account the best writer of blank-verse? and they will reply almost to a man, Milton to be sure; Milton against the field! Yet if a writer of the present day should construct his numbers exactly upon Milton's plan, not one in fifty of these professed admirers of Milton would endure him. The case standing thus, what is to be done? An author must either be contented to give disgust to the generality, or he must humour them by sinning against his own judgment. This latter course, so far as elisions are concerned, I have adopted as essential to my success. In every other respect I give as much variety in my measure as I can; I believe I may say, as in ten syllables it is possible to give, shifting perpetually the pause and cadence, and accounting myself happy that modern refinement has not yet enacted laws against this also. If it had, I protest to you I would have dropped my design of translating Homer entirely; and with what an indignant stateliness of reluctance I make them the concession, that I have mentioned, Mrs. Unwin can witness, who hears all my complaints upon the subject.

"After having lived twenty years at Olney, we are on the point of leaving it, but shall not migrate far. We have taken a house in the village of Weston. Lady Hesketh is our good angel, by whose aid we are enabled to pass into a better air, and a more walkable country. The imprisonment that we have suffered here for so many winters,

winters, has hurt us both. That we may suffer it no longer, she stoops to Olney, lifts us from our swamp, and sets us down on the elevated grounds of Weston-Underwood. There, my dear friend, I shall be happy to see you, and to thank you in person for all your kindness.

"I do not wonder at the judgment that you form of —— a foreigner; but you may assure yourself that, foreigner as he is, he has an exquisite taste in English verse. The man is all fire, and an enthusiast in the highest degree, on the subject of Homer, and has given me more than once a jog, when I have been inclined to nap with my author. No cold water is to be feared from him, that might abate my own fire; rather perhaps too much combustible.

"Adieu! mon ami, W. C."

LETTER VIII.

"To the Rev. WALTER BAGOT.

"Weston-Underwood,
Nov. 17, 1786.

"My dear friend,

"There are some things, that do not actually shorten the life of man, yet seem to do so, and frequent removals from place to place are of that number. For my own part at least I am apt to think, if I had been more stationary, I should seem to myself to have lived longer. My many changes of habitation seem to have divided my time into many short periods, and when I look back upon them, they appear only as the stages in a day's journey, the first of which is at no very great distance from the last.

"I lived longer at Olney than any where. There indeed I lived till mouldering walls and a tottering house warned me to depart. I have accordingly taken the hint, and two days since arrived, or rather took up my abode at Weston. You perhaps have never made the experiment, but I can asure you that the confusion which attends a transmigration of this kind is infinite, and has a terrible effect in deranging the intellects. I have been obliged to renounce my Homer on the occasion, and though not for many days, I yet feel as if study and meditation (so long my confirmed habits) were on a sudden become impracticable, and that I shall certainly find them so when I attempt them again. But in a scene so much quieter and pleasanter than that which I have just escaped from, in a house so much more commodious, and with furniture about me so much more to my taste, I shall hope to recover my literary tendency again, when once the bustle of the occasion shall have subsided.

"How glad I should be to receive you under a roof, where you would find me so much more comfortably accommodated than at Olney! I know your warmth of heart toward me, and am sure that you would rejoice in my joy. At present indeed I have not had time for much self-gratulation, but have every reason to hope nevertheless, that in due time I shall derive considerable advantage, both in health and spirits, from the alteration made in my *where about*.

"I have now the twelfth book of the Iliad in hand, having settled the eleven first books finally, as I think, or nearly so. The winter is the time when I make the greatest riddance.

"Adieu, my friend Walter!

Let me hear from you, and believe me ever yours, W. C."

LETTER IX.

"To the Rev. WALTER BAGOT.

"Weston, January 3, 1787.

"My dear friend,

"You wish to hear from me at any calm interval of epic phrensy. An interval presents itself, but whether calm or not, is perhaps doubtful. Is it possible for a man to be calm, who for three weeks past has been perpetually occupied in slaughter; letting out one man's bowels, smiting another through the gullet, transfixing the liver of another, and lodging an arrow in the buttock of a fourth? Read the thirteenth book of the Iliad, and you will find such amusing incidents as these the subject of it, the sole subject! In order to interest myself in it, and to catch the spirit of it, I had need discard all humanity: it is woeful work; and were the best poet in the world to give us at this day such a list of killed and wounded, he would not escape universal censure; to the praise of a more enlightened age be it spoken.—I have waded through much blood, and through much more I must wade, before I shall have finished. I determine in the mean time to account it all very sublime, and for two reasons—First, because all the learned think so—and secondly, because I am to translate it. But were I an indifferent by-stander, perhaps I should venture to wish, that Homer had applied his wonderful powers to a less disgusting subject. He has in the Odyssey, and I long to get at it.

"I have not the good fortune to meet with any of these fine things that you say are printed in my praise. But I learn from certain advertisements in the Morning Herald, that I make a conspicuous figure in the entertainments of Free-Masons'-Hall. I learn also that my volumes are out of print, and that a third edition is soon to be published. But if I am not gratified with the sight of odes composed to my honour and glory, I have at least been tickled with some *douceurs* of a very flattering nature by the post. A lady unknown addresses the best of men—an unknown gentleman has read my inimitable poems, and invites me to his seat in Hampshire—another incognito gives me hope of a memorial in his garden, and a Welsh attorney sends me his verses to revise, and obligingly asks

'Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?'

If you find me a little vain hereafter, my friend, you must excuse it in consideration of these powerful incentives, especially the latter; for surely the poet who can charm an attorney, especially a Welsh one, must be at least an Orpheus, if not something greater.

"Mrs. Unwin is as much delighted as myself with our present situation. But it is a sort of April-weather life that we lead in this world. A little sunshine is generally the prelude to a storm. Hardly had we begun to enjoy the change, when the death of her son cast a gloom upon every thing. He was a most exemplary man; of your order; learned, polite, and amiable; the father of lovely children, and the husband of a wife (very much like dear Mrs. Bagot) who adored him.

"Adieu, my friend!

"Your affectionate W. C."

LETTER

LETTER X.

"To the Rev. WALTER BAGOT.

"Weston, Dec. 6, 1787.

"My dear friend,

"A short time since, by the help of Mrs. Throckmorton's chaise, Mrs. Unwin and I reached Chichely. 'Now,' said I to Mrs. Chester—'I shall write boldly to your brother Walter, and will do it immediately. I have passed the gulph that parted us, and he will be glad to hear it.' But let not the man who translates Homer be so presumptuous as to have a will of his own, or to promise any thing. A fortnight I suppose has elapsed since I payed this visit, and I am only now beginning to fulfil what I then undertook to accomplish without delay. The old Grecian must answer for it.

"I spent my morning there so agreeably, that I have ever since regretted more sensibly that there are five miles of a dirty country interposed between us. For the increase of my pleasure, I had the good fortune to find your brother the bishop there. We had much talk about many things, but most, I believe, about Homer; and great satisfaction it gave me to find that on the most important points of that subject his lordship and I were exactly of one mind. In the course of our conversation he produced from his pocket-book a translation of the first ten or twelve lines of the Iliad, and, in order to leave my judgment free, informed me kindly at the same time, that they were not his own. I read them, and according to the best of my recollection of the original found them well executed. The bishop indeed acknowledged that they were not faultless, neither did I find them so. Had they been such, I should have felt their perfection as a discouragement hardly to be surmounted; for at that passage I have laboured more abundantly than at any other, and hitherto with the least success. I am convinced that Homer placed it at the threshold of his work as a scarecrow to all translators. Now, Walter, if thou knowest the author of this version, and it be not treason against thy brother's confidence in thy secrecy, declare him to me. Had I been so happy as to have seen the bishop again before he left this country, I should certainly have asked him the question, having a curiosity upon the matter that is extremely troublesome.

"The awkward situation in which you found yourself on receiving a visit from an authoress, whose works, though presented to you long before, you had never read, made me laugh, and it was no sin against my friendship for you to do so. It was a ridiculous distress, and I can laugh at it even now. I hope she catechized you well. How did you extricate yourself?—Now laugh at me. The clerk of the parish of All Saints, in the town of Northampton, having occasion for a poet, has appointed me to the office. I found myself obliged to comply. The bell-man comes next, and then, I think, though even borne upon your swan's quill, I can soar no higher!

"I am, my dear friend,

"Faithfully yours,

"W. C."

LETTER XI.

"To the Rev. WALTER BAGOT.

"Weston, Jan. 5, 1788.

"My dear friend,

"I thank you for your information

tion concerning the author of the translation of those lines. Had a man of less note and ability than lord Bagot produced it, I should have been discouraged. As it is, I comfort myself with the thought, that even he accounted it an achievement worthy of his powers, and that even he found it difficult. Though I never had the honour to be known to his lordship, I remember him well at Westminster, and the reputation in which he stood there. Since that time I have never seen him, except once, many years ago, in the house of commons, when I heard him speak on the subject of a drainage bill, better than any member there.

"My first thirteen books have been criticized in London; have been by me accommodated to those criticisms, returned to London in their improved state, and sent back to Weston with an imprimantur. This would satisfy some poets, less anxious than myself about what they expose in public; but it has not satisfied me. I am now revising them again by the light of my own critical taper, and make more alterations than at first. But are they improvements? you will ask—is not the spirit of the work endangered by all this attention to correctness? I think and hope that it is not. Being well aware of the possibility of such a catastrophe, I guard particularly against it. Where I find that a servile adherence to the original would render the passage less animated than it would be, I still, as at the first, allow myself a liberty. On all other occasions I prune with an unsparing hand, determined that there shall not be found in the whole translation an idea that is not Homer's. My ambition is to produce the closest copy possible, and at the same time as harmonious as I know how to make it. This being my object, you will no longer think, if indeed you have thought it at all, that I am unnecessarily and over-much industrious. The original surpasses every thing: it is of an immense length, is composed in the best language ever used upon earth, and deserves, indeed demands, all the labour that any translator, be he who he may, can possibly bestow on it. Of this I am sure, and your brother the good bishop is of the same mind, that, at present, mere English readers know no more of Homer in reality, than if he had never been translated. That consideration indeed it was, which mainly induced me to the undertaking; and if after all, either through idleness, or dotage upon what I have already done, I leave it chargeable with the same incorrectness as my predecessors, or indeed with any other that I may be able to amend, I had better have amused myself otherwise. And you I know are of my opinion.

"I send you the clerk's verses of which I told you—They are very clerk-like, as you will perceive. But plain truth in plain words seemed to me to be the *ne plus ultra* of composition on such an occasion. I might have attempted something very fine. But then the persons principally concerned, viz. my readers, would not have understood me. If it puts them in mind that they are mortal, its best end is answered.

"My dear Walter, adieu!

"Yours faithfully,

"W. C."

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

On the SAP of TREES during WINTER.

[From Mr. KNIGHT'S LETTER to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. inserted in the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.]

"IT is well known that the fluid, generally called the sap, in trees, ascends in the spring and summer from their roots, and that in the autumn and winter it is not, in any considerable quantity, found in them; and I have observed in a former Paper, that this fluid rises wholly through the alburnum, or sap-wood. But Du Hamel and subsequent naturalists have proved, that trees contain another kind of sap, which they have called the true or peculiar juice or sap of the plant. Whence this fluid originates does not appear to have been agreed by naturalists; but I have offered some facts to prove that it is generated by the leaf; and that it differs from the common aqueous sap owing to changes it has undergone in its circulation through that organ: and I have contended that from this fluid (which Du Hamel has called the *suc propre*, and which I will call the true sap,) the whole substance, which is annually added to the tree, is derived. I shall endeavour in the present Paper to prove that this fluid, in an inspissated state, or some concrete matter deposited by it, exists during the winter in the alburnum, and that from this fluid, or substance, dissolved in the ascending aqueous sap, is derived the matter which enters into the composition of the new leaves in the spring, and thus furnishes those organs, which were not wanted during the winter, but which are essential to the further progress of vegetation.

"Few persons at all conversant with timber are ignorant, that the alburnum, or sap-wood, of trees which are felled in the autumn or winter, is much superior in quality to that of other trees of the same species which are suffered to stand till the spring, or summer: it is at once more firm and tenacious in its texture, and more durable. This superiority in winter-felled wood has been generally attributed to the absence of the sap at that season; but the appearance and qualities of the wood seem more justly to warrant the conclusion, that some substance has been added to, instead of taken from it, and many circumstances induced me to suspect that this substance is generated, and deposited within it, in the preceding summer and autumn.

"Du Hamel has remarked, and is evidently puzzled with the circumstance,

cumstance, that trees perspire more in the month of August, when the leaves are full grown, and when the annual shoots have ceased to elongate, than at any earlier period; and we cannot suppose the powers of vegetation to be thus actively employed, but in the execution of some very important operation. Bulbous and tuberous roots are almost wholly generated after the leaves and stems of the plants, to which they belong, have attained their full growth; and I have constantly found, in my practice as a farmer, that the produce of my meadows has been immensely increased when the herbage of the preceding year had remained to perform its proper office till the end of the autumn, on ground which had been mowed early in summer. Whence I have been led to imagine, that the leaves, both of trees and herbaceous plants, are alike employed, during the latter part of the summer, in the preparation of matter calculated to afford food to the expanding buds and blossoms of the succeeding spring, and to enter into the composition of new organs of assimilation.

"If the preceding hypothesis be well founded, we may expect to find that some change will gradually take place in the qualities of the aqueous sap of trees during its ascent in the spring; and that any given portion of winter-felled wood will at the same time possess a greater degree of specific gravity, and yield a larger quantity of extractive matter, than the same quantity of wood which has been felled in the spring or in the early part of the summer. To ascertain these points I made the experiments, an account of which I have now the honour to lay before you.

"As early in the last spring as the sap had risen in the sycamore and birch, I made incisions into the trunks of those trees, some close to the ground, and others at the elevation of seven feet, and I readily obtained from each incision as much sap as I wanted. Ascertaining the specific gravity of the sap of each tree, obtained at the different elevations, I found that of the sap of the sycamore with very little variation, in different trees, to be 1.004, when extracted close to the ground, and 1.008 at the height of seven feet. The sap of the birch was somewhat lighter; but the increase of its specific gravity, at greater elevation, was comparatively the same. When extracted near the ground the sap of both kinds was almost free from taste; but when obtained at a greater height, it was sensibly sweet. The shortness of the trunks of the sycamore trees, which were the subjects of my experiments, did not permit me to extract the sap at a greater elevation than seven feet, except in one instance, and in that, at twelve feet from the ground, I obtained a very sweet fluid, whose specific gravity was 1.012.

"I conceived it probable, that if the sap in the preceding cases derived any considerable portion of its increased specific gravity from matter previously existing in the alburnum, I should find some diminution of its weight, when it had continued to flow some days from the same incision, because the alburnum in the vicinity of that incision would, under such circumstances, have become in some degree exhausted: and on comparing the specific gravity of the sap which had flowed from a recent and an old incision, I found that from the

old

old to be reduced to 1.002, and that from the recent one to remain 1.004, as in the preceding cases, the incision being made close to the ground. Wherever extracted, whether close to the ground, or at some distance from it, the sap always appeared to contain a large portion of air.

"In the experiments to discover the variation in the specific gravity of the alburnum of trees at different seasons, some obstacles to the attainment of any very accurate results presented themselves. The wood of different trees of the same species, and growing in the same soil, or that taken from different parts of the same tree, possesses different degrees of solidity; and the weight of every part of the alburnum appears to increase with its age, the external layers being the lightest. The solidity of wood varies also with the greater or less rapidity of its growth. These sources of error might apparently have been avoided by cutting off, at different seasons, portions of the same trunk or branch: but the wound thus made might, in some degree, have impeded the due progress of the sap in its ascent, and the part below might have been made heavier by the stagnation of the sap, and that above lighter by privation of its proper quantity of nutriment. The most eligible method therefore, which occurred to me, was to select and mark in the winter some of the poles of an oak coppice, where all are of equal age, and where many, of the same size and growing with equal vigour, spring from the same stool. One half of the poles which I marked and numbered were cut on the 31st of December, 1803, and the remainder on the 15th of the following May, when the leaves were nearly half grown. Proper marks were put to distinguish the winter-felled from the summer-felled poles, the bark being left on all, and all being placed in the same situation to dry.

"In the beginning of August I cut off nearly equal portions from a winter and summer-felled pole, which had both grown on the same stool; and both portions were then put in a situation, where, during the seven succeeding weeks, they were kept very warm by a fire. The summer-felled wood was, when put to dry, the most heavy; but it evidently contained much more water than the other, and, partly at least, from this cause, it contracted much more in drying. In the beginning of October both kinds appeared to be perfectly dry, and I then ascertained the specific gravity of the winter-felled wood to be 0.679, and that of the summer-felled wood to be 0.609; after each had been immersed five minutes in water.

"This difference of ten *per cent.* was considerably more than I had anticipated, and it was not till I had suspended and taken off from the balance each portion, at least ten times, that I ceased to believe that some error had occurred in the experiment: and indeed I was not at last satisfied, till I had ascertained by means of compasses adapted to the measurement of solids, that the winter-felled pieces of wood were much less than the others which they equalled in weight.

"The pieces of wood, which had been the subjects of these experiments, were again put to dry, with other pieces of the same poles, and I yesterday ascertained the specific gravity of both with scarcely any variation in the result. But when

when I omitted the medulla, and parts adjacent to it, and used the layers of wood which had been more recently formed, I found the specific gravity of the winter-felled wood to be only 0.583, and that of the summer-felled to be 0.533; and trying the same experiment with similar pieces of wood, but taken from poles which had grown on a different stool, the specific gravity of the winter-felled wood was 0.588, and that of the summer-felled, 0.534.

"It is evident that the whole of the preceding difference in the specific gravity of the winter and summer-felled wood might have arisen from a greater degree of contraction in the former kind, whilst drying; I therefore proceeded to ascertain whether any given portion of it, by weight, would afford a greater quantity of extractive matter when steeped in water. Having therefore reduced to small fragments 1000 grains of each kind, I poured on each portion six ounces of boiling water; and at the end of twenty-four hours, when the temperature of the water had sunk to 60°, I found that the winter-felled wood had communicated a much deeper colour to the water in which it had been infused, and had raised its specific gravity to 1.002. The specific gravity of the water in which the summer-felled wood had, in the same manner, been infused was 1.001. The wood in all the preceding cases was taken from the upper parts of the poles, about eight feet from the ground.

"Having observed, in the preceding experiments, that the sap of the sycamore became specifically lighter when it had continued to flow during several days from the same incision, I concluded that the alburnum in the vicinity of such incision had been deprived of a larger portion of its concrete or inspissated sap than in other parts of the same tree: and I therefore suspected that I should find similar effects to have been produced by the young annual shoots and leaves; and that any given weight of the alburnum in their vicinity would be found to contain less extractive matter than an equal portion taken from the lower parts of the same pole, where no annual shoots or leaves had been produced.

"No information could in this case be derived from the difference in the specific gravity of the wood; because the substance of every tree is most dense and solid in the lower parts of its trunk: and I could on this account judge only from the quantity of extractive matter which equal portions of the two kinds of wood would afford. Having therefore reduced to pieces several equal portions of wood taken from different parts of the same poles, which had been felled in May, I poured on each portion an equal quantity of boiling water, which I suffered to remain twenty hours, as in the preceding experiments: and I then found that in some instances the wood from the lower, and in others that from the upper parts of the poles had given to the water the deepest colour and greatest degree of specific gravity; but that all had afforded much extractive matter, though in every instance the quantity yielded was much less than I had, in all cases, found in similar infusions of winter-felled wood.

"It appears, therefore, that the reservoir of matter deposited in the alburnum is not wholly exhausted in the succeeding spring: and hence we are able to account for the several successions of leaves and buds

which trees are capable of producing when those previously protruded have been destroyed by insects, or other causes; and for the extremely luxuriant shoots, which often spring from the trunks of trees whose branches have been long in a state of decay.

"I have also some reasons to believe that the matter deposited in the alburnum remains unemployed in some cases during several successive years: it does not appear probable that it can be all employed by trees which, after having been transplanted, produce very few leaves, or by those which produce neither blossoms nor fruit. In making experiments in 1802, to ascertain the manner in which the buds of trees are reproduced, I cut off in the winter all the branches of a very large old pear-tree, at a small distance from the trunk; and I pared off, at the same time, the whole of the lifeless external bark. The age of this tree, I have good reasons to believe, somewhat exceeded two centuries: its extremities were generally dead; and it afforded few leaves, and no fruit; and I had long expected every successive year to terminate its existence. After being deprived of its external bark, and of all its buds, no marks of vegetation appeared in the succeeding spring, or early part of the summer: but in the beginning of July numerous buds penetrated through the bark in every part, many leaves of large size every where appeared, and in the autumn every part was covered with very vigorous shoots exceeding, in the aggregate, two feet in length. The number of leaves which, in this case, sprang at once from the trunk and branches appeared to me greatly to exceed the whole of those which the tree had borne in the three preceding seasons; and I cannot believe that the matter which composed these buds and leaves could have been wholly prepared by the feeble vegetation and scanty foliage of the preceding year.

"But whether the substance which is found in the alburnum of winter-felled trees, and which disappears in part in the spring and early part of the summer, be generated in one or in several preceding years, there seem to be strong grounds of probability, that this substance enters into the composition of the leaf: for we have abundant reason to believe that this organ is the principal agent of assimilation; and scarcely any thing can be more contrary to every conclusion we should draw from analogical reasoning and comparison of the vegetable with the animal economy, or in itself more improbable, than that the leaf, or any other organ, should singly prepare and assimilate immediately from the crude aqueous sap, that matter which composes itself.

"It has been contended that the buds themselves contain the nutriment necessary for the minute unfolding leaves: but trees possess a power to reproduce their buds, and the matter necessary to form these buds must evidently be derived from some other source; nor does it appear probable that the young leaves very soon enter on this office; for the experiments of Ingenhouz prove that their action on the air which surrounds them is very essentially different from that of full-grown leaves. It is true that buds in many instances will vegetate, and produce trees, when a very small portion only of alburnum remains attached to them: but the first efforts of vegetation in such buds are much more feeble than in others to which

which a larger quantity of alburnum is attached; and therefore we have, in this case, no grounds to suppose that the leaves derive their first nutriment from the crude sap.

"It is also generally admitted, from the experiments of Bonnet and Du Hamel, which I have repeated with the same result, that in the cotyledons of the seed is deposited a quantity of nutriment for the bud, which every seed contains; and though no vessels can be traced which lead immediately from the cotyledons to the bud or plumula, it is not difficult to point out a more circuitous passage, which is perfectly similar to that through which I conceive the sap to be carried from the leaves to the buds, in the subsequent growth of the tree; and I am in possession of many facts to prove that seedling trees, in the first stage of their existence, depend entirely on the nutriment afforded by the cotyledons; and that they are greatly injured, and in many instances killed, by being put to vegetate in rich mould.

"We have much more decisive evidence that bulbous and tuberous rooted plants contain the matter within themselves which subsequently composes their leaves; for we see them vegetate even in dry rooms, on the approach of spring; and many bulbous rooted plants produce their leaves and flowers with nearly the same vigour by the application of water only, as they do when growing in the best mould. But the water in this case, provided that it be perfectly pure, probably affords little or no food to the plant, and acts only by dissolving the matter prepared and deposited in the preceding year; and hence the root becomes exhausted and spoiled: and Hassenfratz found that the leaves and flowers and roots of such plants afforded no more carbon than he had proved to exist in bulbous roots of the same weight, whose leaves and flowers had never expanded.

"As the leaves and flowers of the hyacinth, in the preceding case, derived their matter from the bulb, it appears extremely probable that the blossoms of trees receive their nutriment from the alburnum, particularly as the blossoms of many species precede their leaves: and, as the roots of plants become weakened and apparently exhausted, when they have afforded nutriment to a crop of seed, we may suspect that a tree which has borne much fruit in one season, becomes in a similar way exhausted, and incapable of affording proper nutriment to a crop in the succeeding year. And I am much inclined to believe, that were the wood of a tree in this state accurately weighed, it would be found specifically lighter than that of a similar tree which had not afforded nutriment to fruit or blossoms in the preceding year, or years.

"If it be admitted that the substance which enters into the composition of the first leaves in the spring is derived from matter which has undergone some previous preparation within the plant (and I am at a loss to conceive on what grounds this can be denied, in bulbous and tuberous rooted plants at least), it must also be admitted that the leaves which are generated in the summer derive their substance from a similar source; and this cannot be conceded without a direct admission of the existence of vegetable circulation, which is denied by so many eminent naturalists. I have not, however, found in their writings a single fact to disprove its existence, nor any great weight

in their arguments, except those drawn from two important errors in the admirable works of Hales and Du Hamel, which I have noticed in a former memoir. I shall therefore proceed to point out the channels through which I conceive the circulating fluids to pass.

"When a seed is deposited in the ground, or otherwise exposed to a proper degree of heat and moisture, and exposure to air, water is absorbed by the cotyledons, and the young radicle or root is emitted. At this period, and in every subsequent stage of the growth of the root, it increases in length by the addition of new parts to its apex, or point, and not by any general distension of its vessels and fibres; and the experiments of Bonnet and Du Hamel leave little grounds of doubt, but that the new matter which is added to the point of the root descends from the cotyledons. The first motion therefore of the fluids in plants is downwards, towards the point of the root; and the vessels which appear to carry them, are of the same kind with those which are subsequently found in the bark, where I have, on a former occasion, endeavoured to prove that they execute the same office.

"In the last spring I examined almost every day the progressive changes which take place in the radicle emitted by the horse chesnut: I found it, at its first existence, and until it was some weeks old, to be incapable of absorbing coloured infusions, when its point was taken off, and I was totally unable to discover any alburnous tubes, through which the sap absorbed from the ground, in the subsequent growth of the tree, ascends: but when the roots were considerably elongated, alburnous tubes formed; and as soon as they had acquired some degree of firmness in their consistence, they appeared to enter on their office of carrying up the aqueous sap, and the leaves of the plumula then, and not sooner, expanded.

"The leaf contains at least three kinds of tubes: the first is what, in a former Paper, I have called the central vessel, through which the aqueous sap appears to be carried, and through which coloured infusions readily pass, from the alburnous tubes into the leaf-stalk. These vessels are always accompanied by spiral tubes, which do not appear to carry any liquid: but there is another vessel which appears to take its origin from the leaf, and which descends down the internal bark, and contains the true or prepared sap. When the leaf has attained its proper growth, it seems to perform precisely the office of the cotyledon; but being exposed to the air, and without the same means to acquire, or the substance to retain moisture, it is fed by the alburnous tubes and central vessels. The true sap now appears to be discharged from the leaf, as it was previously from the cotyledon, into the vessels of the bark, and to be employed in the formation of new alburnous tubes between the base of the leaf and the root. From these alburnous tubes spring other central vessels and spiral tubes, which enter into, and possibly give existence to, other leaves; and thus by a repetition of the same process the young tree or annual shoot continues to acquire new parts, which apparently are formed from the ascending aqueous sap.

"But it has been proved by Du Hamel that a fluid, similar to that which is found in the true sap ves-

sels

sels of the bark, exists also in the alburnum, and this fluid is extremely obvious in the fig, and other trees, whose true sap is white, or coloured. The vessels, which contain this fluid in the alburnum, are in contact with those which carry up the aqueous sap; and it does not appear probable that, in a body so porous as wood, fluids so near each other should remain wholly unmixed. I must therefore conclude, that when the true sap has been delivered from the cotyledon or leaf into the returning or true sap vessels of the bark, one portion of it secretes through the external cellular, or more probably glandular substance of the bark, and generates a new epidermis, where that is to be formed; and that the other portion of it secretes through the internal glandular substance of the bark, where one part of it produces the new layer of wood, and the remainder enters the pores of the wood already formed, and subsequently mingles with the ascending aqueous sap; which thus becomes capable of affording the matter necessary to form new buds and leaves.

"It has been proved in the preceding experiments on the ascending sap of the sycamore and birch, that that fluid does not approach the buds and unfolding leaves in the spring, in the state in which it is absorbed from the earth; and therefore we may conclude that the fluid, which enters into, and circulates through the leaves of plants, as the blood through the lungs of animals, consists of a mixture of the true sap or blood of the plant with matter more recently absorbed, and less perfectly assimilated.

"It appears probable that the true sap undergoes a considerable change on its mixture with the ascending aqueous sap; for this fluid in the sycamore has been proved to become more sensibly sweet in its progress from the roots in the spring, and the liquid which flows from the wounded bark of the same tree is also sweet; but I have never been able to detect the slightest degree of sweetness in decoctions of the sycamore wood in winter. I am therefore inclined to believe that the saccharine matter existing in the ascending sap is not immediately, or wholly, derived from the fluid which had circulated through the leaf in the preceding year; but that it is generated by a process similar to that of the germination of seeds, and that the same process is always going forward during the spring and summer, as long as the tree continues to generate new organs. But towards the conclusion of the summer I conceive that the true sap simply accumulates in the alburnum, and thus adds to the specific gravity of winter-felled wood, and increases the quantity of its extractive matter.

"I have some reasons to believe that the true sap descends through the alburnum as well as through the bark, and I have been informed that if the bark be taken from the trunks of trees in the spring, and such trees be suffered to grow till the following winter, the alburnum acquires a great degree of hardness and durability. If subsequent experiments prove that the true sap descends through the alburnum, it will be easy to point out the cause why trees continue to vegetate after all communication between the leaves and roots, through the bark, has been intercepted; and why

some portion of alburnous matter is in all trees generated below incisions through the bark.

"It was my intention this year to have troubled you with some observations on the reproduction of the buds and roots of trees; but as the subject of the Paper, which I have now the honour to address to you, appeared to be of more importance, I have deferred those observations to a future opportunity; and I shall at present only observe, that I conceive myself to be in possession of facts to prove that both buds and roots originate from the alburnous substance of plants, and not, as is, I believe, generally supposed, from the bark.

"I am, &c.

Elton, "T. Andrew Knight." Dec. 4. 1804.

On an Artificial Substance possessing the Properties of Tannin.

By Charles Hatchett, Esq.

[From the Same.]

"THE discovery of the principle on which the effects of tanning essentially depend, may be partly attributed to Mr. Deyeux, who obtained a substance from galls which he considered as a species of resin, but which was afterwards proved by Mr. Seguin to be that which renders the skins of animals insoluble in water, and imputrescible, and thus to be the principle by which they are converted into leather.

"The chief characteristic property of this substance was ascertained by Mr. Seguin to be that of precipitating gelatine or glue from water in a state of insolubility; and as it was evidently different from any vegetable substance hitherto discovered, he gave it the name of tannin.

"This discovery of Mr. Seguin at once unveiled the theory of the art; an easy and certain method was afforded by which tannin could be detected, and its relative quantity in different substances be determined, whilst the nature and properties of this newly discovered vegetable principal could be subjected to accurate investigation.

"The former has derived elucidation from the experiments of Mr. Biggin, and much has been contributed in every respect by Mr. Proust; but the subject has received the greatest extension and some of the most valuable additions from the ingenious labours of Mr. Davy, particularly the discovery of the important fact, that catechu or terra japonica consists principally of tannin.

"The united results of the experiments made by these and other eminent chemists, appear therefore to have fully established, that tannin is a peculiar substance or principle which is naturally formed, and exists in a great number of vegetable bodies, such as oak-bark, galls, sumach, catechu, &c. &c. commonly accompanied by extract, gallic acid, and mucilage.

"But no one has hitherto supposed that it could be produced by art, unless a fact noticed by Mr. Chenevix may be considered as some indication of it.

"Mr. Chenevix observed, that a decoction of coffee-berries did not precipitate gelatine unless they had been previously roasted; so that tannin had in this case either been formed or had been developed from the other vegetable principles by the effects of heat.

"Some recent experiments have however convinced me, that a substance possessing the chief characteristic properties of tannin may be formed by very simple means, not only from vegetable, but even from mineral and animal substances.

"§ II. In the course of my experiments on lac, and on some of the resins, I had occasion to notice the powerful effects produced on them by nitric acid, and I have since observed, that by long digestion, almost every species of resin is dissolved, and is so completely changed, that water does not cause any precipitation, and that by evaporation a deep yellow viscid substance is obtained, which is equally soluble in water and in alcohol, so that the resinous characters are obliterated.

"When I afterwards had discovered a natural substance, which was composed partly of a resin similar to that of recent vegetables, and partly of asphaltum, I was induced to extend the experiments already mentioned to the bitumens, in the hope of obtaining some characteristic properties by which the probable original identity of these bodies with vegetable substances might be farther corroborated. In this respect I succeeded, in some measure better than I expected; but I observed a very material difference between the solutions of the resins and those of many of the bitumens, such, for instance, as asphaltum and jet. The first effect of nitric acid, during long digestion with these substances, was to form a very dark brown solution, whilst a deep yellow or orange-coloured mass was separated, which by subsequent digestion in another portion of nitric acid was completely dissolved, and by evaporation was converted into a yellow viscid substance, equally soluble in water and in alcohol, so as to perfectly resemble that which by similar means had been obtained from the resins, excepting that, when burned, it emitted an odour somewhat resembling that of the fat oils.

"It therefore appeared to me, that the first or dark brown solution had been formed by the action of the nitric acid on the *uncombined* carbonaceous part of the bitumens, or that by which they are rendered black, and that the deep yellow portion which was separated, was that which constituted the real or essential part of these bituminous substances. This opinion was confirmed by some experiments which I purposely made upon amber; and having every reason therefore to believe, that the dark brown solution obtained from asphaltum and jet was in fact a solution of coal, I repeated the experiments on several varieties of the pit or mineral coal, from all which I obtained the dark brown solution in great abundance; but those coals, which contained little or no bitumen, did not yield the deep yellow substance which has been mentioned.

"In each experiment I employed 100 grains of the coal, which I digested in an open matrass with one ounce of nitric acid diluted with two ounces of water. (The specific gravity of the acid was 1.40.)

"After the vessel had been placed in a sand-bath, and as soon as it became warm, a considerable effervescence attended with much nitrous gas was produced; after about two days I commonly added a second and sometimes a third ounce of the acid, and continued the digestion during five or six days, or until the whole, or nearly the whole, was dissolved, excepting in those cases when the deep yellow substance was formed; for this I constantly separated.

"The next experiment was made upon charcoal, which was more readily dissolved than the preceding substances, without leaving any residuum; the solution was perfect, and the colour was reddish-brown.

"Having thus by means of nitric acid obtained solutions from asphaltum, from jet, from several of the pit-coals, and from charcoal, I evaporated them to dryness in separate vessels, taking care in the latter part of the process to evaporate very gradually, so as completely to expel the remainder of the acid without burning the residuum; this, in every case, proved to be a brown glossy substance, which exhibited a resinous fracture.

"The chemical properties of these residua were as follows:

"1. They were speedily dissolved by cold water and by alcohol.

"2. Their flavour was highly astringent.

"3. Exposed to heat, they smoked but little, swelled much, and afforded a bulky coal.

"4. Their solutions in water reddened litmus-paper.

"5. The same solutions copiously precipitated the metallic salts, especially muriate of tin, acetite of lead, and oxysulphate of iron. The colour of these precipitates was commonly brown, inclining to that of chocolate, excepting the tin, which was blackish-gray.

"6. They precipitated gold from its solution, in the metallic state.

"7. They also precipitated the earthy salts, such as the nitrates of lime, barytes, &c. &c.

"8. The fixed alkalis, as well as ammonia, when first added to these solutions only deepened the colour, but, after some hours, rendered them turbid.

"9. Glue or isinglass was immediately precipitated by these solutions from water, and the precipitates were more or less brown according to the strength of the solutions. The precipitates were also insoluble in cold and in boiling water, so that in their essential properties they proved similar to those formed by the varieties of tannin hitherto known, with the difference, that this factitious substance appeared to be exempt from gallic acid, and mucilage, which commonly accompany the varieties of tannin, and which occasion modifications in the colour and appearance of some of their precipitates.

"Having thus had the satisfaction to discover that a product resembling tannin could be formed by such a simple method, not only from vegetable but also from mineral coal, I was induced to examine how far the same might be extended to animal coal, and I therefore reduced a portion of isinglass to that state in a close vessel; and having rubbed it into fine powder, I digested it with nitric acid in the manner which has been described. At first the acid did not appear to act upon it, but at length it was slowly dissolved excepting

cepting a small quantity, which however was in every respect unchanged; and here we may remark, that as animal coal is incinerated with much more difficulty than vegetable coal or charcoal, so was the same difference to be observed, when oxygen was presented to these bodies in the humid way.

"The solution resembled those which have been described, excepting that the brown colour was more intense. It was evaporated to dryness, and was then dissolved in distilled water, after which, the solution being examined by the re-agents which had been employed in the former experiments, was found to produce similar effects, excepting some difference in the colour of the precipitates.

"I next added some of the liquid to a solution of isinglass, and obtained a copious precipitate. Thus it is evident, that a tanning substance may be formed from animal as well as from vegetable and mineral coal; and it is not a little curious, that this enables us to assert as a matter of fact, although not of economy, that one portion of the skin of an animal may be employed to convert the other into leather.

"In the course of these experiments, I also subjected coak to the action of nitric acid, and obtained a product which resembled that which had been afforded by pit-coal; but in this case (as might be expected) there was not any appearance of the deep yellow substance which has so often been mentioned.

"These experiments therefore prove, that a tanning substance may be artificially formed by exposing carbon to the action of nitric acid; and it also appears, that this is best effected when the carbon is uncombined with any other substance excepting oxygen. The following experiments seem to corroborate this opinion.

"1. A piece of Bovey coal, which had perfectly the appearance of half-charred wood, was reduced to powder, and was digested with nitric acid until the whole was dissolved.

"The colour of the solution was deep yellow; and, by evaporation, a yellow viscid mass was obtained, which was dissolved in distilled water. This solution was then examined by various re-agents, and particularly by gelatine, but not any vestige of tanning matter could be discovered, and the predominant substance appeared to be oxalic acid.

"2. Another piece of Bovey coal, which had less of the characters of wood, and was more perfectly carbonized, was treated in the way which has been described; the solution was brown, and, unlike the former, afforded a considerable precipitate with gelatine.

"3. A portion of the first sort of Bovey coal was exposed to a red heat in a close vessel, and was then reduced to powder and digested with nitric acid; here a remarkable difference was to be observed, for nearly the whole was thus converted into the tanning substance.

"4. A coal from Sussex, extremely like the second sort of Bovey coal, also afforded the same product.

"5. A piece of the surturbrand from Iceland yielded a similar result.

"6. Some deal saw-dust was digested with the nitric acid until it was completely dissolved; by evaporation a yellow viscid mass was obtained, the solution of which in water afforded results like those of

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the first experiment on the Bovey coal, for oxalic acid was found in it, but not any of the tanning substance.

"7. Another portion of the same deal saw-dust was converted into charcoal in a close vessel; the charcoal was then treated in the manner already described, and was thereby formed into a liquid which copiously precipitated gelatine.

"8. Having previously ascertained that teak wood does not contain gallic acid nor tannin, I reduced some of it into charcoal, which was afterwards readily converted into the substance above mentioned.

"In these experiments, the deal and the teak wood had been reduced to the state of coal, as usual, by fire; but as this does not appear to have been the means generally employed by nature to convert organized substances into the varieties of mineral coal, I for a considerable time, previous to the discovery of the artificial tanning product, had been employed in a series of experiments on the slow carbonization of a great number of vegetable substances by the humid way.

"The agent which I most commonly used to produce this effect, was sulphuric acid occasionally diluted; and although many of the processes were extremely unpleasant and tedious, yet I have not any reason to regret the time which has been thus employed. The subject however I foresee will branch out into several details, none of which as yet I can regard as sufficiently completed to merit the honour of being submitted to this learned society; but I am in a manner almost compelled in the present case to anticipate a few of the experiments, with their results, because they are intimately connected with the subject now under consideration.

"In these experiments, I have observed that concentrated sulphuric acid, when poured upon any of the resinous substances reduced to powder, dissolved them in a few minutes; at this period the solution was transparent, commonly of a yellowish-brown colour, and of the consistency of a viscid oil. But if, after this, the vessel was placed on a sand-bath, the colour of the solution became progressively darker, sulphureous gas was evolved, and at length the whole appeared like a very thick liquid of an intense black. I purposely for the present pass over many phenomena, some of which are peculiar to the different substances when thus treated, whilst others are general, and may be referred to those attendant on etherification; for my intention here is only to notice, in a concise manner, such as immediately tend to elucidate the subject of this paper.

"When concentrated sulphuric acid is poured on the common turpentine of the shops, it almost immediately dissolves it like the solid resins; and if a portion of this solution be poured into cold water, the turpentine is precipitated in the solid brittle state of common yellow resin. But if a second portion of the same solution, after the lapse of an hour or more, be in like manner poured into cold water, the resin thus formed is not yellow but dark brown; and if four or five hours are suffered to elapse before a third portion is poured into water, the resin is found to be completely black. After this, supposing the digestion to be carried on during several days, or until there is no longer any production of sulphureous gas, the turpentine or resin will be found

found converted into a black porous coal, which, if the operation has been properly conducted, does not contain any resin, although a substance may frequently be separated by digestion in alcohol, which I shall soon have occasion to notice.

"When common resin was thus treated, I obtained about 43 per cent. of the coal, which, after being exposed to a red heat in a loosely covered platina crucible, still amounted to 30 per cent. and by the slowness of its combustion, and other circumstances which need not here be related, approached very nearly to the characters of some of the mineral coals.

"The effects produced by sulphuric acid upon turpentine and resin are manifestly caused by the union of the two constituent principles of the latter (namely, hydrogen and carbon) with part of the oxygen of the former, so that sulphureous acid, water, and coal are produced. I therefore availed myself of this process, by which coal could be progressively formed whilst the original substance was gradually decomposed, to make the following experiment.

"A quantity of common turpentine was treated with sulphuric acid in the way which has been described, and different portions of the solution being poured at different periods into water whilst the remainder was digested during several days, I thus obtained from the same original substance, yellow resin, brown resin, black resin, and coal. I then digested a portion of each of these, as well as some of the turpentine, in separate vessels with nitric acid until they were completely dissolved, and afterwards reduced them to dryness. The different residua varied in colour from yellow to dark brown, corresponding to the substances which had been employed. These were then dissolved in distilled water, and were examined by solution of isinglass and other reagents.

"1. The solution of the residuum of turpentine was pale straw colour, and did not precipitate gelatine.

"2. That of yellow resin resembled the former in every respect.

"3. That of the brown resin was of a deeper yellow, but in other particulars resembled the above.

"4. That of the black resin on the contrary yielded a considerable portion of the tanning substance,—and

"5. That of the coal afforded it in great abundance.

"Hence it appears, that these different modifications of turpentine yielded the tanning substance only in proportion to the quantity of their original carbon, which, by oxidizement, had been progressively converted into coal.

"Other substances, when reduced into coal in the humid way, were in like manner formed into the tanning substance by nitric acid. In fact I found this to be the constant result; and amongst the many substances which were examined, I shall mention various kinds of wood, copal, amber, and wax, all of which, when reduced to coal by sulphuric acid, yielded similar products, by subsequent treatment with nitric acid.

"But this substance may likewise be artificially produced without the help of nitric acid, although in a less proportion, as well as with some slight variations in its characteristic properties; for, as I have already observed, when any of the resins or gum resins (such

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as common resin, elemi, asa fœtida, &c.) have been long digested with sulphuric acid so as to assume the appearance and general characters of coal, if afterwards they are digested with alcohol, a portion is dissolved, and a dark brown solution is formed which by evaporation yields a mass soluble in water as well as in alcohol, and which precipitates gelatine, acetite of lead, and muriate of tin, but produces only a very slight effect on oxysulphate of iron. This substance, therefore, which may thus be separated by alcohol from the coal formed from resinous bodies by sulphuric acid, evidently contains some of the tanning matter, which has been produced during the carbonization of those substances.

"A natural process very similar to this, I much suspect takes place in some cases where peat is formed; I say in some cases, because the production of tanning matter does not seem to be absolutely a necessary consequence attendant on the formation of peat; for, in many places where the latter abounds, the former cannot be detected, whilst in others it is very abundant, and acts powerfully on animal bodies which have accidentally been exposed to its effects.

"There are many facts of this kind upon record, such as the account of the bodies of the man and woman preserved in the moors near the woodlands in Derbyshire, and also of the woman found in the morass at Axholm, in Lincolnshire. Now I am much inclined to believe, that the tanning substance which so much abounds in these and some other peat moors, did not originally exist in the vegetable substances from which the peat has been produced, but that it has been and continues to be progressively formed (under certain favourable circumstances) during the gradual carbonization and conversion of the vegetable matter into peat.

"§ 3. In most of the former papers which I have had the honour to lay before the Royal Society, I have for greater perspicuity generally concluded with a recapitulation of the contents; but in the present case, this appears to be superfluous, as the whole may be concentrated into one simple fact, namely, that a substance very analogous to tannin, which has hitherto been considered as one of the proximate principles of vegetables, may at any time be produced, by exposing carbonaceous substances, whether vegetable, animal, or mineral, to the action of nitric acid.

"Since the preceding experiments were made, I have further proved the efficacy of this substance by actual practice, and have converted skin into leather by means of materials which, to professional men, must appear extraordinary, such as, deal saw-dust, asphaltum, common turpentine, pit-coal, wax candle, and a piece of the same sort of skin.

"Allowing, therefore, that the production of this substance must for the present be principally regarded only as a curious chemical fact not altogether unimportant, yet as the principle on which it is founded appears to be developed, we may hope that a more economical process will be discovered, so that every tanner may be enabled to prepare his leather even from the refuse of his present materials.

"The organized bodies and their products have only of late years much attracted the attention of chemists, many of whom, even at this time, (although the modes of chemical

mical examination have been so much improved), seem disgusted and deterred by the Proteus-like changes which take place whenever these substances are subjected to experiment.

"But these variable and endless alterations of their properties seem rather calculated to operate as incitements to investigation; for by the accumulation of facts resulting from the changes produced in these bodies by disuniting and by recombining their elementary principles, not only will chemistry as a science become further illumined and extended, but it will, as it has hitherto done, render great and essential services to the arts and manufactures."

THEORY of the CAUSE of SLEEP and DREAMS.

[From Mr. GOOD'S TRANSLATION of LUCRETIUS.]

"1. ALL the fibrils of the nervous system become fatigued, exhausted, and torpid, in proportion to the length and violence of their exertion, and recover their power alone by rest. The weariness and debility of the muscles of the arms or legs, after extreme exercise, or exercise to which they have not been accustomed, may be adduced as a sufficient proof of this position. The nervous fibrils of the external organs of sense are necessarily subject to the same effect: we neither hear, nor see, nor taste, nor feel, with the same accuracy, after any or all these various organs have been long upon the full stretch of action, with which we do on their first exertion in the morning. Increase, or prolongate their action, and their power will be still farther obtunded, till, at length, like an overwearied limb, they become perfectly lethargic, and give no account of whatever is occurring around us; and it is this uniform lethargy, torpidity, or inaction of all the external senses, which we denominate SLEEP. By the exercise of the will, or any other strong stimulus, this sleep, or sensorial torpidity, may be postponed: and *vice versâ*, by the consent of the will, it may be expedited.

"2. The vital organs are far less subject to the influence of stimulants of every kind, than the organs of external sense: their actions are hence far more equable and permanent; they are seldom wearied or exhausted, and, of course, seldom sleep or become torpid. From the application of very strong stimulants, however, whether external, as those of severe pain or labour, or internal, as those of disease, or excessive grief, such fatigue or exhaustion actually takes place; and when the exhaustion is complete, they also, like the organs of external sense, sleep, or become torpid:—in other words, death ensues, and the spirit separates from the body. The resemblance between *death* and *sleep*, therefore, is not less correct, upon the principles of physiology, than it is beautiful among the images of poetry. *Sleep* is the *death* or *torpidity* of the organs of external sense, while the vital functions continue their accustomed actions: *death* is the *sleep* or torpidity of the whole.

"3. Every

"3. Every organ of the animal frame recovers from its fatigue or torpidity by rest, provided the principle of life, that is to say, the action of the vital organs, continues. Hence, the organs of external sense, in a definite period of time, and a period generally proportioned to the degree of their exhaustion, re-acquire their accustomed vigour, are *alive* to the influence of their appropriate stimulants, and the smallest excitement applied to any one of them, throws the whole once more into action: in other words, the man awakes from *sleep*, he rouses himself from the temporary *death* of the organs of external sense. Were it possible for life to continue during a total rest or torpidity of the vital organs, as it does during that of the organs of external sense, there is no doubt that these also would, in time, recover from their exhaustion, and that the man would, in like manner, awake from the total torpidity, the sleep or death of the entire frame: but this is impossible; the soul has now deserted the body: a change in every organ ensues, and the whole system, instead of reviving, becomes a prey to corruption and ruin.

"4. When the organs of external sense have recruited themselves by repose, the stimulus that rouses the one, rouses, at the same time, the rest, from a habit of association. From the same habit, the torpidity produced by exhaustion, in any single organ, is propagated through every other, and the sleep becomes common to the whole: although it is also unquestionable, that the whole are also fatigued, or partially exhausted, from the fact, that the general stock of sensorial power has been borrowed, in a considerable degree, from the rest, and expended at a single outlet.

"5. The nervous fibrils, or rather, tubules of the external organs of sense, are equally affected, and, of course, become equally exhausted, whether the stimulus be applied at either end, to wit, the end terminating externally, or that connected with the brain; and hence, internal excitements, as those of severe study, intense grief, undue eating and drinking, or febrile diseases, produce the same effect as causes operating from without.

"6. In either case, the sleep or torpidity produced is sound or healthy, under a certain degree of exhaustion alone; hence mankind sleep most refreshingly after moderate or accustomed fatigue, moderate or accustomed study, moderate or accustomed meals.

"7. If the stimulus be a little increased beyond this medium, the vital organs themselves become affected, an undue and morbid proportion of sensorial power is secreted, which postpones the torpidity or sleep for the present, but at the expence of the general strength of the whole system; which, in consequence, becomes gradually more exhausted and debilitated: whence a far deeper torpidity, or sleep, must necessarily ensue at length, than would have occurred in the first instance. If such torpidity take place before the vital organs are totally exhausted, it is confined to the external organs of sense alone, which hereby progressively recover their accustomed activity and vigour: if the vital organs be themselves altogether exhausted, before the torpidity ensues, it is propagated to themselves, and the consequent sleep is the sleep of death. Violent and long-continued labour,

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as an external stimulus, violent and long continued study, violent and continued fevers, violent and continued grief, a very inordinate debauch, as internal stimuli, are equally liable to produce the effects here specified: and the one or the other will take place in proportion to their excess and extremity.

"8. If the stimulus affecting the external organs of sense, at which end soever it be applied, be intolerably pungent or forcible, the sensorial power is exhausted immediately, and the organ directly affected becomes instantly torpid. Hence sounds, insufferably loud, make us deaf; excessive light makes us blind; acrimonious smells, or savours, render us incapable of smelling or tasting: and hence, an abrupt shock of joy or grief, a sudden and intense paroxysm of fever, large quantities of wine or spirits, as internal causes, produce coma, palsy, apoplexy, which are only so many modifications of the sleep or torpidity of the nervous tubules of the external organs of sense. If the same abrupt and violent cause be sufficiently powerful to act upon the vital organs as well as those of external sensation, the torpidity becomes universal, and the sleep induced is, once more, the sleep of death.

"9. As violent stimulants produce sudden and irrecoverable torpidity, either general or local, according to the mode and place of application, stimulants less violent, induce a tendency to the same effect. Hence the nostrils, not accustomed to snuff, are more forcibly agitated by its application than those that are so; the eyes of persons accustomed to sleep in the glare of the sun, find no inconvenience from exposure to the light of the morning; while those who always sleep in total darkness, are awoke by the return of day-light. And so of the rest.

"10. On this account, a very small portion of light, of sound, or of exercise, even the breath of the air alone, are each of them powerful stimulants upon infants, because unaccustomed to them: hence they sleep much, and soundly; so soundly, indeed, that no common stimulus is able, for a long time, to arouse them from their torpidity. In other words, it requires a period of many hours for the external organs to recover from their exhaustion. The smallest undulatory motion in the uterus, and the very action of the vital organs themselves are, perhaps, sufficient to wear out, from time to time, the sensorial power of the fetus on its first formation: and hence, the fetus sleeps, with few intermissions, through the whole period of parturition.

"11. For the same reason, persons in an advanced age are far less impressed by common stimulants than in any former period of their lives: from a long series of exposure to their operation, their organs are become more torpid, and hence they require less sleep, and, at the same time, less food. The vital organs, as well as those of external sense, partake of the same disposition. They are, in consequence, less liable to all violent or inflammatory disorders: but the general torpidity increasing, the heart is stimulated with great difficulty—a smaller portion of sensorial power is secreted from the gasses of the atmosphere—a smaller portion of food is thrown into the system from the stomach—the pulse, and every other power, gradually declines, till, at length, if ever man were to die of old age alone, he would die from a total torpidity or paralysis

paralysis of the heart. But debilitated or torpified as every organ is become, long before such a period can arrive, the frame at large is incapable of resisting the smallest of those trivial shocks to which man is daily exposed, either internal or external; or, in other words, there is no accumulation of sensorial power to supply the temporary demand, and the man dies from sudden exhaustion rather than from progressive paralysis.

"Upon this theory I might easily and obviously solve a variety of problems which have hitherto eluded all satisfactory explanation: but, as I intend to pursue the subject more fully, in a short time, and to present it before the public in a different and a detached form, I shall only add to this outline of the theory of SLEEP, a few observations upon that of DREAMING, which is so intimately connected with it, as well in nature as in the poem before us.

"1. A certain but a very small degree of stimulus applied, perhaps, to any nerve whatever of the human body, instead of exhausting it, seems to afford it pleasure: or, at least, the nerve is able to endure it without becoming torpid, or, which is the same thing, requiring sleep or rest. The orbicular motion of the lips to an infant accustomed to suck, is a source of so much comfort, and attended with so little exhaustion, that, whether sleeping or waking, it will generally be found mimicking the act of sucking, when at a distance from its nurse, and perhaps not thinking of such action itself. A person who, from habit, has acquired a particular motion of any one of his limbs, a twirl of the fingers, or a swinging of one leg over the other, perseveres in such motion from habit alone, and feels no torpidity or exhaustion in the nerves that are excited, although it might be intolerably fatiguing to another who has never acquired the same custom.

"2. It is probable, that both thought, and the action of the vital organs, are stimulants of this precise character, if not in their commencement, at least, very shortly afterwards: that nearly, if not altogether, from the first, they are equally pleasing and gentle in their degree of action; and that hence they equally, also, continue without exhausting us, except when unduly roused; and form a habit too pertinacious and invincible to be broken through by any exertions whatever.

"Thought is, then, to the brain, that which the muscular habits, I have just spoken of, are to the muscles which are the subjects of them. Both continue alike, whether we be reflecting upon the action, or whether we be not: but the habit of thinking is so much older, and, consequently, so much deeper rooted, than that of any kind of gesticulation, that, as I have just observed, it is impossible for us to break through it by the utmost efforts of the will: whence it accompanies us, excepting when the brain is totally exhausted, and, consequently, thrown into a profound torpidity or sleep, not only at all times when awake, but almost at all times during sleep, and is the immediate and necessary cause of our DREAMING.

"3. Thought can only be exercised upon objects introduced into the brain, or general sensorium, by the organs of external sensation: and hence the bent or chief direction of our thoughts, whether sleeping or waking, must be derived from those objects which princi-

pally impress us, be the causes of such impression what they may. The train of thoughts, then, which recurs from habit alone, as in sleep, or total retirement from the world, must generally be of this description; in the former case, however, by no means correctly or perfectly, because there are others, also, which have a tendency to recur, and neither the will nor the senses are in action to repress them: whence proceeds a combination of thoughts or ideas, sometimes in a small degree incongruous, and, at other times, most wild and heterogeneous; occasionally, indeed, so fearful and extravagant as to stimulate the senses themselves into a sudden renewal of their functions, and, consequently, to break off abruptly the sleep into which they were thrown.

"4. If the action of the nervous tubules of the brain, thus continued from habit, and producing our dreams, be less powerful during sleep than is sufficient to rouse the senses *generally*, it may, nevertheles, at times, be powerful enough to excite, into their accustomed exercise, the muscles of those organs or members which are more immediately connected with the train of our dreams, or incoherent thoughts, while, nevertheless, every other organ or member still remains torpid. Hence some persons talk, and others walk in their sleep, without being apprised, on their waking, of any such occurrence.

"5. Whatever be the set of nerves that have chiefly become exhausted from the labour or stimulus of the day, the rest, as I have already noticed, partake of the same torpidity from long habit of association; exhausted, in some degree, also, themselves, by the portion of sensorial power which, as from a common stock, they have contributed towards the support of the debilitated organ. But it sometimes happens, either from disease, or peculiarity of constitution, that all the external organs of sense do not associate in their actions, or yield alike to the general torpidity of the frame; and that the auditory, the optical, or some other set of nerves are in vigour, while all the other nerves of the external senses remain torpid: as it may do also, that an entire organ of external sense, like the muscles of an individual member, as observed in the last paragraph, may be awoke or re-stimulated into action by the peculiar force and bent of the dream, while all the rest continue lethargic.

"6. If the organ of external sense, thus affected, be that of *hearing*, a phænomenon will occur, which is specifically noticed by our poet in Book V. v. 1182. but which, I believe, has never hitherto been satisfactorily explained: the dreamer must necessarily hear a by-stander who speaks to him;—and if, from the cause specified above, he should happen to have talked in his sleep, so as to give the by-stander some clue into the train of thoughts of which his dream is composed, a conversation may be maintained, and the by-stander, by dexterous management, and the assumption of a character which he finds introduced into the dream, be able to draw from the dreamer the profoundest secrets of his bosom: the other senses of the latter, instead of rousing hereby, to detect the imposition, being plunged into a still deeper lethargy, from the demand of an increased quantity of sensorial power to support the ex-

haustion which the wakeful or active organ is, in consequence, sustaining.

"7. If the wakeful nerves be the *optical* alone, the somnambulist, or dreamer who is accustomed to walk in his sleep, will be able to make his way towards any place to which the course of his dream directs him, with the most perfect ease, and without the smallest degree of danger. He will see as clearly, and perhaps more so, as if generally awake: yet, from the very exhaustion, and, of course, increased torpidity of the other organs, in consequence of an increased demand of sensorial power from the common stock, to support the action of the sense and muscles immediately engaged, every other sense must necessarily be thrown into a deeper sleep or torpidity than on any other occasion. Hence the ears will not be roused even by a sound that might otherwise awake him; he will be insensible, not only to a simple touch, but a severe shaking of his limbs, and may even cough violently without being recalled from his dream. Having accomplished the object of his pursuit, he may safely return, even over the most dangerous precipices, for he sees them distinctly, to his bed; and the optical nerves themselves, being now quite exhausted, and the system at large incapable of affording any addition of sensorial power, the torpidity must necessarily be rendered general and profound—so profound, perhaps, as to destroy the habitual action of the nervous tubules of the brain itself, and produce sleep without thought or dreaming.

"8. This phænomenon of somnambulism has never, that I know of, to the present day, been satisfactorily, or even plausibly accounted for. It follows necessarily, in conjunction with that of speaking and conversing in sleep, from the theory of which I have now, for the first time, presented the outlines; and, I trust, will appear plain and intelligible to the reader.

"It must be obvious, that the theory before us is closely connected with a variety of other very important phænomena, which the actions of the human frame occasionally disclose: with the incubus, or night-mare; with winter-sleep; aberrations of the mind in fevers, madness, idiotism; and, in few words, with every deviation from health to which the system is liable."

On the Navigation and Compass of the Chinese.

By the late Earl Macartney.

[From Dr. Vincent's Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, Part II.]

"IN my Journal of 11th August 1793, I gave some account of the junkas and shipping employed by the Chinese, and expressed my astonishment at their obstinacy in not imitating the ingenuity and dexterity of Europeans, in the built and manœuvre of their vessels, after having had such striking examples before their eyes for these 250 years past: but I must now in a good measure retract my censure upon

upon this point; as, from what I have since observed in the course of my several voyages on the rivers and canals of China, I confess that I believe the yachts, and other craft usually employed upon them for the conveyance of passengers and merchandize, and the Chinese boatmen's manner of conducting and managing them, are perfectly well calculated for the purposes intended, and probably superior to any other that we, in our vanity, might advise them to adopt.

"With regard to vessels of a different kind for more distant voyages, to Batavia, Manilla, Japan, or Cochin-china, I am informed that the Chinese of Canton, who have had frequent opportunities of seeing our ships there, are by no means insensible of the advantages they possess over their own; and that a principal merchant there, some time since, had ordered a large vessel to be constructed according to an English model; but the Hou-pou, being apprised of it, not only forced him to relinquish his project, but made him pay a considerable fine for his delinquency, in presuming to depart from the ancient established modes of the empire, which, according to his notions, must be wiser and better than those of the barbarous nations which come from Europe to trade here. It is indeed, as I have before remarked, the prevailing system of the Tartar government, to impress the people with an idea of their own sufficiency, and to undervalue in their eyes, as much as possible, the superior invention of foreign nations; but their vigilance in this respect, and the pains they take for the purpose, evidently betray the conscious fears and jealousy they entertain of their subjects' taste for novelty, and their sagacity in discovering, and wishing to adopt, the various articles of European ingenuity for use, convenience, and luxury, in preference to their own clumsy, old-fashioned contrivances. The government also probably apprehended danger from our teaching their subjects things of which they are now ignorant, but which they would be willing enough to learn. No precaution, however, can stand before necessity; whatever they want from us they must have, and every day they will want more, and elude all means of prevention in order to procure them. Cotton, opium, watches, and broad cloth, and tin, they cannot do without; and I have little doubt, that in a short time we shall have almost a monopoly of those supplies to them.

"But to return from this digression to the subject of Chinese navigation.—It is a very singular circumstance, that though the Chinese appear to be so ignorant of that art, and have neither charts of their coasts or seas to direct them, nor forestaff, quadrant, or other instrument for taking the sun's altitude, yet they have for many years past been acquainted with the use of the mariner's compass; they even pretend that it was known to them before the time of Confucius. Be that as it may, the best writers agree that it was not known in Europe till the thirteenth century, nor brought into general use till the latter end of the fifteenth; but whether communicated by Marco Polo on his return from China, or by some other adventurer, remains undecided. The plan of it, according to its division into thirty-two points, seems to indicate it rather an intended European improvement upon something already discovered, than to be an original inven-

tion. The Chinese compass being divided only into twenty-four points, it was easy to add eight more; and yet, even with this improvement, the European compass in one respect labours under one disadvantage when compared with the Chinese one; for in the latter the calculations are much easier, each point answering to fifteen degrees, without odd minutes.

"Whoever it was that originally introduced the mariner's compass, as now used, of thirty-two points, could not have been extensively versed in science; for, long before the discovery of the magnetic needle, philosophers of all nations had agreed to divide the circle into 360 equal parts or degrees, a degree into 60 minutes, a minute into 60 seconds, &c. &c. The reason, I presume, of the general adoption and continuance of those numbers, is the convenience of their being divisible into integral parts by so many different numbers. The points of our mariner's compass, however, happen not to be among these numbers; for 360 divided by 32 give 11¼ degrees; so that, except the four cardinal points and their four bisecting points, all the others converted into degrees, will be involved with fractions; a circumstance of great inconvenience, although thought immaterial by seamen, who have tables for every minute of a degree ready calculated to their hands. Now, it is submitted, whether the Chinese, without any pretensions to science, have not fallen upon a more convenient division of the card of their compass, than the Europeans have adopted, with all their pretensions to science. It is quartered by the four cardinal points, in the same manner as ours, and each of these is subdivided into six points, making 24 points in the whole card, so that every point contains 15 degrees, or the fifteenth part of 360.

"After all, perhaps, a division of the card into 36 points would be found more advantageous than any other, for then every point would be equal to ten degrees; half a point equal to five degrees, &c. &c. and so on."

POETRY.

ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet Laureat.

PORTENTOUS 'mid the stormy sky,
Dread when the livid meteors glare,
The faded cheek, the languid eye,
Pale Terror's awful reign declare;
And as athwart the face of Heaven
The blazing corruscations fly,
From the green mead and pasture driven,
The flocks and herds affrighted hie:
For on the lightning's flash await
The fiery messengers of fate;
And the loud tempest's thundering breath
Wafts the terrific bolts of danger and of death.

But when the golden orb of day
High in the arch of heav'n appears,
And with its salutary ray
The smiling face of Nature cheers,
Each grove a livelier verdure wears,
The beams the woodland gloom pervade;
While, shining through the dewy glade
As smooth the riv'let glides along,
The lowing herds, in peaceful throng
Assembled on the rushy brink,
Graze on its sides, or from its bosom drink;
And, bursting from each parent root,
Myriads of embryo scions shoot,
Myriads of insect tribes their wings display,
And rise to light and life, wak'd by th' inspiring ray.

Fell Despotism's giant form
Shows to the subjugated mind,
As glares the meteor of the storm,
The dread, the horror of mankind;
Baleful as through the darken'd skies
With livid gleam the lightning flies,
Fierce as the fiery torrents flow
From the rent mountain's torrid brow,

When o'er Sicilia's plain and Dædal towers
Ætna the stream of desolation pours,
And far as Horror throws th' astonish'd eye
The wasted regions round in smoking ruins lie.

But different far the happy scene,
'Mid fertile vales and sky serene,
Where rules a King with peaceful sway,
A people's good his patriot aim;
Who, like the radiant source of day,
Sheds glowing light and vital flame;
And as along th' ethereal space
Eternal laws the course celestial trace,
So Freedom's rule and Virtue's high behest
Direct the councils of the Royal breast:
And as the day-star's influence bland
Sheds plenty o'er the teeming land;
Now from th' irriguous marsh and sea-beat coast
Raising of vapoury mists a fleecy host,
To fall again, again with genial power
In balmy dew or gentle shower;
So grateful Albion through each fruitful plain
Proclaims with heartfelt joy her GEORGE's prosp'rous reign.

ODE for the KING's BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET LAUREAT.

HIGH on the * winding shores sublime,
That Thames' imperial waves divide,
Majestic in the garb of Time,
Where yon proud dome frowns o'er the silver tide;
Honour's and Knighthood's bright abode,
By nobles, warriors, patriots trod,
What time from Gallia's vanquish'd coast
Returning with his victor host,
Triumphant Edward rear'd on high
The banner'd meed of chivalry;
While eminent above the rest,
With sable arms and snowy crest,
The youthful hero grac'd his side,
His Country's and his Sovereign's pride;
From ev'ry clime, lo! Glory calls
Her votaries to yon trophied walls;
Binds her fair guerdon round each loyal breast,
And bids them combat Pride, and succour Worth opprest.

The notes of triumph swell again!
Lo, Windsor boasts as bright a train
Of royal Youths, as brave as those
Who frown'd defeat on Edward's foes;

* The name of Windsor is derived from Winding Shore.

Of

Of royal Nymphs, as fair a race
As crown'd Philippa's chaste embrace;
Around their King, their Sire, they stand,
A valiant and a beauteous band.
Conspicuous shining 'mid the rest,
In chivalry's first honours dresst,
For Cambria's prince, for GEORGE's heir,
Albion prefers this ardent prayer:—
Thine be the sacred wreath of virtuous praise,
Thine youthful Edward's fame, but crown'd with length of days!

Oh! still, as this auspicious morn
Awakes the Muse's votive lays,
May Peace, and Health, and Fame, adorn
The tributary strain she duteous pays!
And while where'er his navies ride,
Where'er his legions bend their course,
Oppressive Rage and giant Pride
Yield to his firm but temperate force;
Guarded he stands from Inroad's fear,
By Freedom's shield, by Valour's spear:
Though dark Despair, and Shame, and Woe,
Lurk in the wreaths that bind the guilty brow,
In GEORGE's diadem resplendent shine
Glory's unsullied beams, and Virtue's gems divine.

Against PUSILLANIMITY at the PROSPECT of DEATH.

[From Mr. GOOD's TRANSLATION of LUCRETIUS.]

"BUT thy dear home shall never greet thee more!
No more the best of wives!—thy babes belov'd,
Whose haste half-met thee, emulous to snatch
The dulcet kiss that rous'd thy secret soul,
Again shall never hasten!—nor thine arm,
With deed heroic, guard thy country's weal!—
O mournful, mournful fate!" thy friends exclaim,
"One envious hour of these invalued joys
Robs thee for ever!"—But they add not here,
"It robs thee, too, of all desire of joy:"
A truth once utter'd, that the mind would free
From every dread, and trouble. "Thou art safe!
The sleep of death protects thee! and secures
From all th' unnumber'd woes of mortal life!
While we, alas! the sacred urn around
That holds thine ashes, shall insatiate weep,
Nor time destroy th' eternal grief we feel!"
What then has death, if death be mere repose,
And quiet only in a peaceful grave,
What has it thus to mar this life of man?

Yet mar it does. E'en o'er the festive board,
The glass while grasping, and with garlands crown'd,
The thoughtless maniacs oft indignant roar,
" How short the joys of wine!—e'en while we drink
Life ceases, and to-morrow ne'er returns!"
As if, in death, the worst such wretches fear'd
Were thirst unquenched, parching ev'ry nerve,
Or deem'd their passions would pursue them still.
Not anxious, thus, mankind the world resign
At evening hour when soul and body rest;
Nor would they though that rest were ne'er to end:
Nor thus the day's desire pursues their dreams;
Though then the seeds of sense not wander far
From sensile movements, scarcely, oft, allay'd,
And quick resum'd when starts the soul at morn.
Of much less moment, then, should death be held
Than sleep, if aught can less than that which ne'er
Moment excites whatever; for the crowd
Of sensile seeds are wider here disperst;
Nor wakes he e'er to action, and the day,
Whose frame once feels the chilling pause of life.
Were then THE NATURE OF CREATED THINGS
To rise abrupt, and thus repining man
Address—" O mortal! whence these useless fears?
This weak, superfluous sorrow? why th' approach
Dread'st thou of death? For if the time elaps'd
Have smil'd propitious, and not all its gifts,
As though adventur'd in a leaky vase,
Been idly wasted, profitless, and vain—
Why quit'st thou not, thou fool! the feast of life
Fill'd,—and with mind all panting for repose?
But if thyself have squander'd every boon,
And of the past grown weary—why demand
More days to kill, more blessings to pervert,
Nor rather headlong hasten to thine end?
For nothing further can my powers devise
To please thee;—things for ever things succeed
Unchang'd—and would do, though revolving years
Should spare thy vigour, and thy brittle frame
Live o'er all time: e'en amplier wouldst thou then
Mark how unvaried all creation moves."—
Were NATURE thus t' address us, could we fail
To feel the justice of her keen rebuke?
So true the picture, the advice so sage!
But to the wretch who moans th' approach of death
With grief unmeasur'd, louder might she raise
Her voice severe—" Vile coward! dry thine eyes—
Hence with thy sniv'lling sorrows, and depart!"
Should he, moreo'er, have past man's mid-day hour—
" What! thou lament? already who hast reap'd

An ample harvest? By desiring thus
The past once more, the present thou abhor'st,
And life flies on imperfect, unenjoyed,
And death untimely meets thee, ere thy soul,
Cloy'd with the banquet, is prepar'd to rise.
Leave, then, to others bliss thy years should shun;
Come, cheerful leave it, since still leave thou must."
Justly I deem might NATURE thus reprove:
For, through creation, old to young resigns,
And this from that matures; nor aught descends
To the dread gulphs, the fancied shades of hell.
The mass material must survive entire
To feed succeeding ages, which, in turn,
Like thee shall flourish, and like thee shall die;
Nor more the present ruins than the past.
Thus things from things ascend; and life exists
To none a freehold, but a use to all.
Reflect, moreo'er, how less than nought to us
Weighs the long portion of eternal time
Fled ere our birth: so, too, the future weighs
When death dissolves us. What of horror, then,
Dwells there in death? what gloomy, what austere?
Can there be elsewhere slumber half so sound?
The tales of hell exist not in the grave,
But here, and curse us living. TANTALUS,
With broad, rough rock impending o'er his head,
And craz'd with terror, there is never seen:
But terror dwells with mortals—fate they fear,
And fortune, and a host of fancied gods.
Nor TITYUS there exists, the prey of birds.
Nor, though he did, could these the victim's breast
Consume for ever; e'en though his wide bulk
Not thrice three acres merely might extend,
But cover the vast globe; nor could he bear
Eternal pain, nor yield perpetual food.
But he is TITYUS, and by vultures torn,
Whose anxious breast the rage of love devours;
Or aught of passion equal in its force.
Here, too, is Sisyphus—the man who pants
For public honours, and the giddy crowd
Caresses over, ever but in vain.
For thus to toil for power, itself at best
A bubble, and that bubble ne'er to boast,
Yet still toil on—is doubtless to roll back,
Up the high hill, the huge, stern, struggling stone;
That which, the steep peak once urg'd up, rebounds
Rapid, resistless, all over the plain.
Then, too, to feed th' ungrateful mind, and fill
With every good, while still it craves for more,
(As feed mankind the seasons in their turn,
With fruits, and endless beauties, while themselves

Still riot on, and never have enough)
This, or I err, the fable well unfolds,
Feign'd of the damsels doom'd, in flow'r of youth,
To fill for ever the still leaking urn.
The FURIES, CERBERUS, and HELL itself
Of light devoid, and belching from its jaws
Tremendous fires, live not, nor can they live:
But well they paint the dread of justice here
For crimes atrocious, the reward of guilt,
The scourge, the wheel, the block, the dungeon deep,
The base-born hangman, the TARPEIAN cliff;
Which, though the villain 'scape, his conscious soul
Still fears perpetual, tort'ring all his days,
And still foreboding heavier pangs at death.
Hence earth itself to fools becomes a hell.
Thus ponder oft, retir'd: ANCUS the good,
E'en he has clos'd his eyes on mortal things;
A man, thou coward! worthier far than thou!
Thousands, moreo'er, like him of crowns possest,
Have fall'n like him, and all their pomp resign'd.
E'en he who wander'd o'er the mighty main,
Led on his legions, and first op'd the way
To tread on foot th' unfathom'd gulphs below,
He who thus brav'd the billows, and the storms,
Has clos'd his eye-lids, and his soul resign'd.—
SCIPIO, the war's dread thunder-bolt, the scourge
Of ransack'd TYRE, sleeps, like the slave, inhum'd.
Add, too, the founders of the graceful arts,
And schools erudite;—add th' immortal bards;
Add HOMER'S self, the muses' realm who rules;
These all, like meaner mortals, rest in peace.—
When hoary hairs DEMOCRITUS forewarn'd
His mental powers were hastening to decay,
Quick he uprose, and midway met his fate.
E'en he is fall'n, his lamp of life extinct,
Th' illustrious EPICURUS, whose vast mind
Triumphant rose o'er all men, and excell'd,
As, in the heavens, the sun excels the stars.
And dost thou murmur, and, indignant, die,
Whose life, while living, scarcely death exceeds?
Thou! who in sleep devourest half thy days?
And, e'en awake, who snorest, dreaming still,
And tort'ring all thy mind with vain alarms?
Thou! who lamentest, oft, unknowing why,
Urg'd on, with fear intoxicated deep,
And in a maze of mental errors lost?
Did men but think, and oft to think they seem,
That from themselves their heaviest sorrows rise,
And knew they too whence thus themselves create
These bosom suff'rings—seldom should we see
Life spent as now each passing hour pourtrays.

All

All pant perpetual for they know not what,
Nor learn by searching—changing their abodes,
As though the change would leave their load behind
This, from mere listlessness, his mansion flies;
Straight he returns;—'tis listless all abroad.
That to his villa posts, with rapid wheels,
As though the building were in flames, and call'd
His instant aid.—No sooner treads his foot
The sounding hall, than, on the sofa thrown,
He yawns disgusted—or indulges sleep,
And seeks oblivion; or, perchance, he starts,
And tow'ards the town drives back with equal speed.
Thus each his self would fly, that self which still
Haunts every step, and every pain creates,
Heedless of what torments him: which if clear
The wand'rer trac'd, his restless soul, at once
The world forsaking, and the world's vain boasts,
Would scan THE NATURE OF CREATED THINGS.
For little weighs the passing hour of time
When with eternity compar'd, that state
Which, after death, to mortals yet remains.
Through what vast woes this wild desire of life
Drives us, afraid! what dangers, and what toils!
Yet death still hastens, nor can mortal man,
With all his efforts, turn th' unerring shaft.
Life, through its circuit too, is still the same,
Nor can it boast one source of new delight.
The bliss we covet seems, at distant view,
To all superior; but, when once possest,
It cloys, we spurn it, and another call.
Yet the same thirst of life corrodes us still,
Though doubtful of to-morrow, and the fate
To-morrow brings—our blessing, or our curse.
E'en could we life elongate, we should ne'er
Subtract one moment from the reign of death,
Nor the deep slumber of the grave curtail.
O'er ages could we triumph—death alike
Remains eternal—nor of shorter date
To him who yesterday the light forsook,
Than him who died full many a year before.

The SONG of MATHRAVAL.

[From Mr. SOUTHEY'S MADOC.]

AND now went Madoc forth for Mathraval;
O'er Menai's ebbing tide, up mountain paths,
Beside grey mountain-stream, and lonely lake,
And through old Snowden's forest solitude,
He held right on his solitary way.

Nor

Nor paused he in that rocky vale, where oft
Up the familiar path, with gladder pace,
His steed had hastened to the well-known door, . .
That valley, o'er whose crags, and sprinkled trees,
And winding stream, so oft his eye had loved
To linger, gazing, as the eve grew dim,
From Dolwyddelan's Tower; . . alas! therefrom,
As from his brother's monument, he turned
A loathing eye, and through the rocky vale
Sped on. From morn till noon, from noon till eve,
He travelled on his way; and when at morn
Again the Ocean Chief bestrode his steed,
The heights of Snowden on his backward glance
Hung like a cloud in heaven. O'er heath and hill
And barren height he rode; and darker now,
In loftier majesty thy mountain seat,
Star-loving Idris, rose. Nor turned he now
Beside Kregennan, where his infant feet
Had trod Ednywain's hall; nor loitered he
In the green vales of Powys, till he came
Where Warnway rolls his waters underneath
The walls of Mathraval, old Mathraval,
Cyveilioc's princely and paternal seat.

But Madoc rushed not forward now to greet
The chief he loved, for from the hall was heard
The voice of harp and song. It was, that day,
The feast of victory at Mathraval;
Around the Chieftain's board the warriors sate;
The sword, and shield, and helmet, on the wall,
And round the pillars, were in peace hung up;
And, as the flashes of the central fire
At fits arose, a dance of wavy light
Played o'er the reddening steel. The Chiefs who late
So well had wielded, in the play of war,
Those weapons, sate around the board, to quaff
The beverage of the brave, and hear their fame.
Cyveilioc stood before them, . . in his pride
Stood up the Poet-Prince of Mathraval;
His hands were on the harp, his eyes were closed,
His head, as if in reverence to receive
The inspiration, bent; anon, he raised
His glowing countenance, and brighter eye,
And swept, with passionate hand, the ringing harp.

Fill high the Hirlas Horn! to Grufydd bear
Its frothy beverage, . . from his crimson lance
The invader fled; . . fill high the gold-tipt Horn!
Heard ye in Maelor the step of war? . .
The hastening shout? . . the onset? . . Did ye hear

The clash and clang of arms? . . the battle-din,
Loud as the roar of Ocean, when the Winds
At midnight are abroad? . . the yell of wounds? . .
The rage? . . the agony? . . give to him the Horn
Whose spear was broken, and whose buckler pierced
With many a shaft, yet not the less he fought
And conquered; . . therefore let Ednyved share
The generous draught; give him the long blue Horn!
Pour out again, and fill again the spoil
Of the wild bull, with silver wrought of yore;
Bear ye to Tudyr's hand the golden lip,
Eagle of battle! for Moreiddig fill
The honourable Hirlas! . . where are They?
Where are the noble Brethren? Wolves of war,
They kept their border well, they did their part,
Their fame is full, their lot is praise and song. . .
A mournful song to me, a song of woe! . .
Brave Brethren! for their honour brim the cup,
Which they shall quaff no more.
We drove away
The strangers from our land; profuse of life,
Our warriors rushed to battle, and the Sun
Saw, from his noontide fields, their manly strife.
Pour thou the flowing mead! Cup-bearer, fill
The Hirlas! for hadst thou beheld the day
Of Llidom, thou hadst known how well the Chiefs
Deserve this honour now. Cyveilioc's shield
Were they in danger, when the Invader came;
Be praise and liberty their lot on earth,
And joy be theirs in Heaven!
Here ceased the song.
Then from the threshold on the rush-strewn floor
Madoc advanced. Cyveilioc's eye was now
To present forms awake, but, even as still
He felt his harp-chords throb with dying sounds,
The heat and stir and passion had not yet
Subsided in his soul. Again he struck
The loud-toned harp. . . . Pour from the silver vase,
And brim the honourable Horn, and bear
The draught of joy to Madoc, . . he who first
Explored the desert ways of Ocean, first,
Through the wide waste of sea and sky, held on
Undaunted, till upon another World,
The Lord and Conqueror of the Elements,
He set his foot triumphant! Fill for him
The Hirlas! fill the honourable Horn!
This is a happy hour, for Madoc treads
The hall of Mathraval; by every foe
Dreaded, by every friend beloved the best,
Madoc, the Briton Prince, the Ocean Lord,

Who never for injustice reared his arm.
Give him the Hirlas Horn! fill, till the draught
Of joy shall quiver o'er the golden brim!
In happy hour the hero hath returned!
In happy hour the friend, the brother, treads
Cyveilioc's floor!
He sprung to greet his guest;
The cordial grasp of fellowship was given;
They gave the seat of honour, and they filled
For him the Hirlas Horn... So there was joy
In Mathraval. Cyveilioc and his Chiefs,
All eagerly, with wonder-waiting eyes,
Look to the Wanderer of the Waters' tale.
Nor mean the joy which kindled Madoc's brow,
Whenas he told of daring enterprise
Crowned with deserved success. Intent they heard
Of all the blessings of that happier clime;
And when the adventurer spake of soon return,
Each on the other gazed, as if to say,
Methinks it were a goodly lot to dwell
In that fair land in peace.
Then said the Prince
Of Powys, Madoc, at an happy time
Thy feet have sought the house of Mathraval;
For on the morrow, in the eye of light,
Our bards will hold their congress. Seekest thou
Comrades to share success? proclaim abroad
Thine invitation there, and it shall spread
Far as our fathers ancient tongue is known.

The mantling mead went round at Mathraval;..
That was a happy hour! Of other years
They talked, of common toils, and fields of war
When they fought side by side; of Corwen's day
Of glory, and of comrades now no more:..
Themes of delight, and grief that brought its joy.
Thus they beguiled the pleasant hours, while night
Wained fast away, then late they laid them down,
Each on his bed of rushes, stretched around
The central fire.
The sun was newly risen
When Madoc joined his host, no longer now
Clad as the conquering chief of Maelor,
In princely arms, but in his nobler robe,
The sky-blue mantle of the bard, arrayed.
So for the place of meeting they set forth;
And now they reached Melangell's lonely church.
Amid a grove of evergreens it stood,
A garden and a grove, where every grave
Was decked with flowers, or with unfading plants

O'ergrown,

O'ergrown, sad rue, and funeral rosemary.
Here Madoc paused. The morn is young, quoth he;
A little while to old remembrance given
Will not belate us . . . Many a year hath fled,
Cyveilioc, since you led me here, and told
The legend of the Saint. Come! . . be not loth!
We will not loiter long. . . So soon to mount
The bark, which will for ever bear me hence,
I would not willingly pass by one spot
That thus recals the thought of other times,
Without a pilgrim's visit.
Thus he spake,
And drew Cyveilioc through the church-yard porch,
To the rude image of Saint Monacel.
Dost thou remember, Owen, said the Prince,
When first I was thy guest in early youth,
That once, as we had wandered here at eve,
You told, how here a poor and hunted hare
Ran to the Virgin's feet, and looked to her
For life? . . I thought, when listening to the tale,
She had a merciful heart, and that her face
Must with a saintly gentleness have beamed,
When beasts could read its virtue. Here we sate,
Upon the jutting root of this old yeugh . .
Dear friend! so pleasant didst thou make those days,
That in my heart, long as my heart shall beat,
Minutest recollections still will live,
Still be the source of joy.
As Madoc spake,
His glancing eye fell on a monument,
Around whose base the rosemary drooped down,
As yet not rooted well. Sculptured above,
A warrior lay; the shield was on his arm;
Madoc approached, and saw the blazonry.
A sudden chill ran through him, as he read,
Here Yorwerth lies . . . it was his brother's grave.

Cyveilioc took him by the hand: For this,
Madoc, was I so loth to enter here!
He sought the sanctuary, but close upon him
The murderers followed, and by yonder copse
Ths stroke of death was given. All I could
Was done; . . I saw him here consigned to rest:
Daily due masses for his soul are sung,
And duly hath his grave been decked with flowers.
So saying, from the place of death he led
The silent prince. But lately, he pursued,
Llewelyn was my guest, thy favourite boy.
For thy sake and his own, it was my hope
That he would make his home at Mathraval:

He had not needed then a father's love.
But he, I know not on what enterprise,
Was brooding ever; and these secret thoughts
Let him away. God prosper the brave boy!
It were a happy day for this poor land
If e'er Llewelyn mount his rightful throne.

The Song of Thrym; or, The Recovery of the Hammer.

[From Mr. Herbert's Translations of Select Icelandic Poetry.]

WROTH waxed Thor, when his sleep was flown,
And he found his trusty hammer gone;
He smote his brow, his beard he shook,
The son of earth gan round him look;
And this the first word, that he spoke:
"Now listen what I tell thee, Loke;
Which neither on earth below is known,
Nor in Heaven above; my hammer's gone."
Their way to Freyia's bower they took,
And this the first word, that he spoke;
"Thou, Freyia, must lend a winged robe,
To seek my hammer round the globe."

Freyia sung.

"That shouldst thou have, though 'twere of gold,
And that, though 'twere of silver, hold."
Away flew Loke; the wing'd robe sounds,
Ere he has left the Asgard grounds,
And ere he has reach'd the Jotunheim bounds.
High on a mound in haughty state
Thrym the king of the Thursi sate;
For his dogs he was twisting collars of gold,
And trimming the manes of his coursers bold.

Thrym sung.

"How fare the Asi? the Alfi how?
Why com'st thou alone to Jotunheim now?"

Loke sung.

"Ill fare the Asi; the Alfi mourn;
Thor's hammer from him thou hast torn."

Thrym sung.

"I have the Thunderer's hammer bound
Fathoms eight beneath the ground;
With it shall no one homeward tread,
Till he bring me Freyia to share my bed."

Away

Away flew Loke; the wing'd robe sounds,
Ere he has left the Jotunheim bounds,
And ere he has reach'd the Asgard grounds.
At Midgard Thor met crafty Loke,
And this the first word, that he spoke;
"Have you your errand and labor done?
Tell from aloft the course you run.
For setting oft the story fails,
And lying oft the lie prevails."

Loke sung.

"My labor is past, mine errand I bring;
Thrym has thine hammer, the giant king:
With it shall no one homeward tread,
Till he bear him Freyia to share his bed."
Their way to lovely Freyia they took,
And this the first word, that he spoke;
"Now, Freyia, busk, as a blooming bride;
Together, we must, to Jotunheim ride."
Wrath waxed Freyia with ireful look;
All Asgard's hall with wonder shook;
Her great bright necklace started wide.
"Well may ye call me a wanton bride,
If I with ye to Jotunheim ride."
The Asi did all to council crowd,
The Asiniæ all talk'd fast and loud;
This they debated, and this they sought,
How the hammer of Thor should home be brought.
Up then and spoke Heimdallar free,
Like the Vani, wise was he;
"Now busk we Thor, as a bride so fair;
Let him that great bright necklace wear;
Round him let ring the spousal keys,
And a maiden kirtle hang to his knees,
And on his bosom jewels rare;
And high and quaintly braid his hair."
Wrath waxed Thor with godlike pride;
"Well may the Asi me deride,
If I let me be dight as a blooming bride."
Then up spoke Loke, Laufeyia's son;
"Now hush thee, Thor; this must be done:
The giants will strait in Asgard reign,
If thou thine hammer dost not regain."
Then busk'd they Thor, as a bride so fair,
And the great bright necklace gave him to wear;
Round him let ring the spousal keys,
And a maiden kirtle hang to his knees,
And on his bosom jewels rare;
And high and quaintly braided his hair.

Up then arose the crafty Loke,
Laufeyia's son, and thus he spoke;
"A servant I thy steps will tend,
Together we must to Jotunheim wend."
Now home the goats together hie;
Yoked to the axle they swiftly fly.
The mountains shook, the earth burn'd red,
As Odin's son to Jotunheim sped.
Then Thrym the King of the Thursi said;
"Giants, stand up; let the seats be spread;
Bring Freyia, Niorder's daughter, down,
To share my bed, from Noatun.
With horns all gilt each coal-black beast
Is led to deck the giant's feast;
Large wealth and jewels have I stored;
I lack but Freyia to grace my board."
Betimes at evening they approach'd,
And the mantling ale the giants broach'd.
The spouse of Sifia ate alone
Eight salmons, and an ox full-grown,
And all the cates, on which women feed;
And drank three firkins of sparkling mead.
Then Thrym the king of the Thursi said;
"Where have ye beheld such a hungry maid?
Ne'er saw I bride so keenly feed,
Nor drink so deep of the sparkling mead."
Then forward leant the crafty Loke,
And thus the giant he bespoke;
"Nought has she eat for eight long nights,
So did she long for the nuptial rites."
He stoop'd beneath her veil to kiss,
But he started the length of the hall, I wiss.
"Why are the looks of Freyia so dire?
It seems, as her eyeballs glisten'd with fire."
Then forward leant the crafty Loke,
And thus the giant he bespoke;
"Nought has she slept for eight long nights,
So did she long for the nuptial rites."
Then in the giant's sister came,
Who dared a bridal gift to claim;
"Those rings of gold from thee I crave,
If thou wilt all my fondness have,
All my love and fondness have."
Then Thrym the king of the Thursi said;
"Bear in the hammer to plight the maid;
Upon her lap the bruizer lay,
And firmly plight our hands and fay."
The Thunderer's soul smiled in his breast,
When the hammer hard on his lap was placed;

Thrym first the king of the Thursi he slew,
And slaughter'd all the giant crew.
He slew that giant's sister old,
Who pray'd for bridal gifts so bold.
Instead of money and rings, I wot,
The hammer's bruises were her lot,
Thus Odin's son his hammer got.

Inscription on the Grave of Anna D'Arfet.

[From Mr. Bowles's Spirit of Discovery.]

I.

"O'ER my poor Anna's lowly grave
No dirge shall sound, no knell shall ring,
But Angels, as the high pines wave,
Their half-heard 'Miserere' sing!

II.

"No flow'rs of transient bloom at eve
The maidens on the turf shall strew;
Nor sigh, as the sad spot they leave,
Sweets to the Sweet! a long adieu!

III.

"But in this wilderness profound,
O'er her the dove shall build her nest,
And Ocean swell with softer sound
A requiem to her dreams of rest!

IV.

"Ah! when shall I as quiet be,
When not a friend, or human eye,
Shall mark beneath the mossy tree
The spot where we forgotten lie.

V.

"To kiss her name on the cold stone,
Is all that now on earth I crave;
For in this world I am alone—
Oh lay me with her in the grave."

"Robert a Machin, 1344.—*Miserere nobis, Domine.*"

ELEGY.

[From Mr. W. Smyth's English Lyrics.]

STILL dark with frowns return the sullen years,
Still move with rent and blood-stain'd robes away;
The giant Force his form terrific rears
To heaven, and bids th' astonish'd world obey.

Yet thou, my soul, tho' wreck'd around thee sink
All that can wake thy love, thy rev'rence claim,
Lose not thy last, best hope, nor stoop to think
Truth but a sound, and Virtue but a name.

Few note the virtue that from view retires,
Few prize the worth, that every moment sees;
We mark the tempest's rage, the comet's fires,
Forget the shower, the sunshine, and the breeze.

While one pure bosom its own bliss foregoes,
While one firm mind the wound, it felt, forgives,
While one kind heart is touch'd with human woes,
All is not lost on earth, and virtue lives.

When shall the heart to virtue best disclose
Th' unaltered homage of its proud applause?
Then, when her votaries shrink, when leagued here foes,
When fails her promise, and forlorn her cause.

The eternal Being, that with parent care
Form'd and sustains the viewless insect's frame,
Taught he in vain the heart to melt in prayer,
In vain to glow with hope, to sink with shame?

Each motive dim is by his glance descried,
The sleepless moan, unheard on earth, he hears;
He marks each sacrifice to virtuous pride,
He counts affection's throbs, compassion's tears!

Revere, thou wedded fair, thyself, thy vow,
Tho' brutal wrongs thy faith, thy fondness wound;
The still, small voice within that whispers now,
Shall o'er thy dying pillow rapture sound.

Thou man of worth, whom want has bowed and worn,
But bowed not to the proud oppressor's will,
Bear on undaunted—thou for bliss art born,
Eternity is thine—be virtuous still.

Oh! when this alter'd world is lost in gloom,
When earth to prostrate man no hope can yield,
Beam on the soul, thou world beyond the tomb,
By reason promis'd, and by God reveal'd.

The Sound of the Drum.

[From the same.]

A Soldier am I, the world over I range,
And would not my lot with a monarch exchange;
How welcome a Soldier wherever he roves,
Attended like Venus, by Mars, and the Loves;
How dull is the ball, and how cheerless the fair,
What's a feast, or a frolic, if we are not there:
Kind, hearty, and gallant, and joyous we come,
And the world looks alive at the sound of the Drum.

"The Soldiers are coming," the villagers cry,
All trades are suspended to see us pass by;
Quick flies the glad sound to the maiden up stairs,
In a moment dismiss'd are her broom and her cares;
Outstretch'd is her neck, till the Soldiers she sees,
From her cap the red ribbon plays light in the breeze,
But lighter her heart plays, as nearer we come,
And redder her cheek at the sound of the Drum.

The veteran half dozing awakes at the news,
Hobbles out, and our column with triumph reviews;
Near his knee, his young grandson, with ecstacy hears
Of majors, and generals, and fierce brigadiers;
Of the marches he took, and the hardships he knew,
Of the battles he fought, and the foes that he slew;
To his heart spirits new in wild revelry come,
And make one rally more at the sound of the Drum.

Who loves not a soldier—the generous, the brave,
The heart that can feel, and the arm that can save;
In peace, the gay friend with the manners that charm,
The thought ever liberal, the soul ever warm;
In his mind nothing selfish or pitiful known,
'Tis a temple, which honour can enter alone;
No titles I boast, yet wherever I come,
I can always feel proud at the sound of the Drum.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1805.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism, Practical, Speculative, and Controversial Divinity; Sermons, single Sermons.

WITH the *Vetus Testamentum Græcum* of the Clarendon Press, as to its object and commencement, our readers have been long acquainted: it is a work which, when completed, will do honour to the Oxford university; and be of no small benefit, as we trust, to the important cause of sacred history, and towards an accurate emendation of the bible-text. The first volume of this elaborate undertaking was published in 1798; it has since been advancing with slow and cautious steps—steps slower than we could have wished, but a caution fairly entitled to commendation; and we have now to usher to our readers The Book of Daniel, as presented to the public in one volume folio, during the course of the current year, under the vigilant superintendance of Dr. Holmes, a name well known to the world, and weighty in the circle of theological critics. Of the whole extent of the Jewish Scriptures, canonical or apocryphal, there is perhaps no book that presents more difficulties to the collater, or that requires in its examination a more enlightened judgment or more biblical erudition. In its original it is composed partly in the Chaldaic, and partly in the Hebrew tongue; it abounds not only with Greek idioms, but with Greek words, a language which certainly was unknown both to Chaldæa and Palestine at the date commonly assigned to its compilation; and it occasionally refers to customs of the Babylonian court, contrary to what we have much reason to believe from prophane writers to have existed there at any time. From the pressure of these difficulties many critics have endeavoured to free themselves, by supposing two Jewish authors of the name of Daniel, whose productions have been confounded together; the first a contemporary with Jehoiachim, and consequently a participater in the Babylonian captivity, and the second a coæval with Judas Maccabæus, and, of course, co-existent with the Ptolemies. For ourselves, however, we see no necessity for this wild and heterodox conjecture; a conjecture indeed that destroys half the value of the book as a prophetic delineation of future events; for the adherents to this

this last opinion conceive at the same time, that the predictions uttered relate primarily, if not altogether, to the temporal rescue of Jerusalem from the tyranny of Antiochus by the prowess of Judas, rather than to the advent of the Messias, and the establishment of his spiritual kingdom. To us it appears sufficient to reconcile every apparent incongruity, to recal to mind the peculiar circumstances under which the prophecies and visions in question must have been first promulgated; and the peculiar state and dispersion of the Jews in times immediately subsequent. At Babylon, where the prophet resided, there can be no doubt that these supernatural communications were published as soon as revealed, both in Hebrew and Chaldaic, in the language of the conquered as well as in the language of the conquerors. The language of the last, however, has at all times been found to triumph over that of the first: and hence there can be little question, on the return of the Jews to Jerusalem under Ezra, and especially on the vigilant inquest after their canonical scriptures instituted by Nehemiah, who was appointed tirshathah or rajah of Palestine by Artaxerxes himself, at a distance of not less than a century and a half from the commencement of the Babylonian captivity, that there was a great difficulty, if not an utter impossibility, of obtaining a correct and authentic copy of The Book of Daniel in the Hebrew tongue. It appears probable then, that Nehemiah obtained it in genuine Hebrew as far as he was able, and that he filled up the chasms with the Chaldaic, in which it was more generally read, as being at this time the more common language of the Jews themselves. And hence we may obviously perceive how it came to pass that this as well as several other books of the Jewish Scriptures should be presented to us in two intermixed languages. To account for the introduction of the Græcisms that occasionally prevail in the sacred pages in question, and which could not have been the immediate production of Daniel himself, it is only necessary to recollect that upon the subjugation of Persia by Alexander, and more especially by the establishment, on the borders of the Nile, of the city that was called after his own name, the Jews, for the very same reason that, as a colloquial language, they had relinquished the Hebrew for the Chaldaic, now relinquished the Chaldaic for the Greek; into which last tongue they soon made various translations of their canonical books, for the use of such among their own nation as had no opportunity of learning their original language. The Hebrew or Chaldaic now therefore became commutable with the Greek among the more learned of the Jewish scribes; and whenever, in copying the original text itself, they thought they could render a passage clearer, or give it a popular idiom by exchanging a Hebrew term or mode of phrasing for a Greek, they do not appear to have hesitated upon the subject.

Independently of these more common and national translations of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, there were two that acquired a higher and more deserved celebrity, and which have descended to the present period. The first is that generally known by the name of the Septuagint, published at Alexandria, under the patronage of the Ptolomies, probably about the time that Callimachus was li-

brarian in the Alexandrian library, and consequently coetaneous with the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius: the other was rendered about the year of the christian æra 185, by Theodotion of Sinope, who was at first a believer in the writings of both the Old and New Testaments, then of the New Testament alone, and afterwards of the Old Testament without the New: and nothing can more clearly demonstrate the observation we have made above, that very considerable liberties were perpetually taken with the text of the Hebrew itself, in different transcriptions by different scribes and copyists, than the numerous variations and discrepancies that occur between these two, which constitute the most renowned of the Greek versions, not merely in their relative omission or addition of entire chapters, but in points of chronology, and a narration of the very same facts.

It is these two valuable versions then that Dr. Holmes has re-edited at the Clarendon Press: that of Theodotion is arranged first, and, of course, the Alexandrian interpretation follows. He has curtailed, and in many cases we think judiciously, a variety of passages contained in both; and generally with a view of bringing them into a greater degree of harmony with each other. Thus we perceive that the story of Susanna is amputated from the former, and the Song of the Three Holy Children from the latter. There are some few of the curtailed verses that we wish had been preserved, notwithstanding all the learning by which such excisions have been supported. But it is a discussion we cannot enter into, having already been betrayed by the importance of the subject, and a desire to set it in a new, and, as it appears to us, a more perspicuous light, into far too extensive a detail already. We may hereafter resume it in another form.

To *political* calamity we were lately indebted to Dr. Stock, bishop of Killala, for a very excellent new translation of Isaiah; we are sorry to add, that to *domestic* calamity we are now indebted to him for a new version of The Book of Job; the sublimest poem that ever was penned by mortal, of whatever age, country, or religion. "A disease of a most excruciating kind," says this excellent prelate, "fell on a beloved consort, my most faithful companion through toil and peril for the space of twenty-seven years." It appears to have been from the affliction he suffered on this account that he engaged in the task before us. "While I proceeded," says he, "not her dissolution only swam before my eyes; pain, the extremity of pain, which I would most gladly have bought off by my own suffering, drew from the most patient of human creatures accents of woe which I hear now, and will speak no more of them. It was a business of six weeks. The last line of this translation was tracing while they carried her to her grave." To say that there is great merit in this version, is to say what it is fairly intitled to; but to say that it has less merit than the learned prelate's version of Isaiah, is, at the same time, to excite a surprise, how, under the circumstances of the case, it could possess any merit whatever, or in reality could have been engaged in by any means. Many of Dr. Stock's renderings are peculiarly happy; but he has often varied from the standard text unnecessarily, and at times with a manifest disadvantage. There is also occasionally a quaint-

ness,

ness, not to say a vulgarity, in his phrasing that cannot be too severely reprobated. We particularly object to such expressions as the following: ch. vi. 10, "I would even *prance* in expectation that he would not spare." xiii. 21, "Remove thine hand from over me, and thine *elbow*, let it not scare me". xv. 30, "And he shall *go off with a puff of his mouth*". xxviii. 8, "The sons of the *splitter* tread it not;"—"Because he acknowledged not the *quail* in his stomach." In many cases the unnecessary supplies and periphrases of our established lection are continued: thus, ch. xli. 11, "*Whatever is* under the whole heavens is mine;" for the first member of which proposition the original affords us no authority תחת כל השמים לי הוא and which should rather be rendered "The whole under the heavens is mine." The learned prelate controverts the idea of a general resurrection being implied or referred to in ch. xix. 27; and contends that it alludes to a belief on the part of Job of his own personal return alone from the grave to a period of subsequent existence on earth. To this interpretation we have stronger objections than to the former. The whole passage wants reconsidering; and, had we time, we could easily show that it is perfectly clear in itself, and congruous with other passages in the same poem that speak of death as a state of final dissolution. We wish much that the right reverend translator had subjoined to his asterisms his general reasons for deviating from the received text; for want of this we cannot, in many instances, follow him or approve of the change. We would rather also that he had printed on the opposite side of his version, the Hebrew text, in the manner of his Isaiah, instead of the common English reading, which is in the hands of every one. He unites with those critics who believe the poem to have been composed long after the æra of Moses, and seems inclined to ascribe it to Ezra. He grounds his opinion on what he supposes to be "allusions to events recorded in the five Books of Moses to be found in this poem." We have carefully followed the passages he refers to; but to us they appear, in every instance, to have no more allusion to the five Books of Moses than to the five Epistles of St. Peter and St. John. Nevertheless, the learning and ingenuity which are constantly, and the happy elucidations which are occasionally, displayed in the present translation, induce us to hope that this excellent prelate will continue to toil in a field for which he is so ably qualified; a field in which "the harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few."

Among these labourers, but certainly in an inferior department, though not a less useful one, we have to rank Mrs. Trimmer, from the publication of her "Help to the Unlearned in the Study of the Holy Scriptures." This, we are told, is "an attempt to explain the Bible in a familiar way;"—and, in many instances we could quote, we find the way rather *too familiar*: yet the work upon the whole will, we have no doubt, be highly useful; and there are few persons living who have exerted themselves with more ardour in communicating religious instruction, or to whom the young, of the present day more especially, are under obligation than to Mrs. Trimmer. The greatest evil we have observed on a casual

a casual perusal of the book before us is, that the doctrines meant to be established are, in many instances, drawn from inapplicable premises; they are often upheld by weak props, while others of the utmost competency are at hand; an error quite as considerable in supporting the structure of a proposition as in supporting that of a house.

Mr. Parker, in his "Old Testament illustrated," has given a series of lectures to young persons which might be more advantageously perused if he had observed more order and connexion in the extracts he has made from prior authors, of which these lectures almost entirely consist. The plan is good, but it has failed in its execution. Mr. Nisbett has been more successful in a little tract on the "Second Coming" of our Saviour "in the Clouds of Heaven," in answer to the well known but superficial objection of Mr. Gibbon. This tract is ably drawn up from a sermon upon the same subject preached in 1782, before the judges of assize at Maidstone. The tract should be seriously perused by every person whose mind has been impressed by a study of this part of Mr. Gibbon's History. The antidote we dare venture to affirm will be at least adequate to the bane.

Mr. Robinson has entered into a defence of the same kind, but upon a much larger scale, in his "Christian System unfolded;" which offers us, in three volumes 8vo. a course of practical essays on the principal doctrines and duties of Christianity. Mr. Robinson makes high pretensions to independence; "he has not," he informs us, "attached himself to any leader, however eminent for learning, piety, or usefulness; and that he does not wish to raise the standard of faction, or establish any shibboleth. Whatever appellation may be given him, —he will still maintain, that he has followed *no other guide* than the inspired volume." In the latter part of this declaration, and in some degree, perhaps, in the former part, there is more spirit than prudence. The man who, in the general pursuit of Christian truth has not professedly attached himself to any particular church or sect into which the Christian community is divided, may fairly, perhaps, adopt such a kind of language; but the man who has avowedly united himself to the established church of his country; who is a teacher and a *vicar* in that church, is bound by his own act and deed, by his own positive conviction and profession, to follow the articles of that church as his *guide*, and to yield up his private judgment to the higher and aggregate authority with which they come presented to him. Ungracious, however, as our essayist thus appears at the starting-post, we have little or no contumacity to challenge him with in the course he has prescribed to himself; in many parts of which we have been considerably pleased with him, and throughout nearly the whole of which we can conscientiously recommend him as a safe and able *guide* for others. His essays, in their entire number, consist of ninety eight; of these the first two are introductory; the next eight devoted to the attributes of the Deity; the eleventh to the doctrine of the Trinity; the ensuing, to the twenty third, to the history of man in regard to his creation, his fall, his misery, his salvation. The next nine are appropriated to the godhead, the various characters, and offices

offices of our Saviour. Then follow eight upon the personality, divinity, influences, and operations of the Spirit. The ensuing, being the fortieth, is on true repentance; which introduces the subject of faith, a subject examined in the next ten lectures, carrying us to the fiftieth. Seven lectures are then devoted to the topic of sanctification, one to that of Christian obedience, one to the comfort of the Holy Ghost, and one to the witness of the same Divine Spirit. Fifteen lectures succeed, in a regular series, upon the doctrines and duties of the decalogue, terminated by a single lecture on prayer for special grace to keep the commandments they enjoin. We then meet with eight lectures on the different petitions or members of the Lord's prayer; one on the church of Christ; one on public worship; five on the two christian sacraments of protestant churches; one on the resurrection of the body; and, finally, one on a future and everlasting life.

Pursuing the path so ably and commodiously cleared a few years since by Dr. Paley, Mr. Watson has offered us an octavo volume, containing "Popular Evidences of Natural Religion and Christianity." Yet the author of these pages is not a copyist of Dr. Paley: his argument is frequently of a different description, and generally so contrived as to render it more level to the comprehension of the unlearned. For this reason he enters less minutely into the various powers and faculties of intellectual beings, and affects to treat with contempt the study of metaphysics, which he denominates "the most uncertain of all studies;" adding, that "they have given birth to wrangling and endless disputation; and that they have been perverted by men of talents and ingenuity to puzzle, to perplex, and bewilder the world." It was with no small surprise, after such an anathema, that we found our author engaging in the question, "Whether the planets are peopled with intelligent beings;" and, "Whether their powers of comprehension be superior to those of mankind?" This he determines in the affirmative; and we naturally expected that his next step would have been to have followed the example of Mr. Nares as largely as he has that of Dr. Paley, and in another Εις Θεος, εις Μεσιτης, to have informed us to what extent the inhabitants of the Sun and Moon, of Venus and Jupiter, are interested in the divine mission of our Saviour to mankind; in his sacrifice upon the cross, and his resurrection to eternal life and glory. Upon all these subjects, however, our author preserves a commendable silence, as well in the second as in the first part of his system. With this second part we have been upon the whole better pleased than with the first: it exhibits, indeed, nothing strikingly new; nor is this to be expected; but the general nature and tendency of Christianity, the evidences in its favour, and the conduct and character of the Messiah are described with a judgment and seriousness well suited to the subject, and which cannot fail to make a deep impression on the mind of every candid reader.

"Letters of St. Paul the Apostle, written before and after his Conversion. Translated from the German of the late Rev. John Casper Lavater." It is as difficult to assume a character as to assume a face; and M. Lavater, if he be the real author or editor of these letters, who, from his long attention to the science of physiognomy, must have known the latter, ought also

also to have been acquainted with the former part of the axiom. The undiscriminating may be pleased with some pages of these epistles; but the man who has critically studied the genuine writings of St. Paul, or has only carefully perused the Horæ Paulinæ of the late Dr. Paley, can no more mistake these letters for originals, notwithstanding the declaration of the title-page, than he can mistake the head of queen Elizabeth upon a sign-post for that of George III. merely because the painter had called it by the latter name at the foot of his daub.

"A Guide to Heaven; seriously addressed to all who believe the Gospel to be the Word of God. By the Rev. C. S. Hawtrey, A. B. &c." Mr. Hawtrey has been conscientiously, and, we doubt not, beneficially employed in this little compilation. It is an epitomized history of the worthies of Holy Writ, arranged in such a manner as to incite its respective readers to a practice of the different duties of morality and religion by the examples it thus sets before them.

"A brief Treatise on Death, philosophically, morally, and practically considered. By Robert Fellowes, A. M. Oxon." Bating the author's occasional aberrations from the commonly received doctrines of the church, this treatise may be perused with advantage and pleasure. It is inscribed to the memory of a late amiable daughter of the Duke of Grafton (lady Harriet Fitzroy); but for what precise reason we know not.

"A few Thoughts on the Creation, Generation, Growth and Evolution of the human Body and Soul: on the spiritual and immortal Nature of the Soul of Man, &c. &c." We shall only observe that this is an anonymous publication; and that *if* the author possess any portion of the wisdom of this world, he will never suffer it to be otherwise. There is more superficial jumble of chemistry, metaphysics and divinity in it, than we have often met with in the same number of pages any where else.

"The View of Religion," in three parts, lately published by Mrs. Hannah Adams, in the American States, of which the first two parts were noticed by us in p. 328 of our Retrospect for 1802, has been naturalized among ourselves by a re-edition, under the superintendance of Mr. Andrew Fuller; who has enlarged it by a prefatory Essay on Truth, that does not, in our judgment, add one farthing to the merit of the rest of the work.

M. Villers's very excellent "Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther," has now been presented to us in two English versions; and we should be tempted to enlarge upon it at a greater length perhaps than the fair limits of an annual retrospect would allow, but that we have already noticed it in its original French, in Chap. i. of our Foreign Literature for last year. Of these versions, the one is by Mr. Mill, and the other by Mr. Lambert; although the latter contains also a Life of Luther, not worthy of commendation, and a Preface translated from a subsequent work of M. Villers, and which ought to have been prefixed to the former. We are surprised that neither of these translators have thought of adding M. Villers's "Esquisse de l'Histoire de l'Eglise, &c." "Sketch of the History of the Church from its Founder to the Reformation;" a tract of equal merit with that before us, and which was afterwards drawn up by M. Villers to make his history complete. Our readers will find an account of this also in the

the reference we have just made to our Retrospect of last year.

The valuable works of archbishop Leighton we are glad to see presented to us in a new edition. They now occupy three volumes 8vo; and are accompanied by Dr. Doddridge's well known Preface, and a Life of the archbishop, drawn up by the present editor, the Rev. Erasmus Middleton, but not entitled to particular approbation.

From Mr. Granville Sharp we have received an "Inquiry whether the Description of Babylon contained in the xviiith Chap. of the Revelations, agrees perfectly with Rome as a City, a commercial City inhabited and visited by Merchants and Traders? and whether it may not be applied with Propriety to some other opulent and mercantile Cities?" This inquiry is published in the form of a letter to an anonymous friend; and the author decides his questions in the affirmative in regard to Rome. We cannot enter into the discussion; but could not without astonishment peruse the accusation, which, from such a quarter, is here levelled against the late Edmund Burke, "who," we are told, "was a *real papistical jacobin*, at the same time that he accused the English people of having eighty thousand jacobins amongst them, in order to inculcate the idea of a necessity to exercise a power beyond the law, and to promote the illegal measure of suspending it."

While mentioning the name of Mr. Granville Sharp, we are recalled to a controversy, of late years first introduced by himself, concerning the use of the definitive article in the Greek text of the New Testament, in consequence of another opposition to this peculiar construction in Mr. Winstanley's "Vindication of certain Passages in the common English Version of the New Testament, addressed to Granville Sharp, esq." Of the origin and progress of this controversy we have given an account in our Retrospect for 1802, Ch. i. p. 243, in which the reader will find a cursory review of Mr. Sharp's object; of Mr. Wordsworth's Six Letters addressed to him in its support; and of the "Six more Letters" of Gregory Blunt, addressed also to him, in reply to Mr. Wordsworth, who, since this period, has been appointed chaplain to his friend the present archbishop of Canterbury, and is in possession of still brighter prospects that he has not altogether laboured in vain. The object of Mr. Winstanley, in respect to Mr. Sharp's grammatical canons, is, to endeavour to prove "some to be defective, some fallacious, and others absolutely false." We cannot re-enter upon the subject; we perceive nothing of any striking novelty brought forwards; at the same time that we cannot avoid strenuously pressing it upon every espouser of the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, to seek after better proofs in its support than the antiquated, but now revived, and at all times disputable, use of a mere grammatic article.

The controversy of the Arminian and Calvinistic interpreters of our church articles, we are sorry to see, is still persevered in; and persevered in it must be, so long as the different disputants employ equivocal terms, and appeal to authorities which will not fairly support them. Of this controversy we have also given a brief history in the number of our Retrospect above referred to, p. 259 and following. Mr. Daubeny has since published his *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,

glicanæ, in opposition to the Calvinistic polemics, and Mr. Overton two pamphlets in support of them; the first entitled "Candid Examination of the Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ &c." and the other, "Four Letters to the Editor of the Christian Observer &c;" in both which the writer appears to wield his weapons with some degree of skill, but with arguments rather plausible than satisfactory. We exceedingly lament that this dispute should be still conducted with so much violence. On the one hand Mr. Daubeny is clearly convicted, both by Mr. Overton and the editor of the Christian Observer (by far the best as well as the most candid of all the controversialists that have yet entered the lists), of wilful sophistry, incorrect statements, and misquotations: on the other hand the cause of real Calvinism as connected with the church articles seems to be losing ground; for it is admitted at length, that the Calvinistic sense contended for by the adherents to this system is not the peculiar and characteristic doctrines of the Genevese reformer himself upon the points in question, but a sort of loose and undefinable interpretation of these doctrines by persons who have since called themselves of the church of Calvin. To all these disputants we cannot too strenuously recommend Dr. Lawrence's most able and excellent Bampton Sermons, of which an account will be given in their due place in the subsequent pages of the volume before us.

The Unitarians appear on this occasion to have ranged themselves with the Anti-Calvinists. The "tremendous doctrine of Calvinism," it seems, was reprobated with much severity in a late sermon preached by Mr. Belsham on the death of Dr. Priestley, and the very system asserted to be "a mischievous compound of impiety and idolatry." We cannot accede to such intemperate language, nor to so harsh and unjust an opinion of a man, who, whatever may be the error of the doctrines he propounded, seems to have been as sincere and conscientious in his profession of them as any of his opponents can pretend to be in the various creeds they have adopted in their stead. There are others also, it appears, who can no more accede to such language than ourselves, and hence we have had a series of "Letters to the Revd. Mr. Belsham" on the subject of his sermon, by Mr. John Pye Smith; which Mr. Belsham has thought proper to answer by "A Vindication" of the passages objected to in his sermon, together with a defence of Dr. Priestley's character and writings. The assailant has certainly much reason to complain; but he is by no means a match for the champion whom he has challenged. A good cause is often ruined for want of good management.

Objecting as we do to the intemperance of language we have just pointed out, we cannot but object still more decisively, and, indeed, reprobate in the severest terms a polemic pamphlet, also from the school of Unitarianism, entitled "Αιρεσεων Αναστασις; Or, a new Way of deciding old controversies. By Basanistes." This facetious writer, it seems, is for making converts to his own creed by the operation of wit, sarcasm, and ridicule; for laughing the world out of the doctrine of the Trinity; and making *excellent and equal sport* of the missions of Moses and of the Messiah. Ridentem dicere VERUM quid vetat? is his motto—trite in its choice

noice and absurd in its applica-
on. *Dicere* VERUM? And does
e then *believe* his own balder-
ash, when, in order to satirize the
octrine of a Trinity, he pretends
o prove that the Godhead is not
ven by this mean complete? that
loses also, who has even mightier
aims to an apotheosis than our
aviour, ought at least equally to
e admitted into a participation of
ne divine con-substantiality? and
nat the dispute about a Trinity
n Unity being now worn out, it
ould be convenient to change the
bject by introducing a new one
bout a quaternity in unity in its
ead? If this be *truth*, it is still
ot a truth to be laughed at:
nd, if even in the opinion of this
nbridled scoffer himself, it be not
truth, then has his motto no
nore to do with his subject, than
is subject has with sense, decency
nd good manners. We remem-
er to have seen the same point
boured, and in the *same way* (a
ay not *new* therefore, but *old* and
ale), in the "Six more Letters
f Gregory Blunt to Granville
harp, Esq." and hence, notwith-
anding the writer's new name of
asanistes, we can trace him, if
e mistake not, in spite of his *alias*,
s readily as a felon at the bar of
ne Old Bailey can be traced
rough the whole period of his
ast iniquities, though skreening
mself under a dozen *aliases* and
anges of character.

The Society of Friends, whose
rowing turn for polemics we have
ng noticed and pointed out, and
hose internal dissolution, from this
ery circumstance, we have ven-
ured to predict is at hand, still
ontinues to exhibit a spirit of con-
oversy. To the list of the *dis-
ited from membership*, we have now
add the name of Mr. W. Rath-
bone, of Liverpool, in consequence of the publication of his "Narrative of Events which have lately taken place in Ireland, &c." of which we gave a short account in p. 295 of our last year's Retrospect. The freedom with which this *narrative* was written, the severe strictures it exercised against the power assumed both by the general and provincial meetings, and the numerous instances adduced of a most extraordinary abuse of such power, were not likely to establish the writer in the favour of the elders of this persuasion; and he must have anticipated his fate at the time of drawing up his pamphlet. He was formally excommunicated in a monthly meeting held at Manchester, Feb. 28, 1805; and we have now to notice his "Memoir of the Proceedings of the Society called Quakers, belonging to the Monthly Meeting of Hardshaw, &c." upon the subject of his expulsion, and the steps that immediately led to it. Every society ought to possess a code of laws for its moral discipline; but if these laws be of doubtful interpretation, they will be sure to introduce more harm than good; and every religious society that pretends to any kind of formulary of faith as a characteristic of confraternity, ought to have that formulary so clearly expressed that there can be no hesitation upon the doctrine inculcated. This is attempted, and, perhaps, accomplished, with almost as much precision as human language will allow, in our own church: yet, if even here, with express articles of faith, a direct *statute law* before us, cautiously worded, and, for the most part punctiliously defined, differences of opinion, and variations of interpretation are found occasionally

ally to exist, what may we not expect to take place where there is no written record of authoritative appeal—no statute law or distinctive articles whatever (for we allude not now to the sacred writings themselves, the common fountain from which every Christian sect of the most opposite creeds and opinions deduces its authority); but where every meeting, and every man, every brother and every sister, is left to what may be called the *common law* of the society alone, to collect, from the few scattered volumes that record its history—volumes sometimes leaning to the one side and sometimes to the other—what may have been the sentiments of the founders and fathers of the sect; what is immemorial usage of belief and what is not? Nothing, as it appears to us, can save this religious persuasion from utter ruin but a direct and definite confession of faith, to be decided upon in some common æcumenical council for general admission and appeal, or the allowance of a greater laxity in interpreting the Scriptures, than the courts of monthly and annual meetings seem at present disposed to concede. Even with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, and various others of equal moment that at present agitate the different persuasions of the Christian community, it is impossible to ascertain to a certainty, what were the real opinions of the most eminent of the quakers in earlier times; of Penn, Barclay, Fox, and Pennington, and, consequently, what ought to be the opinions of those of the present day.—Various writers of their own fellowship have of late contended for most of the characteristic doctrines of Socinianism: and we have now to announce, from the pen of Mr. John Bevan, jun. "A Defence of the Christian Doctrines of the Society of Friends against the Charge of Socinianism;" in which the writer also glances at other considerations resulting from the attacks which have lately been made on its church discipline; and endeavours to vindicate the conduct of the monthly and annual meetings in many of their late expostulations and exclusions. We have already, perhaps, entered at too great a length into the question: we see the defect, and we have pointed out the remedy. Whether this remedy will be resorted to we know not; but this we do know, that without it, the community must continue to crumble to pieces till it totally vanish from our view and "leave not a rack behind" That we may not have to return to this subject, we shall here state that Mr. Bristed, of the Inner Temple, has published, in the course of the year before us, an octavo volume, which he entitles, "The Society of Friends examined." This, however, is a work which rather investigates their practical conduct than their speculative opinions; their moral government or discipline, than their confessions of faith. Of the former, our author for the most part approves, and in many instances he holds up their regulations as laudable examples of imitation to other sects, and even to the legislature itself.

We shall close this unpleasant part of our labours, the living history of the different controversies of the Christian church, with noticing a tract that relates to an institution which we trust will never excite any controversy whatever; and that is, "The First Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society." This Report is highly

highly interesting, and its diffusion must add largely, or we are much mistaken, to the appended list of subscribers and benefactors. The society was only instituted in 1804, and it appears to have met with all the encouragement to which it is entitled. It is formed on principles truly evangelical and benevolent: it admits of christians of every denomination among its members; its sole object being for the purpose of distributing the most generally approved versions of the scriptures, in whatever language it may be necessary, without comment or observation of any kind. It appears to have been as much approved on the continent as it has obtained countenance in England; and has been imitated, or is about to be imitated, in several foreign cities of extensive opulence and population.

The sermons of the year, published in the form of volumes, are more numerous than generally fall to the lot of an annual list; and we add with pleasure, that their aggregate value has not often been exceeded.

We shall first notice, as preeminently entitled to our first attention, Dr. Lawrence's "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1804, at the Lecture founded by J. Bampton, M. A. Canon of Salisbury." These discourses are eight in number, and collectively constitute "an attempt to illustrate those articles of the church of England which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistical." The inquiry could not be better timed; and more profound research into the real views and sentiments of the different reformers of the christian community, and especially into those of Cranmer and his colleagues who drew up the first edition of our own articles, and of Parker and his associates who drew up the second, we have never met with. No clergyman should be without this volume, and especially no clergyman who undertakes to engage on either side of the points immediately at issue. It contains just that historic and ecclesiastic learning, that judgement and discrimination which are desirable; and while the author is, and as it appears to us, on solid grounds, sufficiently decided in his own opinions, he is sufficiently candid and liberal to those of others. He pays homage both to the talents and piety of Calvin, but believes him to have been often led astray from the simplicity of the gospel by his love of hypothesis. His own sentiment may be fully collected from the following paragraph: "On the whole, therefore, the principles upon which our reformation was conducted ought not to remain in doubt: they were manifestly Lutheran. With these the mind of him (Cranmer) to whom we are chiefly indebted for the salutary measure, was deeply impressed; and in conformity with them was our liturgy drawn up, and the first book of our homilies, all that were at that time composed." With respect to the articles themselves in their present edition, he observes, in like manner, "of the tendency of these we cannot doubt when we learn that, with the exception of one obvious topic alone, they were not original; that they were neither the production of Parker nor the convocation; and that they were not borrowed from any Calvinistical or Zuinglian, but from a Lutheran creed." Such we are heartily disposed to believe; but while we thus perceive that some of the most learned of our clergy are founding them upon Luthe-

ranism, others upon Armenianism, others upon Calvinism; and that others again, as the present bishop of Lincoln, are contending that they are derived neither from the one nor the other, but from the bible alone, directly and immediately; it surely appears high time that the debate should be settled by the only authority that can settle it, a general convocation for this express purpose.

We advance to a volume of "Sermons on various Subjects, by the rev. Joseph Townsend, M. A. Rector of Pewsey," a name well known to the world in various branches of literature, and in several of them highly esteemed; and who, we will here premise, is about to offer to the public a much larger, and a very important work, containing observations on the character of Moses as an historian, as a lawgiver, and as a prophet. This work, which is to extend to three or four quarto volumes, has occupied, as the author tells us, twelve years of close application and unremitting attention. The first volume may be daily expected, and will be devoted to discussions chiefly geologic and philologic, with a view of proving the truth of the Mosaic narrative of the creation, and that all the various families of mankind, together with all the various languages in use amongst them, are derived from one common paternal stock, and one common paternal tongue. The sermons before us are comprised in a small octavo; they were composed more than twenty years ago, and were not designed, till lately, to be submitted to public inspection anterior to the author's decease. But a belief that they may be of service to the world in his own day and generation, in consequence of their being chiefly levelled against infidelity, and other equally enormous evils of the present times, has induced the veneable preacher to bring them forwards during his own lifetime.—We can honestly recommend them to general perusal, as animated and perspicuous discourses; and which bid fair to answer the very laudable object of their publication.

Mr. Nares, in a volume consisting of twelve discourses, has given us "A connected and chronological View of the Prophecies relating to the Christian Church." These discourses were preached in Lincoln's-Inn chapel between the years 1800 and 1804 inclusively, at the lecture founded by bishop Warburton for the purpose of demonstrating the truth of revealed religion in general, and of the christian in particular. In a path so extensive as that selected by the learned archdeacon before us, and occasionally so entangled with thorns, and obscured with darkness, it is scarcely to be expected that he can make good the whole of his way without a single stumble, or deviation from the direct road: yet, he has offered many happy illustrations, traced many analogies that are worthy of admission, and drawn many conclusions that are just and forcible, though by no means common or obtrusive. The predictions examined are, as well those of the New Testament, uttered by Jesus Christ and his apostles, as those of the old, delivered by the patriarchs and prophets. Upon the whole, we prefer that part of the volume which is appropriated to a consideration of the latter, as the most studied and the best written of the two. It includes ten distinct heads, —the rejection of the Jews and call of the Gentiles; the proclamation

mation of the gospel throughout the world; the persecution of the apostles and their converts; the destruction of Jerusalem; the fall of Rome and its conversion; the rise of Mahomet and the Saracenic power; the rise and character of Antichrist; the conversion of the Jews; the general prevalence of the gospel; and, lastly, the universal resurrection and day of judgment.

From the pen of Dr. Monkhouse we have received *three* volumes of "Occasional Discourses," in 8vo, containing twenty-five sermons; several of which, however, have been already submitted to the judgement of the public, and have been favourably received. They are almost all of them on public subjects,—such as fasts, thanksgivings, the anniversary of friendly or charitable institutions, or the presentation of colours to the royal Wakefield volunteers: they are also individually prefaced with a dedication to some public character, benefactor or friend of the writer; who, to adopt his own language on this subject, is anxious to pay "a willing tribute of respect and admiration to resplendent virtue in high places." These discourses are animated and judicious, and, we have no doubt, have been serviceable in promoting the respective objects for which they were designed. We are also happy to learn that the excellent preacher himself has not, even in this world, failed of his reward; having been since preferred, if reports tell us truly, to the vicarage of the parish church in which he has long laboured as an inferior minister.

From the honest and unremitted labours of Mr. Kenrick, labours, however, from which he has now rested, and the reward of which we have no doubt he is now enjoying in a better world, we have received two posthumous volumes of "Discourses on various Topics," relating to the doctrines and practice of christianity. We say this of Mr. Kenrick, because, from all we have ever known or heard of him, we believe him to have been a conscientious and upright teacher of the christian religion, as it appeared to himself, although upon several very important doctrines we differ from him *toto cælo*; and we are doubtful whether he would have thanked us when alive for supposing it possible for him to have possessed a consciousness, and consequently a happiness, of any kind, immediately upon his dissolution, or, indeed, through any period between this and the general resurrection. The style of these discourses is defective in taste and ornament, there is occasionally an illegitimacy of argument in his discussion of disputed points, and the passages cited in his favour from the sacred scriptures are not always interpreted with a due regard to the import of their phraseology. Yet they evince a liberal heart, and a thorough desire to promote the common cause of religion and virtue.

The style evinced in a volume of "Discourses chiefly on devotional Subjects, by the late rev. Newcome Cappe," (we are sorry here also to see the *late* rev.) is far superior in point of correctness and animation. Like those of the preceding writer, these sermons too abound with various opinions to which we cannot accede, and many of which appear to be deduced from a fanciful interpretation or misconception of certain passages of holy writ. The greater number of

them, however, are upon subjects in which every sect of christians has an equal and a weighty interest, and on these we have dwelt with satisfaction and real pleasure: they are serious without gloom, ardent without enthusiasm, and eloquent without affectation. To most of them is appended a prayer suitable to the occasion, and they are introduced by an interesting collection of memoirs of the author's life, drawn up by the editor Mr. Wellbeloved.

Again we have to notice a volume of sermons of another *late* labourer in the vineyard of the christian church, and we need add nothing more to excite the heartfelt regret of our readers than to subjoin to these sermons the name of *William Gilpin*; a name well know to every class and character of christians in this, as well as in many other countries, and, wherever known, highly and most deservedly esteemed. The present forms the fourth volume of the sermons of this excellent man; the greater part of which were preached in his own quiet vicarage to his own beloved and affectionate congregation. Here he established a school for the instruction of the young, chiefly, if not altogether, at his own expense; thus liberally ministering to the wants of those who had occasion for such assistance in temporal as well as in spiritual things; and it is for the benefit of this school that the posthumous work now before us is published by this exemplary preacher's trustees. To say that we wish this volume success is unnecessary: its own merit, independently of the object for which it is offered to the public, will produce it, we have no doubt, an ample and abundant harvest. The sermons are in number twenty-five, exclusively of twenty-three sketches of sermons as hints to be filled up by the younger members of the clergy, and especially by such as, like the author himself through the greater part of his life, are settled in country villages. Those for whose use they are designed cannot do better than finish them with their own more expanded thoughts, and deliver them from their own pulpits.

Dr. Napleton has also published another volume of sermons, being his second, and has by no means suffered the reputation he obtained by his former volume to diminish in its lustre. It is avowedly designed for the use of colleges, schools, and families, and though we are ready to admit that discourses purposely addressed to the first or second, are not always the best that might be contrived for the third, yet in the variety here presented to us every classification may find something appropriate to its own wants, and in unison with its own taste and situation in life. The diction is plain and perspicuous, and, if not sublime or flowing, in no instance degraded or vulgar: there is a liberality of heart, and a soundness and sobriety of judgment evinced in these sermons, that cannot fail to captivate, and, what is far more, to improve. They are twenty in number, and their respective subjects as follow: On setting God before us. On not caring for Religion. On Faith. On Profession of Faith. On the Miracles of Christ. On Prophecy. On the Uses of the Law. The great Exemplar. On the Sabbath. On Religious Knowledge and Practice. On exemplary Conduct. On Temporal Happiness. On Sickness.

On

On the Resurrection of Christ. The Divine Nature hidden. On Christian Mourning. Approach towards Perfection. And lastly, On Consolation.

From the pen of Mr. Morton a second volume of sermons has also issued, the language of which, widely different from that of the two last writers, is purposely emblazoned with all the pomp and tinsel of what appears to us the popular pulpit oratory of the day. As such, the vicar of Risely will have no want of readers, or at least of purchasers; nor, perhaps, of admirers: but whether they may be of that precise class of purchasers, readers, and admirers, which would satisfy the sober and laudable ambition of a preacher of real taste and judgment, we will not venture to determine. They may have their benefit, and we trust they will have. The sermons are thirty, and chiefly on scriptural subjects.

From Mr. Partridge, vicar of Boston, &c. we have received a volume of "Sermons altered and adapted to an English Pulpit, from French Writers;" concerning which it will be sufficient to say, that he has not in our opinion been very fortunate in the choice of the writers whose works he has thus freely interpreted; and that although he has considerably *altered* such parts of them as he has chosen to translate, he has *not*, to continue his own language, "*adapted* them to the English pulpit." In truth, the writings of such clergymen as Lecointe, Dubosc, and Cambacere, would defy almost every degree of pains that could be bestowed for this purpose; and we believe that Mr. Partridge would find less trouble to himself, and produce more satisfaction to the world, in editing a volume of his own sermons, than in framing into a standard style and standard system the sermons that we cannot but regret have so considerably occupied his attention.

But though we cannot altogether approve of such an attempt, we have far less to object to it, than we have to a volume before us published anonymously, entitled "Twelve Sermons on important Subjects—addressed chiefly to the middle and lower classes of society;" a volume made up altogether of long extracts, pilfered without acknowledgment from writers of our own country, and in many instances of our own day—and only published *anonymously*, we suppose, because they cannot fairly be ascribed to any *individual* whatever. Voluminous as is our code of criminal law already, it will never be complete till some specific punishment is allotted to this sort of private and closet theft, as well as to the more open sorts of theft committed in our streets and highways.

We cannot accuse the rev. J. Adams A. M., &c. of the same crime in his volume of "Sermons" now before us, because, although he too has copied, and with no unsparing hand, from the writings of many of our best church divines as well of the present day as of anterior times, he has had the grace to acknowledge his obligations, and to designate the divines to whom he is chiefly indebted: but we would, nevertheless, just hint to him, that in the publication of a set of sermons still pretending to originality his obligations are somewhat more numerous and extensive, than they ought to be according to the common principles of *meum* and *tuum*. In other regards his sermons are entitled to respect;

and the subjects of which they more professedly treat are the existence of the Deity, the immortality of the soul, and the authenticity of the bible. "It may not be improper to add," observes Mr. Adams, in his introductory remarks, "that there is not in the whole volume a single sentiment contrary to the doctrines of *either church* established in Great Britain." We have heard of *three-church curates*, and *three-church preachers*; of ministers, we mean, who undertake to officiate in these respective duties of their profession in three different churches upon the return of every sabbath: but a *two-church writer* is to us a new character, and one that we do not recommend to the divines of *either church* as an example to be imitated in future.

From the *one* church we now turn to the *other*, and in the "Sermons" of sir Henry M. Wellwood, bart. possess a pearl of high and intrinsic value. They are such as become the gravity of the venerable preacher's years, and of the cause to which his life has been unceasingly devoted: nor is it often that the Edinburgh university or the church of Scotland has to boast of productions of this kind more seriously entitled to general perusal and approbation. The diction is chaste and correct; the argument fair and consecutive; the subjects discussed, for the most part, of extreme weight and importance; and the mode of address impressive and convincing. The volume comprises thirteen sermons upon the following topics: The unequal Allotments of Providence: The minute Improvement of the Blessings of Providence: Self-denial: The Form of Godliness: Christian Faith and Morality: The Result of good and bad Affections: The Inheritance of a good Man's Children: the Doctrine of Grace: The Conduct of Providence to good Men: The general Spirit and Effects of Christianity: The universal Promulgation of Christianity (extended through a second sermon): Prospects of Futurity; and The Cultivation of Religion.

With single sermons the year has not thronged; and of those it actually possesses we have met with but few that are entitled to any individual notice. We shall begin with an anonymous sermon entitled "Baptismal Faith explained: —Preached before the University of Cambridge, April 8, 1804." The university in question is well known to allow a latitude of tenet and expression to its students and professors, which we should in vain expect to meet with in its sister seminary. But the sermon before us surpasses every thing of this kind of which we had any conception. Transubstantiation and the Trinity coupled together as doctrines, not exactly, indeed, of equal absurdity, but as exhibiting an equal kind of mystery; and, consequently, equally difficult of comprehension!—"The positive institutions of the christian religion," we are told, "are not only few in number, but also *in their whole nature perfectly simple and intelligible.*" A "belief of the *pure* gospel of Christ consists not in believing *any other doctrine* but that of eternal life by the remission of sins, and a resurrection from the dead, *through the Man Jesus Christ*, the righteous Saviour and destined Lord of mankind. *Neither our christian privileges nor christian duties depend on any other faith.*" That such things are, we well know: but we were not altogether prepared to expect that such things either are, or are likely to be, in the

the very bosom of one of the universities of this kingdom.

We turn to another view of the question; and are sorry to add, that situated as the church seems to be at present, turn to whatever view we may, we are still compelled to witness controversy and contradiction. "Justification by Faith. A Sermon preached at the Primary Visitation of the Right Rev. Father in God, Henry William Lord Bishop of Chester, held at Richmond in Yorkshire, Aug. 22, 1804, and published at his Lordship's Request, by John Headlam, A. M. Rector of Wycliffe." This sermon is intended as a touchstone, to determine which is the party that may fairly be entitled to the appellation of the *True Church of England*. The preacher of the preceding discourse, and the gownsmen who heard and approved of it, do not appear to have risen in the worthy rector's recollection, or most assuredly he would at once have marked them down in black chalk upon the very first broaching of their sentiments. But not having this party in view, or, perhaps, not aware that such a party exists, the worthy preacher directs the whole of his attention to a party of a diametrically opposite description, and which, from its far superior numbers, and far superior means of producing converts, is become a much more dangerous enemy to what we shall yet venture, in conjunction with the author before us, to regard as the True Church Establishment of this country. We have not often seen the doctrines of Calvin more completely ascertained to have no part or lot in our established articles than in the sermon before us; nor the train of reasoning, if reasoning it may be called, of the evangelical sect upon this subject more clearly convicted of confusion, perplexity and error. We have not yet heard that this discourse has been replied to, but we have no doubt that we shall be called upon to notice some reply or other in our next year's Retrospect.

In a sermon preached by Dr. Butler, at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, at the triennial institution of the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, we may, in some measure, be said to have a third view of the subject presented to us. The point here discussed is, "the use and abuse of reason in matters of faith;" and the general result of the inquiry is, that upon the chief doctrines that occupy the pages of the two preceding sermons, such as those of the Trinity, of election and reprobation, reason has little or nothing to do; and all kinds of discussion are censurable. Is the preacher aware that by such a conclusion he is reprobating the proceedings of many of the most important ecumenical councils of the christian church, which were all founded on subtile and minute research? Is he aware that he is submitting the only authority appealed to by Cranmer and his fellow compilers of the articles of our established faith, who did not venture to introduce into them even the most indisputable of their doctrines till after they had satisfied themselves of their truth and of their deducibility from the sacred scriptures by profound and serious research, and the fullest exercise of their reason in the course of such research?

To prove that such examination and discussion is not only allowable, but absolutely and imperatively necessary, we shall take the liberty of calling Mr. Butler's at-

tention to the very next sermon in the list before us; delivered, as the title-page informs us, by Mr. Belsham, at the Unitarian chapel, Essex street, March 31, 1805, upon the "Progress of Error concerning the Person of Christ." This author, like the three preceding, takes, or at least *pretends* to take, the Bible as the foundation of his faith: but he denies, and, in language not always the most respectful or becoming—could he even establish his beloved positions—that the Bible, in any part of it, contains any such doctrines as those of election, and reprobation, of atonement, or of a Trinity. How will Mr. Butler support his own opinion upon these important subjects to the world at large, otherwise than by an appeal to the same pure and veritable pages? How, in the prosecution of such an appeal, will he avoid that exercise of his reason which he so unwisely censures? and establish the truth of his own creed without discussion? The Bible is given us to reason upon, even in the most mysterious articles of our holy profession; for in not one of them is there any thing *repugnant* to reason, though there may be much too *sublime* for its comprehension, and it is the legitimate object of reason to ascertain that there is nothing repugnant; and the clergyman or the layman, who, from timidity of heart, renounces all right to a critical examination of the Bible, whether in its text, in its history, or in its doctrines, nay, who does not openly contend for, and exercise this right to its utmost extent, or so far as he is able to apply it legitimately, gives to every class, both of separatists and enthusiasts, the most important advantage they can possess.

The political sermons that have occurred to us have not been numerous, nor peculiarly characteristic in any way. Those which have reached us, of chief merit, are "A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Monday, Nov. 5, 1804, by the Rev. Henry Phillpots, M. A. &c." Dr. Hall's, preached before the house of commons, Feb. 20, 1805, being the day appointed for a general fast; Mr. Spencer Madan's, preached in St. Philip's church, Birmingham; Mr. Poulter's, at the abbey church, Bath, both on the same day and occasion; and Mr. Bulmer's, preached before the Wainfleet corps of volunteer infantry, in the town of this name in Lincolnshire.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Including Medicine and Surgery, Natural History, Experimental Philosophy, Rural Economy, Agriculture, Picturesque Architecture, Perspective, Navigation, Geography, Astronomy, Arithmetic, Naval and Military Tactics.

THE subject which seems chiefly to have been agitated, or at least with most interest, in the course of the period to which our present labours are limited, is the effects of cold, and especially of cold

cold water in several of the most fatal diseases which "flesh is heir to." Hence we have received from Dr. Stock a thin octavo volume of "Medical Collections on the Effects of Cold as a Remedy in certain Diseases; with an Appendix, containing an Account of some Experiments made with a View to ascertain the Effects of Cold Water upon the Pulse;" —from the late lamented Dr. Currie a new edition of his "Medical Reports on the Effects of Water Cold and Warm as a Remedy in Fever and other Diseases, whether applied to the Surface of the Body or used internally," containing an additional chapter of highly interesting and important matter: together with three or four publications upon the beneficial or injurious employment of cold water in the case of gout alone, by Dr. Kinglake, Mr. Parkinson and Mr. Hunt. In the course of the inquiries pursued by these various writers many questions are proposed, many objections started, and many replies subjoined; which, however ingenious and worthy of minute consideration, we feel ourselves incapable of entering into. Upon the whole, it appears indubitable, that in all cases of fever inclining to a putrid or typhus type, and in most cases of gout, both the affusion of cold water and the cold bath,—in the first instance employed generally, and in the second locally alone, are sure of producing the most essential benefit. To the question proposed by Dr. Stock, a disciple of the Brunonian school, Whether cold be a stimulus or a sedative?—we have no hesitation to reply, by ascribing to it the former character, diametrically as we oppose hereby the opinion it is his chief object to support. We go still further, and are prepared to prove, had we time, that cold is as much a stimulus as heat; that their operations upon the body are alike; and that the extreme of both is sphacelus. If we be told that no comparison can be drawn between that which is a distinct body *sui generis*, and that which is merely a privation of such body, our reply for the present is, that it must be first ascertained whether heat or caloric be more of a substance than cold: it must be first proved whether the frigorific rays of the atmosphere, contended for by Dr. Herschel and several other philosophers of the present day, be or be not the effluvia of a positive existence; and whether Dr. Irvine, count Rumford, and Mr. professor Davy, be erroneous in receiving the opinion of several earlier sages, and either doubting, or peremptorily denying the existence of any such substance as caloric, or elementary heat? as also what are the relative changes produced, by the application of cold, in what may be called the gasseous ingesta and egesta of the skin? whether in consequence hereof it continue to absorb an equal quantity of nitrogen and oxygen, and to part with an equal quantity of carbon? and, if the frigid application be in the form of cold water, whether also another assertion advanced by several modern chemists be founded in truth; namely, that water is continually decomposing the moment it touches the living cuticle of either animals or vegetables? and what may be the result of such decomposition? These are questions which have never yet been examined, nor, as we knew of, propounded for examination: but they are questions of considerable importance upon the subject before us; nor can any satisfactory

tisfactory progress be made in it till they are answered. The objections urged by Dr. Stock against regarding cold as a stimulus, in no instance fairly apply; and the increased slowness introduced hereby into the pulse must completely make against him instead of advancing his cause. Rapidity, not retardation, of the pulse is the peculiar characteristic of weakened action; and in proportion to the increase of the weakness will be also that of the rapidity itself.

Upon the principle that cold is a stimulative, we can easily account for all the changes and all the advantages it produces in the different diseases in which it has been employed, but upon no other principle whatever. In typhous fevers, and others of a typhous tendency, we see with Dr. Currie, the propriety of applying cold water without sparing. We want increased action in the larger sanguiferous vessels, occupying the centre of the system, and we also want increased action in the vessels serving to the production, or, if the readers please, the *secretion* of sensorial power; and we must sacrifice the remaining strength of the capillaries to this important acquisition. By the spasmodic collapse produced, through the affusion of frigid fluids, on the latter, the blood is driven in greater force and quantity towards the heart; the lungs inhale a larger proportion of vital principle from the atmosphere, and part at the same time with a larger portion of excrementitious carbon, and we obtain the very point we are aiming at: we obtain the same stimulative effects, although by a different routine, by cold, which the most sanguine practitioner could desire to be produced by cordials or any other sort of stimulus, whether applied externally or internally; and we obtain them in a much more efficacious, and less debilitating manner than we could do by employing the former alone. We are astonished to find, from the present edition of Dr. Currie's Reports, that this salutary mode of practice was never once had recourse to in the late Gibraltar fever. We are also pleased to find this very expert and judicious practitioner enter his protest against the absurd and dangerous doctrine, that the species of fever here referred to is altogether destitute of contagion; and, consequently, that no means are necessary to prevent its propagation.

Upon the principle of its stimulating effects we can also account for the frequent, we may say the *general* advantage of the local application of cold water in cases of gout. Dr. Kinglake has excited a strong and highly impolitic prejudice against the practice he has endeavoured to enforce, by the violence and acrimony of his language: yet the facts remain the same; and his opponents, Dr. Haworth, Mr. Edlin, Mr. Parkinson, and Mr. Hunt, in many instances, indirectly and unintentionally favour the practice which it is their avowed object to discommend. Mr. Parkinson admits that he has actually derived in his own person, upon a trial of cold water, all the success which Dr. Kinglake has pretended to ascribe to it, but he is apprehensive of injurious effects in some subsequent period: yet, certainly nothing can be more illogical or unphilosophical than to forbear a recourse to a positive remedy for an actual evil, from a mere suspicion of its being followed by some *secondary* and *indefinite* evil,

evil, in some *future* and *indefinite* period of time! As to the other gentlemen, they have only offered in conjunction *two* isolated cases of fatal effects consecutive upon the plan of cold immersion: of which *two*, only *one* has fairly been submitted to the observation of any of them; the other being a case of mere hearsay, and, consequently, to which no credit can be attached. For, Mr. Hunt does not pretend to a relation of any injurious case that has occurred in his own practice, but merely to these two isolated and antecedent cases narrated by Mr. Edlin, and to only one of which himself and Dr. Haworth were personally privy. So far, therefore, Dr. Kinglake has a manifest advantage in his "Reply" to Mr. Edlin, yet *so far*, and no farther: for, in his peremptory denial of the existence of repelled or retrocedent gout, he is by no means borne out by any observations he has advanced; while in his mode of accounting for the fatality of the case chiefly depended upon by Mr. Edlin, he is insufferably vague and inconclusive; and the style he has chosen to adopt, or rather to *continue*, is in a manner we are not often called upon to witness, flippant, supercilious, and abusive. Gout, if we mistake not, may, in few words, be regarded as local inflammation produced by a general or constitutional cause: by the application of cold water, as in other kinds of local inflammation, a new action is produced in the system—a spasmodic collapse of the mouths of the capillaries of the part affected, and a diffused transfer of the surplus of sensorial action throughout the frame at large: by this transfer, as by other transfers in cases of other kinds of inflammation, the part at first affected recovers its tone, and a different and more diffused outlet is obtained for the exhaustion of the morbid cause. In certain constitutions, however, there exists a peculiar facility of sympathy between one organ and another, and especially between the stomach and the extremities; and in such cases the transfer of inflammation from the foot or hand, in consequence of the use of cold water, will not be equally diffused over the sanguiferous system at large, and, consequently, so divided as to be rendered no longer incommodious to sustain, but concentred in the sympathizing organ alone, as, for example, the stomach; which, by the violence of its first attack, or incipient stimulus, may be suddenly, and so totally exhausted of its whole portion of sensorial power, like a limb struck by lightning, or exposed to the shock of a large Leyden jar, as to render it doubtful whether even the most stimulating cordials will be able to recover it to a state of healthy re-action. Retrocedent gout is therefore nothing but common gout existing in a system, several of whose distant organs possess a peculiar disposition to sympathize with each other in the event of morbid affection.

As to the immediate cause of the gouty diathesis, we freely confess our total ignorance. Mr. Parkhurst ascribes it to a peculiar acidity approaching the nature of the lithic acid, in consequence of the existence of this acid combined with soda being now ascertained to constitute the concretions which are often found in the joints of gouty persons: and he is also for deducing the lithic acid from that acid which it is well known exists at times in the stomach itself, and which

which he chooses to denominate the *gastric*. In consequence of all which he strongly recommends, as a *preventive cure* for the disease, the habitual use of alkalis, either fixed or volatile; and offers cases and observations to establish the truth of his doctrine. These cases and observations, however, do not, to us, prove altogether satisfactory; and he has by no means established his theory. In the first place, there is no more reason for supposing the lithic or uric acid to be derived immediately from the stomach than the acid of fat, or of phosphorus, than the iron which is found in the blood, or the sulfur that is detected in the brain. Next, if all or any of these substances were derived immediately from the stomach, we should necessarily trace them in the chyle, in which neither iron nor sulfur, nor acid of any kind, excepting, perhaps, the oxalic in consequence of its sugar, can ever be obtained by any process. Again, it does not appear that the secerning arteries of the joints are, in their natural and healthy state, capable of producing either soda or lithic acid; and that hence the production of both, like that of the occasional secretion of pus instead of mucus, must result, not from what is possessed by the stomach, but from a local and morbid action of these secretory vessels themselves. And, lastly, as the gouty concretions evince a diseased production of soda or mineral alkali as well as of acid, our author has the same reason for ascribing the gout to alkalis taken into the stomach as he has to acids; and, consequently, to invert the mode of cure he has recommended, and advise the use of acids to correct the production of superfluous alkali, instead of the use of alkalis to correct that of superfluous acids.

The next point to which our attention has been largely excited in the course of the year we are describing is, the still warmly, and we may say violently, agitated question concerning the vaccina, or cow-pox. Into this subject, however, we entered so much at large in our last Retrospect, that we shall have little more to do at present than to recapitulate the different tracts that have successively appeared either in its favour or against it. In the second class we have to rank the name of Dr. Moseley, who, in his "Treatise on the Lues Bovilla or Cow-pox," is admitted to stand forth as captain-general on the occasion; Dr. Squirrell, who in the title-page of his "Observations" informs us he was "formerly resident apothecary at the Small-pox inoculation hospital," and at whose publication we gave a glance in our last volume; Mr. Rogers and Mr. Lipscomb, from the second of whom we have received two pamphlets within the course of our present lucubrations. In support of the practice we have to notice Mr. Schoolbred's "Report of the Progress of Vaccination in Bengal;" Dr. Labatt's "Address to the Medical Practitioners of Ireland;" "the Report of the Medical Committee on the Cases of *supposed* Small-Pox after Vaccination, which occurred in Fulwood's Rents, Holborn 1804;" Mr. Ring's "Answer to Dr. Moseley;" and Mr. Merriman's "Observations on some late Attempts to depreciate the Value and Efficacy of Vaccine Inoculation." So much has antecedently been written on this subject, that it was not to be expected that much matter of real importance could be brought forward

ward on either side; and upon the whole, we find this to be the actual fact. Cases of small-pox have *occasionally* occurred after the most fair and unobjectionable modes of vaccination, and the cause of such recurrence remains to this moment unaccounted for. We learn from Mr. Schoolbred's Report, that the vaccine prevention has been received with the utmost encouragement by the government at Bengal, and that it had been employed to such an extent that not less than 11,000 had been vaccinated, in the year 1803 alone; while, on the contrary, we learn from Dr. Labatt, that the practice is still little known or enforced in Ireland, and that various mistakes have occurred in attempting to introduce it. All beyond this that we have been able to collect from the vaccine controversy for the year is, on both sides broad assertion, acrimonious language, attempts at wit and humour, sometimes successful, and sometimes the reverse, and inapplicable or fallacious reasoning. The opposers of the cow-pox seem to a man inclined to deny that the small-pox itself has in any instance occurred *twice*: the defenders, on the contrary, maintain as unanimously that the repetition of small-pox after small-pox has occurred at least as often as that of small-pox after cow-pox. While we deny most peremptorily the former assertion we have many doubts as to the latter: be this, however, as it may, we are sure that the reasoning does not apply on either side. The anti-vaccinists pretend to lament the new and dreadful hosts of diseases that are likely to be introduced into the world by the fashionable practice, in the course of which one of them goes so far as to affirm the small-pox to be "an improvement to the health and constitution;" while the advocates for vaccination ascribe the most sinister motives to their opponents; extol the actual interference in its behalf of the British government in India, the intended interference of the French government over the whole French empire; and most unwisely recommend the same kind of compulsory measures to our own administration at home. Why the medical committee who examined the cases of small-pox after cow-pox in Fulwood's Rents should denominate these "cases of *supposed* small-pox," we are at a loss to understand. Cases of *actual* and *unquestionable* small-pox they were admitted to be by themselves: and to retain such a term after such an admission, discovers a reluctance in the act of making the admission that we should not have expected from a body who, in other respects, have evinced a candour that does credit to their examination.

In the important branch of general therapeutics we have received several truly valuable and original works. Of these the first we shall notice is Dr. Haygarth's Part I. of his "Clinical History of Diseases," merely extending to the acute rheumatism and nodosity of the joints. Upon the latter subject he leaves us doubtful, and in truth does not affect to be otherwise himself: but upon the former he is clear, decided, and important; and the extensive and unequivocal advantages which he proves to be derivable from the use of Peruvian bark in cases of acute rheumatism, can leave no practitioner any longer at a loss how to act, if he have ever studied the book and the cases before us.—We next notice, with real pleasure, "Observations on the Utility and Administra-

Administration of purgative Medicines in several Diseases," by Dr. James Hamilton of the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh. The diseases to which these observations peculiarly apply are Typhus, Scarlatina, Marasmus, Chorea, Chlorosis, and Hæmetemesis: in all which, however contrary to the established practice of the present day, this veteran practitioner has employed the above class of medicines both copiously and perseveringly, with wonderful success. We cannot enter upon the subject; but we cannot avoid commending the frankness with which he has disclosed himself, and the industry with which he has noted down the numerous cases that have occurred to him.

The "Memoirs of the Medical Society of London," of which the sixth volume is now published, contain several therapeutic articles of some consequence, though its range embraces other branches of the medical and chirurgical art as well, of which many are entitled to attention. Upon the whole, the society appears to support its usual credit; but it has admitted some trifling papers into its present volume, and has allotted by far too large a space of it to opinions of its corresponding members in answer to questions suggested to them by the society itself in regard to the influenza of 1803. Dr. Duncan's "Annals of Medicine for 1803–4" exhibit with his usual accuracy, a concise view of the latest and most important discoveries in medicine and medical philosophy since the publication of his last volume. We are sorry to find that with this volume the periodical labours of the elder Dr. Duncan are to close. Dr. Lambe has published a "Medical and Experimental Enquiry into the Origin, Symptoms, and Cure, of constitutional Diseases, particularly Scrophula, Consumption, Cancer, and Gout." These are strangely conceived to flow in every instance from mineral and poisonous impregnations of the water commonly made use of in our diet; in consequence of which the writer superficially supposes that he has detected a certain cure for all of them in the habitual employment of distilled water instead of spring or river. The board of health at Manchester has published an account of its "Proceedings" in the establishment of its fever wards; and the success which has accompanied so laudable a plan renders it highly worthy of introduction into other large and populous towns. Dr. Jackson's "System of Arrangement and Discipline for the Medical Departments of Armies," contains many valuable observations, and sufficiently evinces that our late expeditions to Egypt and the West Indies were possessed of a medical staff unnecessarily numerous and expensive to government. Dr. Buchan has published a useful tract of "Practical Observations concerning Sea-Bathing;" and Dr. Haty a volume of "Observations on the Simple Dysentery, and its Combinations, &c." in which he supposes that simple dysentery is never contagious, and that it is only in consequence of its connection with fever of a typhus or other type that it will be found capable of producing infection; in which case, however, it should be the *fever* alone in its own simple state also, and not the dysentery, that ought to be communicated. To these we have to add "The Modern Practice of Physic: by Edw. Goodman Clarke, M. D." a work too contracted for the professional

fessional, and too technical for the general reader; and Dr. Kerby's "Tables of the Materia Medica," drawn up in a systematic arrangement from the dispensatories of the colleges of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, with some useful remarks upon the different articles, and a variety of original formulæ.

Dr. Carmichael Smyth has reasserted his claim to the earliest introduction of the nitrous acid, as a fumigating substance in cases of contagious fever, in a letter to Mr. Wilberforce, in answer to the remarks lately advanced upon this subject by Dr. J. Johnstone. To this Dr. J. Johnstone has added a rejoinder, in which he again adverts to the common employment of the vapour of the muriatic acid, both by his father and the French chemists, anterior to the recommendation of any such vapour by Dr. Smyth; and, in conjunction with the testimony of M. Morveau, renders it doubtful whether, when properly and cautiously performed, the muriatic fumigation may not be as little troublesome to the patient's respiration as the nitrous. The dispute is still undecided, and we cannot engage in it. For ourselves, we have uniformly preferred the nitrous acid.

The department of surgery and anatomy has offered but little indeed in their repective pursuits. Mr. Samuel Cooper, in an ingenious treatise on the cataract, has supported the older practice of couching or depression to the more modern of extraction, as the preferable on various accounts; and he is countenanced in this opinion by the concurrent remarks of several of our most able operators, both foreign and domestic. Mr. Whately has published what he calls "*A Case of Two* extraordinary Polypi" (but which he ought to have called *Two extraordinary Cases of Polypi*) "removed from the Nose, the one by excision *with a New Instrument*, the other by *improved Forceps*;" by which we should be induced to suppose that the last was not a *new* instrument, or, perhaps, not an instrument *at all*. Notwithstanding, however, the inaccuracy of the title-page, the pamphlet is well worth the attention of the practical surgeon, as containing instructions which may be useful to him in a troublesome operation. Dr. Jones, in a treatise on divided arteries, has examined with considerable attention the natural process which takes place upon such an event, and has pointed out the means by which a cut or injured artery may be most effectually secured and obliterated. Mr. Luxmore has published "A Manual of Anatomy and Physiology" for the use of students. As an anatomical *vade-mecum* it will be found useful—the physiological pretensions of it we have not been able to perceive.

In the comprehensive branch, indeed, of general physiology and natural history, the publications of the year have been but few in number. We have the appearance of another volume of Dr. Shaw's General Zoology, which evinces the same accuracy, and considerably more spirit than the last. Professsor Willdenow's "Principles of Botany and Physiology," already noticed by us in their original German text, have received an anonymous English translation, but strangely incorrect, both in point of grammar and idiomatic construction. It must, nevertheless, be a useful book to the English reader, till a better version shall supply its place. The arrange-

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ment of Willdenow is highly praiseworthy: his vegetable nosology, if we may so denominate it, is the most classical, and, upon the whole, we believe, the most accurate of any treatise on the diseases of plants which we yet possess; but his chronological and geographical history of them, comprising the influence of climate upon vegetation, the changes which they may perhaps have suffered during the various revolutions the earth has sustained, their migrations and dissemination over the globe, and the means adopted by nature for their preservation, overloaded with ingenious conjectures, is the weakest and least valuable part of the work: it abounds with hypothesis, and is for ever mistaking fancy for fact. Dr. Scrimshire, in two volumes in twelves, has offered 'A Series of Essays introductory to the Study of Natural History;" which, as an elementary book, may be perused both with pleasure and profit. It possesses, moreover, the advantage of a devotional cast of character, something like that of Derham or Bonnet, naturally exhibiting itself and never impertinently obtruded; and which, while it instructs the young physiologist in the wisdom and beauty of the animal and vegetable world, is incessantly leading him "through nature up to Nature's God." We are also under considerable obligations to an anonymous writer for an octavo volume of "Tracts relative to Botany, translated from different Languages." These tracts are ten in number, and many of them not only valuable in themselves, but peculiarly so as being for the most part beyond the reach of the mere English reader in any other form. The language chiefly had recourse to is the German, which has furnished the translator with articles from Hedwig, Link, Berkhausen, Willdenow, and Ehrhart. Independently of which, however, he has consulted the Portuguese for a paper on aloes-wood, or agallochum, by Loureiro; the Swedish for two on the genera of the orchideæ by Swartz; the Spanish for an account of the ule-tree (Castilla elastica) as well as of other trees producing the elastic gum, by Vicente de Cervantes; and the French for observations on the plant called erica dabœcia, by Jussieu. Two "Botanist's Guides," moreover, and each of them of considerable merit, have made their appearance, either in whole or in part, in the course of the period before us; the one is a "Guide through England and Wales," by Mr. Dawson Turner, a name already well known to every lover of Natural History; and Mr. L. W. Dillwyn, who promises, from the attention he has long paid to this science, from a valuable and elegant synopsis of British confervæ, on which he has been for some time engaged, and lastly, from the share he has taken in the two volumes of the work before us, to be an able and equal colleague with Mr. Turner,—*par nobile fratrum*. The other is more circumscribed in its field, but, when completed, will be far more detailed in its delineations. It limits its range to the counties of Northumberland and Durham. The first volume only of this work is yet presented to the public, and in the title-page it is presented anonymously. Yet from the subscription to the dedication, which is addressed to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, we learn that it is a joint production of three

of the members of this active and valuable institution, Messrs. Winch, Thornhill and Waugh. We wish them success in their present and future labours, for they are worthy of it. To what extent these labours may ultimately reach we can scarcely form a conjecture. This first volume contains only the musci: the lichens, we are informed, are to be comprehended in the second, which will soon be committed to the press, and the arrangement of which will be copied from the Methodus Lichenum of Acharius.

To a little tract of sir Jos. Banks, entitled "A Short Account of the Disease in Corn, called by Farmers the Blight, the Mildew, and the Rush," not the botanist only, but the nation at large is much indebted; for this truly philanthropic character has placed the subject in a light so clear and simple that every one who peruses the pamphlet must of necessity understand it. The parasitic fungus, whose seeds, by fixing themselves on the different grains of an ear of corn, as those of the musci do on different branches of a tree, penetrate into the gluten of the one, or the alburnum of the other, absorb much of its nutriment, and shrivel up the affected grain to half its weight and plumpness, has long been known to the botanic world to be either mediately or immediately the cause of the disease here alluded to. Of this microscopic parasite a good engraving is here given from highly magnified drawings by Mr. Bauer, botanical painter to his majesty: but what is of far more consequence, and what has not been generally known, we believe, indeed, we may say very little known till the publication of the present tract, the right honourable author endeavours to prove from actual experiment, that these shrivelled and blighted grains, although unfit for household economy, still retain their full possession of fecundity, and may hence be employed with as much advantage as those of the glossiest complexion and fullest size, as seeds for the ensuing year's crop. It should seem that the fecundated or more animalized part of the gluten has a power of resisting the encroachment of the vegetable insect, which no other portion of the grain possesses. We have observed this valuable treatise reprinted by permission of its author in several periodical pamphlets, as also in a fourth edition of Mr. Curtis's "British Grasses," which we are pleased to see has made its appearance in the course of the current year.

We are hence insensibly advanced into the subject of rural economy: and in consequence, to a useful "General Treatise on Cattle, comprehending their Breeding, Management, and Diseases," by Mr. John Lawrence. This gentleman has already obtained some reputation in the nomadic department from several prior publications, and he will by no means forfeit it by the present. His knowledge is truly practical; and he has acquired, what practice alone will not always give, an emancipation from vulgar prejudices, and especially upon the subject of veterinary diseases. His remarks and his plans upon this last point are well worth attending to, and we are equally pleased with that general spirit of kindness and benignity to animals that pervades this work. Gentleness and good treatment will in truth be ever found in the result the best and most frugal economy that can possibly

sibly be adopted. Mr. Luccock's "Nature and Properties of Wool illustrated" is of a different character, but a character still entitled to commendation. It is a more desultory work; and the author is for ever flying off at his tangents in pursuit of adventitious objects; or, if he prefer the term, adventitious *entertainment* for his readers; and entertainment he does not fail to bring them, and of no ordinary value: and hence we freely forgive him his roving disposition. In short, whatever has a relation to the important staple of wool, its aboriginal country, the various species and modern cross breeds of sheep, the rude instruments first employed in the manufacture of it, who first introduced its use, by what means the perfection of the cloths of the present day was progressively obtained,—these and various other collateral subjects find a place in *the volume* before us.

We cannot quit the subject of rural economy without noticing Mr. Edlin's little "Treatise on the Art of Bread-making;" the former part of which is devoted, and rather too scientifically, in our own opinion, to the natural history and chemistry of wheat; but the practical instructions which follow atone for this unnecessary trial of skill, in which the author sometimes loses himself, and may be perused, and acted upon, we have no doubt, with no small addition to our domestic comforts. Dr. Shannon's "Practical Treatise on Brewing, &c." should go hand in hand with the above treatise on *baking*, and our household enjoyments will then only require the neat and rosy-faced circle of friends or children to be complete. Upon the whole, however, we are afraid the doctor indulges somewhat too largely in recondite, we had almost said unprofitable speculation, to entitle his book to a constant place on our cottage window-seat.

Mr. Snape has furnished us with a "Practical Treatise on Farriery," which is possessed of the very valuable qualities of modesty and perspicuity. He aims at making his reader understand what he understands himself, and seldom pretends to the affectation of being wise upon doubtful and recondite questions. Mr. Adam's "Analysis of Horsemanship" is also a commendable publication: it embraces the whole art of breaking horses for every purpose, and offers valuable instructions for what is called riding in the *manege*, for military riding, racing, hunting, and travelling. It inculcates, moreover, the *high advantage* of gentle and insinuating treatment.

Upon the subject of chemistry we have to notice a volume of "Essays," the joint production of the late Dr. W. Irvine of Glasgow, and his son of the same christian name. The elder Dr. Irvine acquired some degree of distinction a few years back by his observations on the nature of caloric, and its existence as an independent matter; a point which has since been once more strongly contested, and which, even in the opinion of the son, "seems to want somewhat of the clearness of complete proof," although he does not altogether desert the doctrine of his father's school. The Essays of the elder Dr. Irvine are too unconnected, too diffuse, and too remote from the present state of the science to which they are directed, to be very valuable: on which account we prefer the part of the volume which is furnished by the son to that produced by the father. In two anonymous

nymous volumes of an octavo size, entitled "Conversations on Chemistry," we are furnished with a very excellent introduction to this branch of science. The first volume is devoted to a consideration of the simple bodies, in which caloric takes the lead, and is discussed with as much perspicuity as we could expect considering the doubts which still attach to its existence. The second embraces the compound bodies; and the work concludes with a sketch of animal and vegetable physiology, so far as relates to chemical pursuits, drawn up from good authorities, and agreeably and accurately compiled. We have been highly pleased with these "Conversations," and not the less because our instructress, as we learn from the preface, is a female: we only regret the form in which the instruction has been communicated. There is in all books of question and answer, a certain sameness of manner and want of freedom in the general discussion, which has given us a rooted dislike to such a mode of attempting to convey instruction of any kind. A small but "General Dictionary of Chemistry, containing the leading Principles of the Science in regard to Facts, Experiments, and Nomenclature, for the Use of Students," has been published by Dr. Nisbett: its size is twelves; and of this we can only say that it is too small to afford necessary information, and too inaccurate to afford information that may be depended upon. The "Important Discoveries and Experiments elucidated on Ice, Heat and Cold, by the Rev. James Hall," have far more importance attributed to them by the writer himself than we apprehend will be attributed by any one besides. Where he gained his experiments we know not, but certainly they are experiments that will not apply to any state or relation of bodies that we have ever beheld; and we are half tempted to believe that the reverend chemist obtained them in his visions of the night, when deep sleep had fallen upon his own eyelids as well as those of the rest of the world.

In turning to the mineralogic productions of the year, we shall first notice Mr. Weaver's Translation of Werner's "Treatise on the external Character of Fossils;" a work of considerable merit in the original, and entitled to no small degree of praise in the naturalized version, notwithstanding the unclassical and barbarous introduction of a variety of compound terms derived from different instead of from the same language, sometimes half Latin and half Greek, sometimes half Greek and half English, and sometimes half English and half German. Mr. Werner, indeed, has been peculiarly unlucky in all his appearances in an English dress; for even this is by far the best which we have yet noticed of the various productions of his pen hitherto rendered into our own tongue. Professor Jameson of Edinburgh has written "A Mineralogical Description of the County of Dumfries," which is obviously the production of an actual and attentive survey; and so truly characteristic of the country as to be intrinsically valuable to the topographic geologist.

The department of rural architecture offers us two publications from the pen of Mr. Gandy, the one entitled "Designs for Cottages, Cottage-farms, and other Rural Buildings, including Entrance-gates and Lodges;" the other "The Rural Architect, consisting of va-

rious Designs for Country Buildings, accompanied with Ground-plans, Estimates and Descriptions." We do not admire either the taste or designs exhibited in these quarto pamphlets. In truth, we want that modern taste without which it is impossible to relish all the extravagance of picturesque paintings, picturesque buildings, picturesque descriptions of objects. An old castle-remain on the point of tumbling about our ears may, however, be well enough to look at from a distance, or on canvass; but we would rather prefer for an actual habitation such a frightful thing as one of those deformed houses with black and white daubings and projecting stories, which appear to be "exceedingly odious to the eye of" a person of so refined a taste as the writer before us. Weather-beaten and falling down cottages are occasionally so placed, we confess, as to excite our attention and interest our feelings, in several of Mr. Gandy's paintings, which it has fallen to our lot both to witness and to admire; but every day affords us the most convincing proofs that it is not every painter who is fit to be a builder: we must have utility as well as singularity, simplicity as well as extravagance; internal convenience must be consulted as well as external appearance, and art must be allowed its reign as well as nature. In venturing these observations we have in our eye also a book written on the same subject, and by a pupil of the same school, we mean Mr. Atkinson's "Cottage Architecture." The perspective views, and plans of labourers' cottages and small farm-houses, introduced into this quarto tract, are all, like the former, purposely designed to produce *picturesque effect*; that is to say, in other words, to make them appear any thing but what they really are, and what they really are intended to be: when we see barns transformed into churches, surely stables and pig-sties might be represented under the form of monuments and tomb-stones, and every manger might have its *memento mori*.

On general perspective, Mr. Noble has prepared a useful manual for students, and especially for his own pupils, in his "Practical Perspective exemplified on Landscapes." This is the only book we have met with applying itself to this branch of science generally, in the whole course of our annual lucubrations. Nor have we more than one to notice in the department of geography, which has any claim to be recorded in this depository, and that is Dr. Aikin's "Geographical Delineations;" a work occupying two octavo volumes, and affording, on a plan somewhat new, a compendious view of the natural and political state of all parts of the globe. The natural state of the globe it is not very difficult, perhaps, to describe under an arrangement which may have the chance of continuing applicable for a period of time sufficient to gratify the pride of any geographic compiler whatever; for, though subject, occasionally, to internal and elementary commotions and revolutions, the *natural* state of the globe is not often essentially changed in its external appearances: but its political state is so variable that it seems almost as impossible to fix it, as to fix the fickle fashion of the day. Of this latter evil, Dr. Aikin seems not altogether insensible; and hence, in his primary divisions of the globe, when regarding it in a po-

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litical view, he has not always chosen to contemplate it as merely constituting the respective territories of so many reigning powers, but as divided by certain customs, laws, languages, or other general classic characteristics. We admit that this is a more scientific and philosophic mode of arrangement; but it necessarily introduces some degree of confusion, by sometimes uniting together nations who are separated by distinct governments; and at other times separating those which constitute one kingdom or empire. The work is nevertheless an able and agreeable compilation; the style is peculiarly neat and chaste, without any undue study of ornament, or affectation of finery: and, like most other works of a similar bearing composed by this elegant writer, it is occasionally enlivened by appropriate poetical descriptions from the best of our national bards.

Upon a subject of close and intimate connexion, we have received from the indefatigable labours of Mr. J. de Mendoza Rios a book of almost incalculable value in his "Complete Collection of Tables for Navigation and Nautical Astronomy, with simple, concise and accurate Methods for all the Calculations useful at Sea." This work is published so far under the patronage of the East-India company that the directors have handsomely contributed towards the very heavy expense which must necessarily have resulted from its printing; a liberality which has also been imitated by the board of longitude. Yet such is the closeness of the press-work, and the expense entailed on close reading and correction, that the author has no chance of putting a farthing of profit into his own pocket, even upon the sale of the entire impression. We trust, however, he will be rewarded in some other manner; for his work is truly a national benefit, since by the accuracy and multifariousness of its tables, it shortens in a very considerable degree many of the most important operations in tracing the longitude by the lunar tables, and will be found of perpetual advantage in other inquiries relating to astronomy and navigation.

From calculations for measuring distances at sea, we advance to calculations for measuring lengths and breadths by land; and in Mr. Stephenson's "System of Land Surveying" we possess a book that may be fairly recommended to every gentleman who is desirous of acquainting himself personally with the number of acres his paternal estate consists of, or of correcting whatever errors may occur in the mensuration of a professional surveyor engaged on the same business. Mr. Fenwick's "Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Subterraneous Surveying, and the Magnetic Variation of the Needle," is entitled to equal praise; and will be found as useful to those whose property lies below the surface of the earth, as the former will be to those whose possessions lie on the surface itself. As an introductory book it will be found the more useful from its commencing with the simplest elements of geometry; so that the uninformed student may, from this book alone, collect all the knowledge that will be sufficient to initiate him into the science he is in pursuit of. The use and importance of the magnet in the kind of survey here treated of are ably pointed out, and ample directions given for its employment, whether in opening a new mine, or ascertaining the age of one that has been many years excavated.

In Mr. Bayley's "Young Mathematician's Assistant, or Schoolmaster's Guide," we have indeed, as he calls it, "a short and *comprehensive*," but we are afraid not a *comprehensible* "system." Arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, logarithms, gauging, astronomy, navigation, dialling, the conic sections, fluxions, and book-keeping, are not to be taught in seventy-two quarto pages. Yet such are the subjects here pretended to be treated of, and such the length at which they are conjointly discussed. It is like painting a pair of globes on a pair of nutshells, or pretending to give us the science of the French Encyclopœdia by presenting us with the mere title page of one of its volumes.

On the "Genuine art of Gauging" *alone* we have, for this reason, been better pleased with a volume published by Mr. Jonas. It is sufficiently full, and sufficiently easy and familiar for all practical purposes, to any thing above which it does not pretend. So far as we have examined it, its tables are correct; and, independently of its being a valuable book to the officers of our excise and custom-houses, it will be also found useful to persons in other situations of life, from the variety of information it contains upon points connected with these professions.

We have also to commend a numerical publication by Mr. N. Lowrie on "The Conveniences, Principles, and Method of keeping Accounts with Bankers in the Country and in London." It enters into an easy explanation of the different paper and money concerns which constitute the subject in question, and offers a great variety of tables, which, upon casual trial, appear to be accurate, adapted to the calculation of interest, and the discount of bills of exchange. The interest, indeed, does not extend, in its calculation, to fractions below a farthing, whether for a day or a twelvemonth: but it is not often that the calculation is required to be thus minute.

Mr. Frend's "Tangible Arithmetic, or the Art of Numbering made easy by means of an Arithmetical Toy, which will express any Number up to 16,666,665, and with which, by moving a few Balls, a great Variety of Operations in Arithmetic may be performed," seems to have attained the entire object at which it aims; and, if steadily persevered in by the mother, or to whomsoever the care of the earlier years of children may be confided, will certainly instruct them in many of the elementary rules of arithmetic. But, upon the whole, we are not fond of the new and almost universal fashion that has lately prevailed, of rendering learning a play instead of a matter of serious concern, and close attention. In our opinion, from the very first, children should be taught to regard it in the latter light: as a knowledge necessary for them to acquire for their future comfort rather than their present amusement, and which can never be competently acquired excepting by habitual study and pains on their own part. The force of teaching physical or mathematical truths by play-games must be relinquished at last; and the severity of being tasked will then appear doubly oppressive to those who have never been tasked in their infancy. We should almost as soon advise to teach the elements of religion in sport, as those of algebra or numerical arithmetic. We are more pleased with the continuation

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of Mr. Frend's "Evening Amusements, or the Beauties of the Heavens displayed:" the first number of which, comprising the celestial phænomena of the antecedent year, we noticed with approbation in our last Retrospect. We trust this little, but, to the young, beneficial work, will be continued; and that no professional engagement since acceded to by the ingenious author, will induce him to relinquish thus early, so valuable a series of juvenile instruction.

On commercial arithmetic we have received two distinct works from Mr. C. Dubost; the one entitled "Commercial Arithmetic, with an Appendix upon algebraical Questions; being an Introduction to the Elements of Commerce:" the other, "The Elements of Commerce; or, a Treatise on different Calculations, Operations of Exchange, Specie, and Bullion; being a complete System of Commercial Calculations. 2 vols. 8vo." It is obvious, therefore, that this second publication is designed as a sequel to the first; or, perhaps, to speak more correctly, that the first was intended as an introduction to the second. Regarded, however, in either of these views, we have too much of the same thing. The relations of modern commerce are unquestionably founded on the science of numbers; and so are the relations of the different principles of mechanics, mathematics, and naval and military tactics. And, in consequence, we should just as soon expect to find the first rules of arithmetic taught and discussed in every introductory book to these various branches of science, as in "A complete System of Commercial Calculations." But, granting it were necessary, in this manner to begin with the rudest elements of numbers in a treatise on commercial concerns, surely there could be no necessity for a repetition of these same elements in two distinct works professing to form a progressive series upon the same subject.

The very valuable "Essay on Naval Tactics, Systematical and Historical," by Mr. Clerk of Eldin, is at length completed, and is now for the first time rendered public. It consists of four parts; of which the first was printed and privately circulated among the naval connections of the author as early, if we mistake not, as 1781, and is generally supposed to have laid the foundation not only of lord Rodney's victory, which took place in April 1782, but of every one of those numerous, brilliant and decisive victories which have occurred since. A minute examination of the various facts that occur in the two more general modes of attack *from windward* and *from leeward* occupy the two first parts of this important work. The third applies the principles advanced in the preceding pages to several actual engagements, and especially to those of admirals Matthews and Byng. The fourth enters with becoming spirit, as well as accuracy, into a circumstantial history of many of the celebrated battles that distinguished the year 1782, namely, that of the gallant action of sir Samuel Hood, in Basse Terre roads, Feb. 24; those between sir Edward Hughes and M. Suffrein, both Feb. 17, and April 12; and that of admiral Rodney on the same day, which is still so deeply recorded in the recollection of every man.

Of the works, which, in the course of our periodical lucubrations, have made their appearance

on the subject of military tactics, we shall notice capt. Kirke's "Duties of the Light Cavalry in the Field;" compiled for the use of our yeomanry corps, and offering, in a small compass, a variety of useful hints to the officers of this class of our national defence: "The Duties of Riflemen and Light Infantry in the Field," by the same assiduous and well-informed author; a work designed for the use of our volunteers, as the former is for our yeomanry; and which, rightly, in our opinion, estimates the value of the rifle service, and justly recommends its extension. Capt. Barber's "Instructions for the Formation and Exercise of Volunteer Sharp-shooters," an excellent compilation, and which no sharp-shooter who wishes to excel in the line of service to which he has devoted himself should be without: a manual of the same kind, but of inferior merit, by Mr. Howard, entitled "The Drill of Light Infantry and Riflemen, as arranged for the Cumberland Rangers;" and col. Gordon's "Address to Volunteer Corps going on permanent Duty;" which seems designed as a supplement to general Dundas's book of instructions as to what may be called field-duties. Col. Gordon enters into the minuter and inferior circumstances of military order, but circumstances of scarcely less importance than those pretending to a loftier character; and he has ably fulfilled the task he has undertaken.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Travels, Politics, Ethics, Poor-Laws, Charitable Institutions, Education of the Poor.

IN the department before us, we shall start from our own country—the pivot upon which the political globe may be said to be perpetually revolving; the point to which the eye of every court is directed, and the mart in which the wealth of every geographic quarter concentrates. Mr. Belsham, among others, has undertaken to write the history of Great Britain through an important æra of its existence; and the work he has thus undertaken, he has now brought to at least a pause, by making the treaty of Amiens its finishing point, as the revolution forms its point of commencement. We have noticed a few detached volumes of this work in the course of our periodical strictures, as they made their respective appearance: it now becomes us to regard it as a whole. It consists of eight bulky volumes, and of course must be supposed to offer a very sufficient detail of every important fact, and still retain ample room for that which confers the chief value on history of every kind, able, comprehensive, and impartial remarks on the concatenation of events that constitute its existence, a fair disclosure and appreciation of the more prominent characters that chiefly embody such events, a bold

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and daring excursion into the region of real motives and original causes, however entangled by the briars of sophistry, or obscured by the mists of plausible pretence. He who simply describes a series of national events in the mere order in which they occur, is a chronologist; he who thus clothes them with body and external drapery, who thus inspirits them with his own Promethean fire, is an historian. Mr. Belsham, if we mistake not, is neither. He is not a mere chronologist, for we have as much bulk of observation as we can wish for; sometimes, indeed, amounting to that state of redundancy, which, in the medical department, has been denominated polysarcia, and which is generally supposed to proceed from a morbid habit of a particular description: but we have not always the discrimination, the shrewdness, the quick, keen, penetrating glance which is the peculiar characteristic of the real and accomplished historian, and which alone can make him a secure and trusty guide to those who depend upon his instructions. Above all, we have by no means that cherished impartiality of narration which stamps the only difference between truth and fiction, which presents to us things as they are, instead of things as they are not; and the absence of which renders it impossible for us to determine, on all occasions, how far we ought to confide in the picture that is presented to us, which of its relative features may offer an exact resemblance, and which may be caricature.

There are two points, more especially, which present themselves to us in the course of the last ten or twelve years of this history, which are peculiarly entitled to reprobation on this score; and these are the perpetual eulogy which is applied to the actions of Buonaparte; and the perpetual censure of the conduct of Mr. Pitt. There is no department of the New Annual Register that has ever been accused of approaching any minister with the incense of flattery, and, we trust, there never will be any such department: but we trust, at the same time, that no attachment to party-politics will so far warp our judgments, or mislead our pens, as to withhold approbation where approbation may fairly be due; and, still less, induce us to gloss over such infamous atrocities as have characterized much of the conduct of the present ruler of France, from a mere love of opposition to whomsoever may happen to be prime minister of the day in our own country. The very carnage of Jaffa is extenuated in the work before us, and attempted to be apologized for in vol. xi. ch. 32. This exculpation is introduced in the form of a note, in which we are told that Buonaparte was less criminal than general Suwarrow in the massacre at Warsaw. We will not enter into a comparison of these outrageous butcheries: but we cannot avoid expressing the utter disgust we feel at this puerile but abominable attempt, on the part of an English writer, to palliate one of the most diabolical transactions that will ever have to stain the annals of universal history, by a mere recourse to comparison, and by an abortive effort to prove that, enormous as was the villany exhibited, it might possibly have been more enormous still. Why was not the same kind of *liberality* of sentiment extended to the political conduct of Mr. Pitt, when, in describing his resignation

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in favour of Mr. Addington, only a few pages afterwards, the memoirist takes occasion to offer a full-length portrait of his character. This single picture possesses so much of the *mannerism* of Mr. Belsham, as well in point of general style as general sentiment, that our readers, we trust, will excuse us if we present it to them. "His early declaration on the removal of lord North, and the advancement of lord Rockingham to the station of first minister, 'that he would not accept of any subordinate situation,' exhibited at once the extent and the irregularity of his ambition. In proportion as his pretensions were high, his manners were haughty. Instead of the generous feelings and noble enthusiasm of his father, he discovered a disposition selfish, cold, and artful; and it was quickly seen that he possessed no quality of youth but its presumption. In his conduct there was never found that fearless simplicity, that dignified candour, which are the genuine offspring of an elevated mind, and the true criterion of real wisdom. At no time did he display that commanding foresight which marks superior intellect, or that controlling prudence which knows how to avert impending mischief. At no season did he endeavour to stem the torrent of public prejudice, or to make the people calm and wise when they were inflamed and ignorant. The stream of public opinion he submitted diligently to watch; and suffered himself rather to be carried away with it, than to aim by arduous efforts to direct its course when wisdom or patriotism might suggest. The mind of the nation under his auspices made no advances: on the contrary, its movement was uniformly retrograde. The errors of the public he laboured to convert to his own advantage, not to correct at the hazard of his power. He was the attentive observer of times and seasons, not the beneficent and enlightened instructor of nations. His eloquence, for which he was deservedly celebrated, was chiefly characterised by what rhetoricians call *amplification*. He possessed, in perfection, all the modes and subtilties of reasoning; and was copious even to the brink of verbosity. He had the faculty of speaking much, and saying little; and, when silence was impracticable, he knew how to make language subservient to all the purposes of taciturnity. His solemn avowals were clothed in impenetrable darkness; and his explanations were calculated equally to elude the vigilance of the watchful, and the curiosity of the inquisitive. The connexion between the means and the end seldom appeared intimate in his thoughts, and was rarely either defined in his words, or exemplified in his conduct. The plans therefore which he designed, although prosecuted with courage, constancy, and vigour, almost invariably failed in the execution. It is remarkable, that during the seventeen years of his administration, no one act of patronage was extended to literature, to the sciences, or the arts."—It has been remarked by many moralists, that there is no character so vicious as to be absolutely devoid of every good quality whatsoever; as, on the contrary, there is no character so perfect as to be totally unspotted with evil. Hence Milton, in delineating the devil, finds it requisite to ascribe to him several of the best attributes of intellect and person: and hence, too, Mr. Belsham himself,

self, as we have just observed, in depicting Buonaparte, finds it equally requisite to hunt after other murderers of the human race, in comparison with whose excesses, those of his own hero may appear virtuous. But Mr. Pitt is black, and all black, like the grave itself, as described in the forcible language of the Book of Job—"A land of darkness as darkness itself; yea, whose very glimmerings are darkness." We cannot enter into a detail of the justice or injustice of this portraiture, nor even try to point out the numerous contradictions and incongruities which it contains in itself: but before we finish, we would just ask Mr. Belsham if he have ever heard that Mr. Pitt had any hand in introducing and establishing the important measure of a *sinking fund?* avowedly by all parties the only prop that has kept us from actual bankruptcy? Did he never have it hinted it to him, that, however profuse Mr. Pitt may have been with the national purse, he never put his hand into it on his own account? and that, when he retired, from a long series of public services extending to not less than seventeen years—services that, whether well or ill performed, had so exhausted his very frame as to lay the foundation for a speedy and total decay,—he left the first functions of the state, if not as *virtuous*, at least as *poor* as Cincinnatus when he returned from the dictatorship to the plough? If Mr. Belsham have never heard of such facts, he is not in possession of all the documents necessary for an impartial and general history of the political state of his own country during the period to which he limits himself; and if he have heard of them, how comes it to pass that the Englishman who has *liberality* enough to extenuate the most atrocious transactions of Buonaparte, should have so treacherous a memory, or should be so deficient in liberality, as to forget to touch upon them in the portraiture of a character of whom they constituted some of the chief features? In taking our leave of Mr. Belsham, we will not altogether serve him in the same ungracious manner. His history, we are ready to acknowledge, is upon the whole written with spirit, independence and judgment. Its chief evils are prolixity, partiality, and a too ready reliance on such authorities as he found at hand, without minute examination into the dependence which ought to be placed upon them.

"Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes, and of the English Concerns in Indostan, from the Year 1659: Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's Trade, at Broach and Surat; and a general Idea of the Government and People of Indostan. By Robert Orme, Esq. F. A. S. To which is prefixed an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author." This title is full to exundation; but nothing can be indifferent to us that offers, upon authentic grounds, any kind of information relative to so important a part of the British empire as is much that is here treated of, or to a country so closely connected with us as is that part which has not yet fallen within the grasp of British conquest: nor can any grounds be supposed to be otherwise than authoritative in relation to Indian history, that are advanced by a character so deeply versed in its circumstantial detail as was the writer of the volume before us. The political geography

phy of the country, it is true, is much changed since the period in which these pages were composed: but its natural geography and the customs and manners of its inhabitants remain equally unaltered, and, perhaps, equally unalterable. In tracing therefore the general government and habits of the Hindus in 1659, we behold what they are at present; we enter with more spirit into the narration, and identify the different characters delineated with those of the present day. This work is intended, we suppose, as a supplement to our author's "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan," which has so deservedly acquired him, as well abroad as at home, the reputation of an historian of the first rank in English literature. The tracts of which these Fragments consist are a re-publication of Mr. Orme's "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire," first offered to the world in 1782: "Origin of the English Establishment at Broach and Surat," drawn up at a period we cannot exactly ascertain: "Idea of the Government and People of Indostan," first sketched in 1752, anterior to his return to Europe, but never published till the appearance of the present volume: and "Effeminacy of the Inhabitants of Indostan," a paper equally new to the world, and which enters with a considerable degree of judgment and depth of physical research into the subject proposed. The prefixed biography is distinguished by no pretensions to pre-eminent excellence. The diction, however, is easy and perspicuous, and the narration not destitute of interest.

"An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti; comprehending a View of the principal Transactions in the Revolution of St. Domingo, with its Antient and Modern State. By Marcus Rainford, Esq." Some part of this "Historical Account" was published in a much smaller form a few years ago, and regularly noticed by us on its appearance before the world. Capt. Rainsford, nevertheless, is entitled to attention, whether he write a smaller or a larger book upon the subject before us: for he is personally well acquainted with the country he describes, and was on duty in the West Indies at the time of the attack on Saint Domingo in the course of the late war. Upon the *antient* state of the island, however, we attend to him with less improvement than upon its *modern*; for we have long anticipated the sources from which he has derived his information, and have convicted several of them of palpable mistakes. In his description of the present times, the present government, the present customs, and the characters of the present chieftains of this eventful country, he appears equally correct and original. His account of the amiable and excellent Toussaint is drawn up with spirit, but we rather think with some degree of partiality: yet it is a partiality that does honour to his feelings. He was generously liberated by this extraordinary man from an imprisonment, in which, had the law been allowed to take its due and rigid course, he would, in all probability, have been condemned to suffer capitally for the assumption of a national character which did not belong to him.

Taking an allowable and opportune advantage of the interest with which, in the present state of the political world, we peruse every thing which relates to Egypt,

Dr.

Dr. Wilson has presented us with its "History from the earliest Accounts of that Country till the Expulsion of the French from Alexandria in the Year 1801." This work extends to three octavo volumes, and is an agreeable and spirited compilation. Too much of it, however, is devoted to times of which we have none but fabulous, or at least unauthentic, and too frequently erroneous accounts: to the Meneses, the Osymandiases, the Sesostrises of doubtful or traditionary existence. To this kind of unsatisfactory fable, the whole of the second book is devoted, the first being occupied, as it ought to be, with a geographical description of the country; and it is not till we arrive at the third that we enter on the confines of genuine history. In the course of this more interesting section, we pursue the Egyptian narrative from the accession of Cambyses to the death of Alexander the Great. In the ensuing book we are introduced to the dynasty of the Ptolomies, and accompany them through the whole of the Ptolemaic epoch. Books the fifth and sixth are devoted to the history of Egypt while under the domination of antient Rome; the former of these two books confining itself to the civil, and the latter to the ecclesiastic department. The seventh describes the caliphats of the Ommiad, Abassid, and Talimite families: the eighth, the origin, progress, and result of the crusades, in the course of which we find ample justice dealt to the courage and generosity of our own Richard Lion-heart. The ninth narrates the subjugation of Egypt to the Ottoman dynasty, and commences an account of the French expedition, and the object of the French government in undertaking it; and the tenth concludes the work with an able picture of its present state and prospects.

To Mr. Sharon Turner we have more than once paid the compliment of our sincere thanks for that highly meritorious work, his history of the Anglo-Saxons. Three volumes of this history we have already noticed on their appearance; and we now introduce before our readers the concluding volume, being the fourth, and which is a kind of appendix to the entire publication, exclusively confining itself to the "History of the Manners, Landed Property, Government, Laws, Poetry, Literature, Religion and Language of the Anglo-Saxons." Considering how extensively the eye of science has of late years glanced on almost every subject of literary curiosity, it is astonishing to observe how little progress we have yet made in the vernacular language of our forefathers, and how ignorant we yet suffer ourselves to remain of a great part of those laws, customs and manners that regulated our native country anterior to the ninth or tenth century. This deficiency of knowledge is, in a considerable degree, suplied by the volume before us; in the composition of which we cannot but allow Mr. Turner to have been eminently successful, considering the very sparing documents, and fragments of records, he has had any opportunity of consulting. The description of the ceremonial of electing and inaugurating the Anglo-Saxon monarchs is peculiarly interesting, as well for its solemnity as its curiosity. Some few attempts are made to decypher the laws and rhythm of Anglo-Saxon versification; among the

more

more prominent features of which Mr. Turner reckons an elision of the less important particles, an inverted and contracted phraseology, and a redundance of imagery. For the oldest Anglo-Saxon poetry that has descended to the present times, we are indebted to king Alfred, as having been either preserved by him, or the production of his own venerable muse. The preserved poetry is a fragment of a devotional character introduced into the royal scholar's translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. The poetry which appertains to himself is a version of the effusions of Boethius. Our author has enriched his volume with several very curious specimens from different Anglo-Saxon bards, and especially from the paraphrase of Genesis, by the second Cœdmon, and the fragment of the history of Judith, published in the Heptateuch.

The travels and voyages to which we have been invited in the course of our periodical survey, have for the most part afforded us pleasure; and, in regard to many of them, instruction combined with entertainment. We shall introduce them to the reader in their cycles and epicycles, their lines of greater and less circumference, and shall then return with him to our own country as a central spot on which to repose ourselves. We are hence necessarily called, in the first instance, to a consideration of Mr. Turnbull's "Voyages round the World," in three volumes 8vo.; not so much, however, from the possession of amplest merit, but of amplest circumference. The period this circumnavigation embraces extends from 1800 to 1804, and the divisions of the globe which are chiefly described, are those of the southern hemisphere; the principal islands in the Pacific Ocean; and the English settlements of Port Jackson and Norfolk island. The object of our voyager was traffic rather than science. He had understood from a variety of quarters, while in the service of the East-India company, that the Americans carried on a very lucrative trade along the South-Sea islands; and, acting in conjunction with several enterprising merchants of our own country, whom he had induced to think the same, he embarked at Portsmouth in 1800, with the care of the cargo, which was intrusted to his entire disposal; and, after a voyage of ordinary length, in which nothing of peculiar moment appears to have occurred, arrived with his adventure at New South Wales. As a lucrative expedition, however, the present does not seem to have been very successful; for the markets of Port Jackson had been supplied before the arrival of our voyagers, and, on proceeding in consequence hereof to Norfolk island, they were unlucky enough to meet with a repetition of the very same disappointment. They tried their fortune, with almost as little advantage, at the Sandwich and the Society islands, as well as through Bass's Straits, in order to obtain a cargo of skins for China, as the license procured from the East-India company compelled them to visit this last country. They lost their carpenter at the Sandwich islands, and their ship itself at Otaheite; in which situation they were of course obliged to remain till some other vessel fortunately arrived and carried them away. This happened about three months after, when they availed themselves of an opportunity of once more reaching Port Jackson, where they

remained till the return of the Calcutta to England, by which they were brought home as passengers. This work is chiefly valuable for the information it gives in respect to the Sandwich and Society islands; for Mr. Turnbull is peculiarly barren in his account both of New Holland and Norfolk island; yet, in truth, not much intelligence of real value can be expected in addition to the stock we already possess, in relation to these settlements, from the excellent histories of governor Phillips and capt. Collins. Norfolk island appears, upon every statement, to possess by far the most fertile and valuable soil of the two; but is incapacitated for commodious colonization by being totally destitute of a harbour, surrounded by a rocky shore of sharp fragments of coral, and an almost perpetual reef of mountainous and conflicting waves. It is a fact now pretty fairly ascertained, that there is scarcely an island in the South Sea without Europeans of some kind, and generally Englishmen. The derivation of the latter is from Botany Bay, being often allowed to assist the navigation of vessels along these coasts—an engagement being entered into at the same time, that they will return home with the return of the vessels. The engagement, however, is seldom adhered to, for they generally escape on the first opportunity; and hence, in several of the islands, these English outcasts are sufficiently numerous to threaten some degree of no very distant danger to the settlements themselves, by the formation of distinct hordes of plunderers and pirates. If our readers return to the corresponding chapter of our last year's Retrospect, they will find that it was from an origin by no means dissimilar, that those bold and fearless companies of Flibustiers or Buccaniers were produced, which, in an earlier period of European commerce, committed such enormous depredations on the Atlantic colonies. We see no reason why the same mischief may not re-exist, if this facility of escape should be continued much longer.

It should appear from the voyager before us, that our missionaries have mistaken their latitude in fixing at Otaheite or Tongataboo, since the intellect and disposition to acquire learning is considerably obtuser among these people than among those of the Sandwich islands in general. In Attowaie (one of the Sandwich islands) the reigning sovereign himself has acquired so much of the English language as to be able to understand and answer any plain questions proposed to him: and he has been so patriotically taught by such Englishmen as have approached him, and has conceived so magnificent an idea of the virtues and superiority of Great Britain, and the virtues and superiority of his present majesty, as to have assumed to himself the name of King George, and to have given to his children, who are numerous, the distinctive honours and titles of the various princes of the blood; in consequence of which the eldest son is denominated prince of Wales, the second, duke of York, and so on. But king George of Attowaie is by no means the most formidable chieftain in this cluster of independent states: this character appertains to a prince denominated *Tamahama*, the sovereign of a neighbouring island named Owhyhee; and from his truly extraordinary talents and activity, as here represented,

sented, it is not only not to be wondered at that he should have acquired this supremacy of power, but it may also be reasonably expected that, should he survive a few years longer, he will operate as considerable, we will not say as fatal, a change in the Polynesia of the Pacific ocean, as Buonaparte has effected on the continent of Europe. He had in 1801 obtained the mastery of most of the bordering islands; and *king George* himself, not daring to oppose him, had been projecting an abdication of his throne in the event of an invasion, which was then hourly expected. Tamahama seems to have been impressed with the earliest ambition of universal empire from his conversations, many years since, with capt. Vancouver, and the instructions and assistance at that time rendered him. His uniform object since this period has been to collect together as many adventurous Englishmen and Americans as possible; he has several of considerable talents, who have accompanied his fortunes for fourteen years, and particularly a Mr. Davis, a Mr. Young, and capt. Stewart. The palace in which he commonly resides, is built after the European manner, with bricks, stones, and glazed windows: the different islanders who have submitted to his authority, are encouraged to make frequent voyages to the north-west coast of America. At the time we are speaking of he was planning a trade to China with vessels of his own construction, and with inhabitants of the imperial island: and although it was only in 1792 that capt. Vancouver laid down for him the keel of the first vessel he ever possessed, so assiduously has he applied himself to effect his grand and favourite object of a naval force, that in eight years afterwards (the time of our author's arrival at Owhyhee) he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to fifty tons; and some of them were copper-bottomed. He had also excited a very considerable progress in most of the other mechanical arts; and possessed the magnificence of a certain number of body-guards, who constantly waited on his royal person, independently of the numerous chiefs who were required to accompany him in all his journeys and expeditions. What is Jacques I. of Hayti, to such a character as Tamahama of Owhyhee!

Without widely wandering from a quarter that has so long detained us, we shall just cross the line to notice two different accounts which have been presented to us concerning Prince of Wales island, the one by sir George Leith, bart., entering more minutely into the nature of "its settlement, produce, and commerce;" and the other, from the pen of sir Home Popham, tracing the "probable advantages, and sources to recommend it as a marine establishment." The mode of obtaining possession of Prince of Wales island does credit to the English character. Its antient name was Pulo Penang; it was a haunt for pirates and bandits, and was a part of the dominions of the king of Queddah. It was purchased of him in August 1786, in a state of total desertion, at a perpetual rent of six thousand dollars. In five years from this period, George-town, its capital, was so far established as a sea-port, that the king of Queddah repented of his bargain, complained that his own continental custom-houses were deserted, and attempted to regain

possession

possession of it by force. In this attempt he was frustrated; but it was nevertheless generously agreed to augment his quit-rent; and cordiality was again introduced, and has continued ever since. In the year 1800, consisting of a period of only fourteen years from its first occupancy, the population had advanced to not less than ten thousand three hundred and ten persons, of whom seven hundred and twenty-three were land-owners, and one thousand two hundred and twenty-two were slaves. The country is now well-accommodated with roads and bridges; huts have given way to houses; and aqueducts, hospitals, custom-wharfs, rectangular streets, jails and churches, have successively made their appearance. Vessels of eight hundred tons have been built and launched by the inhabitants; vineyards and beetle-nut-tree nurseries planted. The revenue amounts to eighty thousand dollars, and the annual arrival of ships to two hundred and fifty, bearing fifty thousand tons. Its climate and soil are in the highest degree propitious to the most valuable cultivations of the east; and the inhabitants are a mixture of almost all nations and descriptions, Europeans, Chinese, Choolians, Burmahns, Persees, Malays, and Buggesses. The "Account" of sir George Leith is well calculated to afford an accurate idea of its exports and imports; and from his having filled with so much credit to himself the important post of lieutenant-governor to the island, no one can be supposed to be better qualified to communicate such information than himself. The object of sir Home Popham is altogether of a different description; he is for making this island an important marine establishment by the construction of vast moles, and piers, and docks and naval arsenals. It does well as it is; but whether it could do better with the immense sum of public money expended upon it, which the plan here proposed must necessarily demand, if carried into effect, is a question which we may doubt of but cannot enter into.

We are extremely pleased to notice a second edition of the late Mr. Bruce's "Travels to discover the Source of the Nile;" and we are pleased, more especially, to see this new edition undertaken by a scholar of such pre-eminent qualifications for the task as Mr. Murray; the very man, perhaps, of all men living, who ought to have undertaken it; whose literary and geographic knowledge is co-extensive with his subject, whose judgment is capable of weighing with accuracy the real and the false pretensions, the merits and demerits of this extraordinary traveller, and whose impartiality has actually assigned to him the exact measure of his desert. The travels before us are, in many respects, the best book of travels in the English language, notwithstanding the incumbrances and errors with which they are occasionally loaded. It has been the fashion, however, to asperse and calumniate the work from almost the moment of its first appearance, to the publication of Mr. Pinkerton's Geography, the author of which has suffered himself to be led away by the common current. It has been sometimes insinuated, and at other times stoutly and openly affirmed, that the whole of the "Travels to discover the Source of the Nile" is a compilation from anterior authors; that Bruce is an arrant plagiarist; and that even in his plagiarisms he is incorrect; that

what he describes as the source of the Nile is not its real source; that he never visited the Geesh country, never beheld either the Bahar el Abiad, or the Bahar el Asrak (the unquestionable Astapus of the antients); and, to close the whole, that he never was in Abyssinia in his life. In the course of our literary labours we have uniformly opposed the whole current of these defamatory and malicious charges; in reviewing, at different periods, the publications of the French literates on their return from Egypt, we have occasionally stepped somewhat out of our course to remark, that the reputation of the British voyager had considerably risen in their estimation from the many and concurrent proofs they had obtained in the interior of the country, and especially in the Said, of his having actually traversed the districts he describes; and of the general fidelity of his statements. On the continent, therefore, the fame of the traveller to the Nile has been gradually emerging, and ascending, of late years, to its proper elevation; several new versions of his Travels in different languages have been presented to the world at large; and it became high time that he should enjoy at home that honourable rank in the circle of literature to which he is fairly entitled. This exalted station the present editor has now completely obtained for him: the able and ample testimonies he has adduced are in every respect competent to disprove the unworthy allegations which have been hitherto advanced against him; and, in addition to so friendly and liberal a task, he has increased the value of the work by a variety of other original and useful contributions. Of these we have only time to notice, that it is introduced by an account of the life and writings of the author; that there are few of the books which have not some supplemental matter adjoined; and that of these increments the most valuable that appear to us are, a summary view of the Egyptian theology, as collected from the Hebrew and Greek writers, with the names of the Egyptian gods in the antient and original tongue, which is added to the second book; and a geographic account of the Abyssinian provinces, and a preface to the history of Abyssinia, prefixed to the third.

Africa must still detain us while we notice the "African Memoranda" of capt. Beaver. Our readers may, perhaps, remember an attempt made not many years ago to establish, by subscription, a free colony on the island of Bulama, on the western coast of Africa. A society was formed for this purpose in 1792, an application was made to Mr. Secretary Dundas for the sanction of government, and permission was at length obtained. The "Memoranda" before us give a particular and highly interesting account of the adventures of the colonists, the misfortunes that successively pursued them, and the eventual abandonment of the project. This occupies the first five chapters of the volume. Next follow six additional chapters of mere speculative matter, pointing out how the evils encountered in the first attempt might be avoided in a future; the very great advantages that would result from the actual establishment of a national settlement at Bulama; with observations on the facility of cultivating both this island and such part of the African continent as

stretches

stretches between the Gambia and Rio Grande, with a view to commercial benefits "and the introduction of letters and religion to its inhabitants, and more particularly as the means of gradually abolishing African slavery." The volume is equally well worthy of perusal by the merchant and the politician; and especially now that we at length enjoy a prospect of the actual abolition of the nefarious traffic here alluded to, and attempted to have been, if not abolished, at least circumscribed by private means.

But we must hasten across the Atlantic: the *new* world (as it may even yet be denominated) offers an abundant harvest to our notice, from which we shall glean as large a sheaf as our limited powers will allow us to carry. Steering in a southerly direction, we have to attend Mr. Lindley in his "Narrative of a Voyage to Brazil," accompanied with a general description of the country, its natural productions, and colonial inhabitants; Mr. J. Constance Davie, who has offered us a volume of "Letters from Paraguay," in his account of the settlements of Monte Video, and Buenos Ayres (now possest of double interest to us); the presidencies of Rioja Minor, Umbre de Dios, St. Mary and St. John; and his sketch of the manners, customs and religious ceremonies of the inhabitants; and an anonymous compiler of a thick quarto entitled "The Present State of Peru," comprising its geography, natural history, customs, and manners, &c. "the whole drawn up from original and authentic documents, chiefly written and compiled in the Peruvian capital." The first of these publications contains much curious information upon the customs and occupations of the Brasilians: it was collected during a long confinement, sometimes more and sometimes less rigid, at Bahia, not altogether undeserved by our author, in consequence of his having engaged in an illicit barter with the very governor of the province, but whose misconduct was detected and betrayed by some private enemy. Upon the "Letters from Paraguay" presented to us in the second publication, we can place far less dependence; for the letters thus offered us are not the production of Mr. Davie himself, who, for any thing that appears to the contrary, has never once quitted his native country, but of a friend; a friend, moreover, whose name is ——, who travelled for the mere sake of recreating his spirits after a severe affliction he had sustained by the loss of a beloved female, whose name also was ——; and the present residence of which friend is in like manner at ——; for it is as yet altogether uncertain what is become of him, whether he is in North America or South America, or *Botany Bay*, to which he was bound in the first instance; or, in truth, whether he is living or dead. He states himself in these letters to have been obliged to visit Buenos Ayres in consequence of a violent storm, which obliged the captain of the ship in which he sailed to alter his course, which was at first direct for New South Wales, and to make for the river Plata. At Buenos Ayres he was attacked with an illness which compelled him to remain at the convent in which he was confined, when the vessel pursued her course, and he hence accounts for his opportunity of writing a series of letters upon the country in question. The letters are

amusing; but, as we have already observed, they want individuality and authority of character.

Something of the same objection applies also to the third of the works we have glanced at, entitled "The Present State of Peru." It is stated to be chiefly compiled from several volumes of a periodical work printed at Lima, entitled *El Mercurio Peruano*, which, *by accident*, that is, by the capture of a Spanish prize, fell into the hands of the editor. It certainly contains information at once novel and interesting; though we cannot always depend upon the correctness of the intelligence. It deals by far too much in the marvellous, in stories of giants with enormous teeth, of which several are in actual and perfect preservation, of the weight of *a pound and half* each. It gives an account of strange conjurors, and still stranger customs; and, what is yet worse, betrays a few palpable marks that the editor himself is not acquainted with the language of the very volumes from which he professes to compile the chief part of his history. Finally, it endeavours to stimulate the government of our own country to an attack upon these rich and populous settlements; and prognosticates the most easy and decisive success: a stimulus it does not seem to have been in want of; and a prognostication which has been since amply fulfilled.

We have received from an anonymous author, a very spirited "Description of the Island of St. Helena." It is a small tract, in twelves, but not the less valuable on this account, as it contains no supernumerary digressions. The geologic observations dispersed over it are ingenious, to say the least of them; there is much apparent accuracy, and certainly much originality in the author's account of the almost untried soil, the salubrious hills and uplands, the peculiarly arid atmosphere of this desert rock. The customs and manners of its few inhabitants are pleasingly detailed; and the writer's pen seems to dwell with pleasure in pointing out the possibility, of which St. Helen affords an example, of cultivating the most intractable soil by free blacks as well as by slaves: for a very great number in this island are emancipated, and exhibit as much activity and industry as the whites; while the importation of slaves has been strictly prohibited for many years.

The island of Trinidad has afforded us an historian in Mr. M'Callum; who, in "A Series of Letters addressed to a Member of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain," has given us a general description of it, as the result of his travels through it during the months of February, March, and April, 1803. Those who wish to become acquainted with its customs, manners and productions, may derive much useful information from accompanying Mr. M'Callum in his tour. He is extremely severe in his observations upon the tyrannical conduct exercised generally by Mr. Thomas Picton, who was, unfortunately for the inhabitants, appointed the first British governor, on its capture from Spain. This account was written anterior to the criminal prosecution which has been since carried on at the suit of the crown, in our own country, against Mr. Picton upon a similar charge; and we have not observed the remotest allusion to it. As this prosecution is still *sub judice*, the book before us,

us, although an *ex parte* evidence, should be perused in connexion with the *code noir*, upon which, if we understand aright, Mr. Picton chiefly depends for his justification, in order to enable those chiefly concerned, in forming a fair judgment of the general character and conduct of the defendant.

The tours or travels through different parts of the northern continent of America, which have reached us in the course of our annual lucubrations, are the following: a translation from the French of the well-known and highly valuable "Travels" of M. Michaux, "to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, in the Year 1802:" travels which exhibit these extensive districts in a situation of increasing civilization, increasing comfort, and prodigiously increasing population; some idea of which last fact may be obtained from the calculation, that there are at present upwards of four hundred thousand inhabitants throughout the whole extent of the western states, although only thirty years ago there were scarcely three thousand. "A Tour in America in 1798, 1799, 1800, by Richard Parkinson, late of Orange Hill, near Baltimore; 2 vols. 8vo." Mr. Parkinson's account does not descend to quite so late a period as that of M. Michaux; but the difference in the picture it occasionally gives us even of the very same district, can scarcely be referred to this circumstance alone. Mr. Parkinson is one of those Englishmen, who, smitten some few years ago with the love of emigration, and too easily accrediting the marvellous accounts that were at that time circulated of the infinite advantages that were sure to result to every one who would become a settler in the backgrounds of several of the American states, eagerly tried his luck, and soon became dissatisfied with the attempt. A perusal of the tour before us is sufficient to damp the ardour of the most confident of those who have the same desire of roving, and indulge in the same certainty of success. But the picture is evidently much overcharged, and drawn beneath the pressure of corroding disappointment. Could we trust to it in its full extent, we should perceive that the American states, instead of offering a promise of progressively civilizing the new world, present the surest means of re-barbarizing the old. We are informed that the manners of the settlers and cultivators are every year ruder, coarser and more savage; that no such thing as comfort is to be found any where; that farming, whether on a large or a small scale, is a losing concern: that the soil is not worth cultivating; that the very necessaries of life are not to be had; that all the education attempted to be given to the rising generation is that of tending the cattle, ploughing the ground, and marketing, either in the way of sale or purchase. Mr. Parkinson, however, notwithstanding the gloom that overshadows his pages with worse than sepulchral darkness, is, in many respects, a writer who may be advantageously attended to. He has examined the country he describes with the eye of an experienced agriculturist, and with some knowledge of natural history: he has pointed out several indigenous grasses, grains and fruit-trees which may be well worth transplantation to our own coun-

try; and particular breeds of fowls and quadrupeds with which our own might, in many instances, we think, be beneficially crossed. From the "Sketch of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada," offered us by Mr. "D'Arcy Boulton," we should prefer the life of a settler or cultivator, in this part of the northern continent, in connexion with the collateral advantages which seem to appertain to such a life, to a life of the same kind in the back grounds of the western provinces of the American republic. We have a curious account presented to us, in this sketch, of a new but very useful class of agriculturists; we mean the American *woodmen* or wood clearers, who, in large bodies, migrate from estate to estate, in order to clear the ground in the first instance from its timber and brush-wood, so as to put it into a fair train for tillage. A plot of two or three hundred acres generally takes them up four or five years; and they commonly purchase such extents of uncleared land, at a trifling price, to dispose of afterwards at a very ample profit. In general, the crown-grants appear too large for any purpose of present utility, and may in subsequent periods become injurious, from the enormous extent of territory they often embrace, to the royal authority itself.

The travels, tours, and excursions which have intersected the continent of Europe, within the range of our present labours, have not been numerous. We have received a volume from Dr. J. Griffiths which extends beyond this boundary, consisting of "Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia." It is in more respects than one, a *made-up* volume: the size is quarto, the number of pages about four hundred: the make-up we refer to consists of enormous blank margins, long extracts from authors of an access quite as easy as the present volume itself, and of copper-plates of no other use than to authorise the demand of an additional half-guinea beyond what could possibly have been asked for it otherwise. Dr. Griffiths assumes, in the very introduction to his travels, the air of a man of easy circumstances, if not of independent fortune: he was impelled, he tells us, to engage in the peregrination before us from the sole motive of "a natural and irresistible inclination to visit distant and unfrequented countries." Why will a man thus aim, at his very outset, at a character that does not belong to him? If this were the doctor's *sole* motive, we have been strangely misinformed: we have been told of more upon this subject than he has chosen to tell himself; and we have also been told, in addition, of the very liberal and generous assistance he received from a variety of well-disposed and charitable christians on his arrival at Bombay, which the gratitude of the writer seems to have *forgotten to remember*; for in his own account of his arrival at this settlement he makes no mention of any such transaction, but abruptly drops his subject; quits his reader, and only promises to return again if he finds his company may be inquired for. In other words, if the present volume should meet with encouragement, it is his intention to publish a *much* larger upon subjects that more immediately relate to the laws, customs, and manners of British India. We do not wish to discourage this intention; for, notwithstanding all we have observed, we have been pleased

pleased with many of the doctor's remarks; he writes with spirit, and is an attentive observer of the events and scenery that surround him. We only advise him not to affect that which does not belong to him, nor to forget the friends of his necessities, lest they be hereafter inclined to forget him.

Mr. Anderson has published a second edition of his "Tour in Zealand, in 1802, with an Historical Sketch of the Battle of Copenhagen." We have no doubt of the accuracy of his general remarks, and his sketch of the battle is coincident with the accounts of prior historians. It was a proud day for both parties. We have another statement, and at considerable length, of this same combat in Mr. Carr's "Northern Summer, or Travels round the Baltic;" who almost starts with his continental description, at Copenhagen, and enters at large into this memorable event. The Danes have annually commemorated this essay of bravery ever since. A considerable fund was collected at the time for the relief not only of those who had suffered in the engagement, but of the survivors of the deceased; and, to the gallantry of the Danes be it spoken, even the sweethearts of those who fell were equally entitled to a share in the national bounty. From Copenhagen Mr. Carr prosecutes his tract to Stockholm and Upsal; and from Sweden to Russia. In the description of St. Petersburgh we meet with many entertaining, and some original anecdotes of Catharine, Paul, and the present emperor Alexander, with the general character of which last prince he seems altogether enraptured. If the whole, or even half of what is here related of him be true, he is well worthy of admiration. On leaving St. Petersburgh, our tourist passed hastily through Livonia, and reached Berlin by skirting the Baltic coast. We have not now to usher Mr. Carr to the acquaintance of our readers for the first time. His usual, sprightliness of manner, curiosity of remark, and *picturesqueness* of description, are as conspicuous in these travels as in any he has hitherto presented to the public.

M. Kotzebue is also an entertaining and inquisitive traveller. We accompanied him last year through a considerable part of France; and we are now called upon to attend his "Travels through Italy," which occupied part of the years 1804, 1805. There is nothing deep or profound; not much from which we can arise either the wiser or the better from these volumes: but they are characteristic and lively in a high degree. M. Kotzebue is a most agreeable companion; and though we are perpetually provoked by his pertness and confidence, we forgive him for the amusement he is constantly affording us. His observations are all his own; he sees things, and he represents them in a manner in which it is ten to one if we had seen them otherwise. Of Italy we have also had another account in Mr. Beckford's "Familiar Letters from Italy to a Friend in England." But of these we must not say much, after the commendation we have just given to Kotzebue. Mr. Beckford has more solidity, however, than the German tourist; he is better acquainted with the country; but he is by no means so captivating a writer. In few words, Mr. Beckford wants taste: he is preaching

to his readers a long account of the history of *antient* Rome, when he should be only reciting anecdotes of Rome in its *modern* state; and he retails jokes of almost as great antiquity, as flashes of wit that nobody is supposed to have heard of before.

From "An English Gentleman who escaped from Paris in the Month of May, 1805," we have received "A Sketch of the present State of France," in a small octavo volume. We cannot praise it very highly. It is the language of a man who knows he has a right, and now feels he has a *liberty* to complain. He touches, indeed, upon the government, army and navy, the police, manners, newspapers, trade, and entertainments of Paris; but he tells us little that is worth knowing, or that has not already been told better by writers who have anticipated him. He is most at home in the chapter which relates the state and sufferings of our unjustly detained countrymen. Here we can not only forgive his warmth, but most cordially join in it. A more auspicious era has however at length arisen. There are few weeks in which several of our unfortunate brethren are not suffered to reach their native country; and we trust that, either by a peace or a perseverance of the same spirit of liberation, the day of universal emancipation is at hand*.

We now return home; and the excursions we have yet to make, which are but few in number, will be of shorter range, and confined to our own country. In truth, the publications that strictly appertain to the class before us, are not more than two or three; our topographic and antiquarian descriptions being, with more propriety, included in the next chapter. The first we shall notice is Mr. Donovan's "Descriptive Excursions through South-Wales and Monmouthshire, in the Year 1804, and the Four preceding Summers;" 2 vols. 8vo. Often as we have made tours and travels, walked, rode, and run, over the country here noticed, and little as we were disposed to renew our peregrinations, we have, nevertheless, accompanied Mr. Donovan with a considerable degree of entertainment and instruction. We have found him enough of an antiquarian to explain whatever remain has fallen in our way that is really worthy of explanation, and a better naturalist than antiquarian. His curiosity is keen, his taste is correct, his style is polished. What need we say more?

"An Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland and the English Lakes; with Recollections, Descriptions, and References to Historical facts;" a thin volume 8vo. It is not every book-*seller* who is a book-*maker*; it is not every man who supplies the world by wholesale, with new editions of our best vernacular writers, that can quote from them by scraps. Such a man, however, is the author of the "Excursion" before us; Mr. Mawman, of the Poultry. For the rest, himself and his next-door neighbour (to whom the work is inscribed) appear to have had a very plea-

* This passage was written anterior to the calamitous events of the Prussian campaign: and such is the versatility of human affairs, that we have now to lament that the addition to the number of the sufferers from Hamburgh and other neutral towns has been so great.

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sant, though a very rapid tour, having run over about a thousand miles in the month of July 1804—their "*Recollections*" seem still to afford them satisfaction—and though they offer no particular novelty of observation that can be useful to the antiquarian, naturalist, or politician, they may fairly lay claim to a seat in the parlour window, and harmlessly fill up the idle half-hour that so often precedes the dinner-bell.

"The Traveller's Guide, or English Itinerary; by W.C.Oulton, Esq. In two volumes 12mo." The entire title page to this book of roads and places we have not space to copy: it is a preface rather than a title. It talks of "containing *accurate and original* Descriptions of all the Counties, Cities, Towns, &c. and their *exact* Distances from London;"—of "comprising a *complete* Topography of England and Wales;"—of "including a *correct* Itinerary from London to the several Watering-Places, &c." and of being "illustrated with Sixty-six *correct* Picturesque Views, &c." Now, before W. Oulton, Esq. had thought himself authorised to make so confident and reiterated a boast of *accuracy*, *exactness*, *completion*, and *correctness*, and especially before he had determined upon charging the public with *one pound five shillings sterling* for these his immaculate labours, it would have been as well to have seen that his book corresponded with its title-page. At present nothing can be more at variance; for an itinerary of more general inaccuracy, incompletion, incorrectness, and want of exactitude, has never fallen into our hands.

Our political catalogue is numerous, important, and in several instances *honorary*. Sir John Sinclair has published the third volume of his "History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire." The entire work professes to contain "an *account* of the public income and expenditure, from the remotest periods recorded in history, to Michaelmas 1802; with an *account* of the revenue of Scotland and Ireland; and an analysis of the sources of public revenue in general." The work closes with the volume before us; though it is not improbable that it may be resumed in some future time, and bring down its calculations to later periods. The general character of this undertaking has been so long estimated by the two preceding volumes, that we shall not stay to appreciate it very minutely at present. Sir John Sinclair writes diffusely, but with an independent and unservile spirit: he has read much and thought still more; but he wants order and perspicuity: we cannot always follow him, even when we are pleased with the whole we are able to understand. The first chapter in the volume before us examines the actual state of the British national debt, of which it gives an elaborate analysis. The second chapter is devoted to the revenue of Scotland; the third to that of Ireland; the fourth to national resources as a general inquiry. It concludes with a double appendix; many of the papers of which are truly valuable, and ought to be laid before the public in the form of separate pamphlets.

"The Works Political, Metaphysical and Chronological of the late Sir James Stewart, Bart." have been now first collected from his corrected copies, and edited by his son general sir James Stewart, bart. a lasting monument of piety and affection to a politician who well deserved

deserved it. Sir James Stewart's "Principles of Political Economy" are known to most of our readers. Of the six octavo volumes to which the present edition extends, it occupies the first four; and it is on this he must depend for permanent fame, if permanent fame should be his lot. He has the honour of having formed Adam Smith, who afterwards deserted his school, as Aristotle deserted that of Plato, and set up a separate establishment for himself: yet Smith's is the better of the two; though we are not quite sure, from the redundant interference which has of late years been exhibited by the legislature of this country with the internal concerns of trade and commerce, with the regulation of the price of corn, and the wages of journeymen tailors, whether sir James may not yet become a more fashionable and approved writer than his scholar and rival.—We trust not, however. The contents of the two last volumes boast of some pages of matter strictly new and original: but even the rest is re-edited in an improved form. To the whole are added some interesting biographical anecdotes of the author.

"Observations on the present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a View of the Causes and the probable Consequences of Emigration. By the Earl of Selkirk." This is a small octavo, but it contains much practical matter, exemplified by the right honourable author himself on a scale sufficiently large for a fair trial. We shall make no comment: the book should be read for itself.

From the pen of the earl of Lauderdale we have received two pamphlets. The one is "Thoughts on the alarming State of the Circulation, and on the Means of redressing the pecuniary Grievances in Ireland;" in which his lordship correctly points out the impolicy of any interference, on the part of government, with the commercial relations of any two countries whatever, and especially in the adjustment of any difference, be it what it may, in their relative exchange, whether of raw material for raw material, or of money for money. Of the other pamphlet we cannot so much approve. It is entitled "Thoughts on the alarming State of the Circulation, and on the Means of redressing the pecuniary Grievances in Ireland." We doubt much whether the plan here proposed would produce the redress sought after; and we doubt also whether the state of the circulation is as alarming as the noble financier would persuade us.

As we are thus abruptly led across the Irish channel, we shall enter, before our return, upon the consideration of the catholic question, as it is called, so intimately connected with the internal feelings, if not with the policy of the country. The first pamphlet upon this subject that we shall notice is by an anonymous writer, and is entitled "Thoughts on the present Ascendancy in Ireland." The present *ascendancy*, as it is called, includes the protestant interest, whether of the established church or dissenters: together they comprehend about a fifth part of the whole inhabitants; the remaining four-fifths being catholics. The writer before us proposes, in order to promote that harmony which alone can ensure the political security of the island, to remove, without delay, all existing disqualifications and restraints on account of religious opinions; to substitute a political for a religious

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test, and to grant to the catholic priests, out of the produce of the soil, 100*l.* per ann. each, and to the bishops an annuity of 400*l.* each. There is nothing unreasonable in the proposal: the catholic hierarchy has at least as strong a claim upon government as the presbyterian churches, which, nevertheless, in Ireland, receive such assistance: and if *half a million a year sterling* be not judged more than sufficient to satisfy the wants of the clergy of the protestant professions, amounting to not more than *one*-fifth of the general average of the inhabitants, surely there is no immodesty in soliciting an annuity of 160,000*l.* (for the sum total would not amount to more) for the clergy of the remaining four-fifths.

We shall next notice Mr. M'Kenna's "Thoughts on the Civil Conditions and Relations of the Roman Catholic Clergy, Religion and People of Ireland." It is a sensible and well-written pamphlet, inculcating the advice communicated in the preceding tract: we think, however, it proceeds somewhat too far, in recommending it to government, not only to emancipate the catholics, and to afford stipends to their clergy, but also to build them chapels wherever such may be judged necessary, and to increase their clergy by about half as many again as they consist of at present.

"Serious Examination of the Catholic Claims as set forth in the Petition now pending before Parliament, by the Rev. Thomas Lemesurier, Rector of Newton Langville." Mr. Lemesurier means well, we have no doubt; but his apprehensions seem often to run away with his judgment. The declaratory clauses of the Irish catholic petition were based upon the declaration and protestation of the English catholics, which were so highly approved some seventeen years ago by Mr. Pitt's administration, and obtained for them the additional toleration they now enjoy: many of these clauses are drawn up in the very same terms, and the whole offers no material variation either of sentiment or language.

"A Letter to Dr. Troy, titular Archbishop of Dublin, on the Coronation of Bonaparte by Pope Pius the Seventh. By Melancthon." Melancthon writes like an honest man: he is vehemently exasperated with Bonaparte for the impiety, hypocrisy, and blasphemy he has exhibited, as well in his pretended zeal for the holy religion of the catholic church at the time of his coronation, as for the holy religion of the only true prophet of God, Mahomet, on his first landing in Egypt—for the *health-bearing* cross, as for the *health-administering* Alcoran. He is also equally enraged at the treachery of the Pope to his own hierarchy and office, in consenting to become the instrument of his ambition, and to admit such a renegado into the bosom of the church. We believe Dr. Troy requires no mementos on this head; and that he feels all the horror of Melancthon upon so infamous a prostitution of the sacred unction. But what has the conduct of the officers of a religion to do with its principles? In our own church, we unfortunately behold its most solemn services too often administered by clergymen whose immorality of life is most gross and palpable: but the purity of the religion itself continues the same.

"Treatise upon Tithes," by the Rev. James Beerblock, A. M. The rev. calculator might have been better

better occupied. His pamphlet reduces to a pound shilling and pence table, the methods of turning tithes to most account when taken in kind, or of compounding for them when the right is waived. We have *not* yet heard that Mr. Beerblock has any tithes of his own to receive; and we would advise him, when he has, to relax a little in the calculations here laid down, if, in the course of his ministry, he would wish to promote peace on earth, and good will towards men.—"Observations on the Duty on Property, by the Rev. L. Heslop, Archdeacon of Bucks." Mr. Heslop has got what he was anxious for—not only a duty on property, but a duplication of that duty. Yet when the legislature sees fit to recommend a severe and onerous measure, it seems by no means an *ex-parochial* step in a clergyman to apologize for it, or exhort patience under it.

"A Treatise on the Coins of the Realm, in a Letter to the King, by Charles, Earl of Liverpool." This is a valuable tract. The noble author has well studied his subject from the best writers, and the best dealers in bullion. He recommends the striking of coins without fractions, and possessing as nearly as possible decimal subdivisions, to those in present use; of course a silver coin of the value of *ten* pence, instead of shilling or twelve-penny pieces: and of pound and half-pound or *ten* shilling pieces, instead of guineas and half guineas. He also recommends to forgo what is called a seignorage or superestimate upon coins of every kind, and to equalize them as nearly as possible to the intrinsic value of the metal they contain; advising, moreover, that the metal employed should be of one kind only, and of course possess no alloy. Of the recommendation of decimal divisions we highly approve: were the value of the coin, however, to be that of the bullion alone, such value must necessarily be fluctuating, and depend upon the bullion market; while there are many advantages to be derived from an alloy or intermixture of metals, of which increased durability is not the least. We suspect the noble earl has not consulted Mr. Hatchett's very excellent paper upon this subject, inserted in the Philosophical Transactions for the past year.

Mr. Playfair, who lately stepped from the mathematical chair to that of natural history, has now assumed a new character, and, in his "Inquiry into the permanent Causes of the Decline and Fall of Powerful and Wealthy Nations," has proved himself almost as able a statist as he is acknowledged to be a mathematician or natural historian. His remarks, in spite of the slovenly and inelegant manner in which they are conveyed, are well worth studying; and, in many instances, enforcing: although, in singling out commercial wealth as the standard of national greatness and excellence, he appears to us to have taken a ground too limited, and to have left out of his calculation many points which ought to have been admitted, and which would have been found to weigh heavy in it.

"An Inquiry into the System of National Defence in Great Britain, by John Macdiarmid, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo." Mr. Macdiarmid has repeated many good things that others have said before him; and he has also said many good things of his own; but he would have said them better in fewer words. The mischiefs here pointed out to

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national morality, from the encouragement and spread of a military spirit, and the temptations to perjury produced by heavy and burdensome taxes, are entitled to notice, and the remarks here offered upon them do equal credit to the head and heart of the writer. It should nevertheless seem, from a very valuable pamphlet by the honourable brigadier general Stewart, entitled "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Military Force of the British Empire," that, situated as the continent of Europe is at present, we have no other means of preserving our national independence: that a large and loyal body of volunteers, that an active and expert militia are not sufficient; that, if we mean to continue free, and to save ourselves from the chains that have manacled so many surrounding nations, we must have a very considerably augmented regular force; we must pursue the plan which has been so successfully pursued by the enemy. In this last pamphlet we think we trace the basis of the whole of Mr. Windham's system, and the source from which he derived it.

"War in Disguise; or the Frauds of Neutral Flags." This pamphlet is ably written, and has had a rapid sale: but were the principles it recommends to be carried to their full length, we should probably be soon involved in a maritime war from the Atlantic to the Baltic. The American states would be ten times more enraged against us than they are at present; and, severe as was the battle of Copenhagen, we should have severer battles to fight in the same harbour.

"Observations on the Poor Laws, and on the Management of the Poor in Great Britain; by the Right Honourable George Rose, M. P." Mr. Rose is well known to have studied this important subject both carefully and successfully, and he has the merit of having introduced into parliament an important provision in favour of the members of benefit societies. The present tract in no respect deducts from his reputation; and his observations upon the means of diminishing our very numerous, and often tyrannical, workhouses, are well entitled to attention. There are also some observations of a similar tendency that deserve notice in Mr. Bone's "Outline of a Plan for reducing the Poor's Rate, &c. in a Letter to Mr. Rose." How large a benefit may be conferred on the poor by a little prudent attention and management, and at a small expense, may be seen fully exemplified in Mr. Cappe's "Observations on Charity Schools, &c." and Mr. Lancaster's "Improvements in Education, as it respects the industrious Classes of the Community, &c." a book that ought to be read as well by the politician as the philanthropist.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Antiquities, Ethics, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales and Romances.

THE first place in the present chapter, in regard to intrinsic merit, is still due, as it ought ever to be, to the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society; the general character of which, however, within the limit of the survey to which we are confined, is, that they are rather curious and scientific than practical and available.

The first article comprises the "Croonian Lecture on Muscular Motion," by Mr. Carlisle. It is drawn from the common sources of the day, and contains nothing that requires particular notice. II. "Experiments for ascertaining how far Telescopes will enable us to determine very small Angles, and to distinguish the real from the spurious Diameters of Celestial and Terrestrial Objects; with an Application of the Result of these Experiments to a Series of Observations on the Nature and Magnitude of Mr. Harding's lately discovered Star. By W. Herschel, LL. D. &c." When we first entered upon the study of astronomy, we had to learn the names of only six planets, as satellitic upon the sun: since then the planetary host has been increased by two thirds of its original muster; for to this muster have been added, Herschel or Georgium Sidus, Olbers, Piazzi, and now another lately discovered by Mr. Harding, about Sept. 1804, and which, in all probability, will be denominated, as it ought to be, after his name. The paper before us endeavours to trace the comparative measurement of Harding, and concludes that it is less than Olbers; and also, that, whether these two, together with Piazzi, be real planets or mere asteroids; they are all three of the same species. It is a truly valuable article; and the experiments to ascertain the actual diameter of distant bodies are numerous and curious. We shall for a moment overstep our numerical order to notice two other articles connected with the same subject; of which the first is No. XVI. "On the Direction and Velocity of the Motion of the Sun and Solar System," by the same writer. It is well known that Dr. Herschel has long very ingeniously conjectured that the sun and solar system at large are maintaining, conjointly, some kind of gyre in the vast expanse of the heavens around the common centre of universal matter. In 1783, in which he first started this opinion, he offered his reasons for conceiving that this motion was directed towards δ Herculis. In the paper before us he points out, from other observations, another direction as its more probable course, and supposes it to trend in right ascension 245° 52′ 30″, and north polar distance 40° 22′. Long and minute observation can alone decide upon the truth and accuracy of such recondite speculations. The second paper we allude to, of the same

same class, is numbered VI. and contains "An Investigation of all the Changes of the variable Star in Sobieski's Shield, from five Years Observations, exhibiting its proportional illuminated Parts, and its Irregularities of Rotation, with Conjectures concerning unenlightened Heavenly Bodies. By E. Pigotts, Esq." The writer has traced the variations of brightness and dimness of this star with great attention, and probably accuracy; and he concludes that it revolves round its axis once in every sixty-two days, that the mean duration of its utmost lustre is nine days and a half, and of its least nine days only. III. "An Essay on the Cohesion of Fluids, by T. Young, F. R. S." We cannot follow the writer in his abstruse calculations, and it is the less necessary, as it is his intention to pursue the same subject in a more detailed form, and at a larger extent. IV. "Concerning the State in which the true Sap of Trees is deposited during Winter. In a Letter from Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq. to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, K. B. &c." This is a paper in favour of the proper circulation of the sap; of which Mr. Knight distinguishes two sorts, the one a common aqueous, and the other a richer and more inspissated, secreted from the former by means of the leaves, and deposited in the alburnum, where it remains through the inactivity of the winter months. He conceives this inspissated sap to be dissolved, on the approach of spring, by the ascending aqueous sap, and to afford, in consequence of such dissolution or combination, the matter that constitutes the new foliage, and thus to evolve those organs which were not wanted during winter, but which are essential to the further advance of vegetation. We have in the same collection another paper, No. XVII. from the same ingenious botanist, on a similar subject, entitled "On the Reproduction of Buds." The reproduction of secondary buds in the spring to supply those which have been accidentally destroyed during the winter, has not been satisfactorily accounted for. Bonnet and Duhamel have referred them to Buffon's doctrine of pre-organised germs. Mr Knight, in the paper before us, ascribes their formation to the lateral vessels of the alburnum. V. "On the Action of Platina and Mercury upon each other, by Richard Chenevix, Esq. &c." It is well known that the metal sold, not long since, in this metropolis, as one of a new species, under the name of palladium, was said by Mr. Chenevix to be nothing more than a peculiar combination of platina and quicksilver; and his assertion was fortified by experiments producing the palladium from such an alliance. The assertion and experiments have been much doubted on the continent, in consequence of similar experiments in which the result has not been fortunate. Mr. C. here justifies his own experiments, and points out the probable cause of the failure of the continental chemists. VII. "An Account of some Analytical Experiments on a Mineral Production from Devonshire, consisting principally of Alumine and Water; by Humphrey Davy, Esq. &c." This mineral was first noticed by Dr. Wavel, as filling the cavities and veins of a soft argillaceous schist near Barnstaple. It is almost entirely alumine, containing in a hundred parts no other substance than 26.2 of water, and

1.4 of lime. In No. XV. we have, from the same author, a "Method of analysing Stones containing fixed Alkali, by Means of the Boracic Acid." The boracic acid is here used instead of the caustic barytes recommended by Klaproth. VIII. "Experiments on Wootz, by Mr. David Mushet;" communicated by Sir Joseph Banks. Wootz is an iron ore of considerable reputation in India, for the hardness and toughness of the metal it produces. But it is extremely difficult to work. The experiments here related are ingenious, and will be found useful in the smelting and manufacture of these indurated cakes of iron-sand. X. "Concerning the Differences in the Magnetic Needle on board the Investigator, arising from an Alteration in the Ship's Head, by M. Flinders, Esq. Commander." This phænomenon requires attention, and with it may be easily understood: its explanation, however, depends upon tables of calculation which we cannot copy. XI. "The Physiology of the Stapes, one of the Bones of the Organ of Hearing; deduced from a comparative View of its Structure and Uses in different Animals; by Anthony Carlisle, Esq." The exact use of this bone seems still capable of question. It is found with little variation in almost all the land mammalia; in birds, some amphibia, and a few quadrupeds, it is wanting, as is also the malleus and incus; and their place is supplied by a differently constructed organ called columella. XII. "On an Artificial Substance which possesses the principal characteristic Properties of Tannin. By Charles Hatchett, Esq." XXI. "Additional Experiments and Remarks," by the same. These articles are both extremely valuable; and we have consequently introduced the former into our scientific extracts for the year. Mr. Hatchett has clearly ascertained that every substance which contains any kind of carbon, whether vegetable, mineral, or animal, may get possession of the principle of tannin by the addition of nitric acid, and may be employed with the utmost advantage in the manufacture of leather. XIII. "Case of a full grown Woman in whom the Ovaria were defective;" by Mr. Charles Pears, communicated by Sir Joseph Banks. The case is curious, but not unique. XIV. "A Description of Malformation in the Heart of an Infant, by Mr. H. C. Standert, communicated by Anthony Carlisle, Esq." The child died at ten days old, exhibiting nothing remarkable but the blue tint that always accompanies imperfect pulmonary circulation. On dissecting the heart, it was found to possess only a single auricle and ventricle, and to be defective in the pulmonary artery. XVIII. "Some Account of Two Mummies of the Egyptian Ibis, one of which was in a remarkably perfect State. By John Pearson, Esq." The embalming substance appeared to be chiefly bituminous, and the swaths were removed with difficulty. "Observations on the singular Figure of the Planet Saturn; by W. Herschel, F. R. S." It appears from these observations, that the form of this planet is far from being perfectly spheroidic: for it is considerably flattened at its poles, so as to form a parallelogram, one of whose sides is the equatorial, and the other the polar diameter, with the angles obtunded so as to leave both the equatorial and polar regions flatter than they would be in a regular spheroidic figure.

figure. XX. "On the Magnetic Attraction of Oxyds of Iron, by Timothy Lane, Esq." This article offers us nothing of particular importance. XXI. "On the Discovery of Palladium: Observations on other Substances found with Platina, by W. H. Wollaston, M. D. &c." This paper is an useful sequel to the preceding of Mr. Chenevix, No. V. it shows us not only how palladium may be most easily manufactured from platina and mercury, but also in what respects platina differs from palladium, as well as in what it resembles it. XXIII. "Experiments on a Mineral Substance formerly supposed to be Zeolite; with some Remarks on Two Species of Uran-glimmer, by the Rev. W. Gregor, communicated by Charles Hatchett, Esq." The first of these substances is a mineral of a grayish, or greenish, or yellowish white; it bears a strong similarity to that described by Mr. Davy in No. VII. The crystals of Uran-glimmer accompanied the mineral, and were found to contain oxyd of uranium, lime, silex, and oxyd of lead.

In our Register for 1803, we briefly noticed that a middle fascicle of the fifth volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh" was then just published;—in effect, it was only a segment of the second part. We have now received the remainder of this second, and the whole of the third part, completing the volume. The articles are as follow: VI. "Remarks on a mixed Species of Evidence in Matters of History: with an Examination of a New Historical Hypothesis, in the Mémoires pour la Vie de Petrarque, by the Abbé de Sade; by Alexander Fraser Tytler, Esq." The paper is ingenious, but we cannot analyse it. VII. "Description of an Extra-uterine Fetus; by Mr. Thos. Blizzard." This fetus was generated in the course of the Fallopian tube, which burst from distension, and the patient fell a sacrifice to hæmorrhage and inflammation. IX. "A New and Universal Solution of Keppler's Problem; by James Ivory, Esq." X. "Description of some Improvements in the Arms and Accoutrements of Light Cavalry, &c. by the Earl of Ancram:" an article well worthy of perusal, now that rapidity of motion is the peculiar characteristic of the modern art of war. XI. "A New Method of expressing the Co-efficients of the Development of the Algebraic Formula $(a^2 + b^2 - 2ab\cos\varphi^2)$ by Means of the Perimeters of Two Ellipses, when n denotes the half of any odd Number. With an Appendix, containing an Investigation of a Formula for the Rectification of any Arc of an Ellipse; by Mr. William Wallace." This is an ingenious and elaborate paper: but it does not admit of abridgment. XII. "Chemical Analysis of an uncommon Species of Zeolite; by Dr. Robert Kennedy." The zeolite here examined was found three years since, inclosed within a mass of prehnite, in the basaltic rock on which the castle of Edinburgh is erected; it contains some peculiar properties, and particularly that of giving a phosphoric light by friction, like several of the varieties of tremolite mentioned by Saussure; yet it does not appear to contain any phosphoric acid. XIII. "Disquisitions on the Origin and Radical Sense of the Greek Prepositions; by James Bonar, F. R. S." This is an ingenious and learned paper, the object of which is to prove

that every preposition was originally derived from sensible objects, and employed to express some simple and primary idea alone; and that it has since been extended to import other or secondary ideas, in consequence of their collateral connexion. We prefer the discussions we have lately met with on the Greek *prepositions* to those on the Greek *articles*, and chiefly because no peculiar doctrine of physics or theology is attempted to be grounded on them. An Appendix is added, containing an examination of the Hemsterhusian system of Greek analogy, as detailed by Lennep and partially caught by lord Monboddo. XIV. "Experiments and Observations upon the Contraction of Water by Heat at low Temperatures," by Charles Hope, M. D. &c." The object of this article is to prove the curious phænomenon of the contraction of water while it is heating, from 32° to 40°, and consequently that its expansion in a temperature from below 40° to its point of congelation is real, and does not depend on the expansion or contraction of the containing vessel. The fact is sufficiently proved, but it seems to have been so generally admitted of late as to have rendered the inquiry superfluous. The third part comprises a history of the society for the period embraced by the volume in question, together with a "Biographical Account," or, as the French Institute would denominate it, a *notice* of Dr. Hutton by Mr. Playfair, and of Dr. Black by Dr. Ferguson. It concludes with a list of donations.

The Board of Agriculture has published the fourth volume of its "Communications." It is a thick quarto of 446 pages, and contains nearly two hundred distinct articles, of which many might have been omitted with less risk to the reputation of the society than may perhaps be occasioned by their introduction. In several of our periodical Reviews we often perceive original opinions hazarded in one part of a number or volume, diametrically opposed by original opinions advanced in other parts: we have at times noticed the abolition of the slave trade approved of in one page, and violently decried in a subsequent; emigration to Upper Canada at one time recommended, and at another anathematized; a standing army on one occasion regarded as the mere tool of the executive power, and as replete with the utmost danger to the independence of a country; and on another as the chief support of popular liberty, and the ordinary means by which thrones have been subverted, and new constitutions introduced. Now all this discovers the most slovenly carelessness on the part of the editor of such publications. It is not, indeed, to be expected that different critical writers, intrusted with different departments, which often interfere or coalesce with each other, and ignorant, more especially, of their respective sentiments, or the train of argument by which each may be peculiarly influenced, should harmonize into one common system of opinion: but it is certainly at all times to be expected that the same book, by what number soever of different contributors compiled, should be true to itself, and exhibit a fixed unity of instruction and precept: and it is the imperative duty of the editor or selector to take care that it does so, by the total omission of some articles, the retrenchment of others, and the addition of fire-

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and spirit to those of a third kind. These observations apply strictly to the book before us. In the numerous, perhaps super-numerous, communications addressed to the board, it is not to be supposed that every writer will think alike with every writer: different, and indeed opposite plans must be perpetually proposed, and opposite arguments introduced for their support. We do not mean to say that the board of agriculture ought to discover so much attachment to one system as to suppress every paper that recommends any thing of an opposite tendency; but, if it mean to confer any real benefit on the young and inexperienced farmer—to instruct, and not to perplex him—if it mean to preserve any sort of unity of design, to exhibit any proof of arrangement or taste, in the publication of its memoirs, it should unquestionably give, by the general train of its selections, such a manifestation of its collective opinion, that the young agriculturist may be at no loss to decide, instead of being distracted, as he must be in the volume before us, by the perpetual clash of contending theories and apparently contending facts. Taken as a whole, the book before us is intrinsically valuable—but had half of it been judiciously suppressed by its editors and selectors, its value would have been at least doubled. The practice of paring and burning seems to be now generally approved, and to be gaining ground upon every soil, and in every part of the country. The best and most scientific Paper on this topic is by Mr. Morris Birkbeck. Upon the subject of the occasional scarcities to which we have of late years been exposed, the board before us has afforded many important remarks; and the advice it has on various occasions offered to government, entitles it to the gratitude of the country. We have only to regret, that in no instance does this advice appear to have been followed excepting, indeed, in guaranteeing the importation of rice in the scarcity of 1800, at so late a period of the year that the abundant harvest of 1801 arrived before the arrival of the rice itself, and parliament was called upon to pay no less a sum, in the performance of this guarantee, than three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for what was rendered of little or no use from this reprehensible delay on the part of the existing administration. On repeated recommendations of inclosing our waste lands—sometimes no step has been taken whatever; yet when this recommendation was followed up in 1797 by a successful passage of a bill founded upon it through the lower house, it was lost in the upper by a large majority. In 1800, the board endeavoured to revive this inclosure bill, and the scarcity then severely felt, seemed to afford a favourable opportunity for such an attempt: but a heavy and very unjust charge was brought against it, in consequence of some collateral advice it offered at the same time, and which was closely connected with the subject, of a secret determination, through the mean of an inclosure bill, to undermine and destroy the whole system of tithing: and under this vague and injurious accusation the attempt was invalidated a second time. Mr. Curwen has given an useful paper on potatoes, as food for horses, together with an account of his method of steaming them for this purpose. His own horses are supported by this root entirely, with the mere

addition of cut straw; for they are never allowed either hay or corn, and yet continue healthy and work well. One acre of potatoes Mr. Curwen calculates as equivalent, for this purpose, to four acres of hay. Mr. Professor Davy has also given a valuable communication: it is on the analysis of soils as connected with their melioration. Mr. Estcourt has furnished a very important article on the best means of improving the condition of the poor in a country village. The principle depends on allowing, at a low rent, every family, in proportion to its number, a certain extent of ground, never to exceed an acre and half, to be cultivated partly upon a plan chalked out for them, and partly at their own option. The scheme has been tried with the most abundant success; the poor-rates having in one instance been nearly if not altogether annihilated by it. We trust, this paper, or an abstract of it, will find its way into the tracts of the society for bettering the condition of the poor. In reality, it ought to find its way all over the kingdom, and to be reduced to practice in every hamlet. Sir Joseph Banks's account of the diseases in corn, called blight, mildew, rust, &c. inserted first of all in the volume before us, we have already noticed as a separate pamphlet in the second chapter of this Retrospect. The volume closes with a communication from Mr. Cline on the form of animals: it should be read in its full detail, and cannot then be read without improvement.

The Transactions, for the year, of the Society instituted for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, are comprised in its *twenty-third* volume. It is introduced by an engraven likeness, and short character, of the late Thomas Hollis, esq. of Corscombe, Dorset; who was for many years a zealous promoter of the interests of the institution; and by his will bequeathed 100*l.* to the society. He has at this time, however, been dead for upwards of two-and-thirty years, without any such public acknowledgment as that now exhibited: yet it is better that gratitude should come late than that it should never come at all. The papers of the society are too various for us even to enumerate: they are, as usual, arranged under the five classes of agriculture, chemistry, manufactures, mechanics, colonies and trade. Many of them are valuable; and we allude particularly to the method invented by Mr. Taylor, of Moston, for obtaining excellent hawthorn fences at a moderate expense; to Mr. Beard's machine for cutting and doubling wires for cards designed to be used in our cotton and woollen manufactories, and capable of being worked by a child; Mr. Gilpin's improved crane for raising weights; Mr. Prior's larum, adaptable to any pocket-watch; Mr. Hughes's communication on the cultivation of hemp in Canada; and Mr. Vondenvelden on the cotton plant of the East Indies. The last paragraph in the preface deserves to be copied, and that into every periodical publication circulated throughout the kingdom: nothing can be more modest, yet nothing can speak more highly in favour of an institution which we rejoice to find is in a very high degree flourishing, and which, we trust, will continue to flourish as long as *arts*, *manufactures*, and *commerce* may stand in need of so liberal a protection:

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"It should generally be understood that, to promote the arts, manufactures, and commerce of the British empire, is the aim of this institution: that for a series of more than fifty years, by the subscriptions of its members, *without any pecuniary assistance from government*, the engagements of the society have been honourably discharged, and that their bounties are not merely confined to the premiums they offer, but *extended to every object* which their title professes to encourage."

Our biographies and biographic memoirs, to which we now proceed, are numerous; yet, for the most part, they refer to foreigners, or persons long deceased. The most comprehensive, as well as the most voluminous of this class of publications is Mr. Roscoe's "Life and Pontificate of Leo X. 4 vols. 4to." From this extensive and elaborate history we have selected one or two curious or entertaining articles in a prior department of the Register for the year, and to these we refer the reader as containing specimens of its general merit. There is not, perhaps, in the whole history of man, above one or two more important epochs than the age of Leo X.: and Mr. Roscoe, who has already proved himself most ably qualified for becoming historiographer to the family of the Medici, is of all mankind the very man who should have been selected for developing its transactions. It has been objected to this work, that it does not quadrate with its title; that it embraces too large a field, and gives us the lives of other persons as well as of Leo X. This is a palpable error: and it is founded on a perusal of the first part of the title alone, and an inattention to the second. If our author had undertaken to give us the "Life of Leo X." and nothing more, it might indeed apply; but how, we inquire, is a writer to give at the same time a history of his *pontificate* without launching, and at considerable detail, into those events which first produced his elevation to this supreme dignity, which depended upon it, and in which it may be said to have concentred? How is it possible to avoid intermixing the politics with the polemics of the day; the intrigues and cabals of almost every surrounding state with those of the Vatican; the vices of the laity with those of the church; and the growth and perpetually accelerated progress of the whole family of the liberal arts, with that unwearied encouragement which this extraordinary character bestowed upon them; with that animating spirit by which he may almost be said to have called them into life? In the history of Leo X. and his pontificate, we must possess of necessity a history of the Reformation, and consequently a life of Luther; we cannot but expect to meet with a direct history of the invention of printing; and a casual glance at the discovery of the West Indies by the Spaniards, and of a passage to India by the Portuguese; we cannot but be certain of finding in such an undertaking, memoirs of the rivals and associates, the immediate predecessors and contemporaries of Leo himself; of Roderigo Borgia, afterwards elevated to the papacy by the name of Alexander VI; of Francesco Piccolomini, afterwards Pius III; of Giuliano della Rovere, the restless and ambitious Julius II; of such literary characters as Pomponius Lætus, Callimachus Experiens, Paolo Cortese; of Pico of Mirandola, Aldo Manu-

zio, and above all of Ariosto. Of these, and characters and events like these, we have a right to expect an explicit if not a detailed account, and the work before us would have been imperfect if it had not extended to them. In this respect, however, it is not imperfect, for it does extend to them, and, in our opinion, without the charge of redundancy. And in the progress of its history we cannot but be perpetually astonished at that unwearied industry of research, that unrepressed and personal investigation into almost every document necessary to be consulted, and at times only to be acquired with the greatest difficulty and labour, that peculiarly characterize the present compilation; and which, if at times it should run into tediousness, lays, nevertheless, the most unshaken foundation for our confidence and reliance. It is, perhaps, an error that so many of these documents should have been given so much at length; for we are hereby burdened with an Appendix that adds to considerably more than a fourth part of the entire publication; and, in our apprehension, very unnecessarily augments its price. Should this work reach, as we trust it will do, a second edition, we strenuously advise an ample retrenchment in this respect. As it is, Mr. Roscoe has conferred another lasting obligation on his age and country, and most ably completed a task which the two Wartons had intended, but died without having commenced.

"Memoirs of Richard Cumberland. Written by Himself." We have been much pleased with these recollections of a worthy and illustrious veteran in the republic of letters. They not only contain an account of the life and very numerous writings of the author, but are interspersed with anecdotes and characters of several of the most distinguished persons of his time, with whom he had intercourse and connexion. Descended both in the paternal and maternal line from ancestors highly renowned for learning and critical acumen—from Richard Bentley, and Bishop Cumberland, the writer of these memoirs may almost be said to have been by blood a man of taste, a scholar, and a christian. He at one time tried the region of politics, but he found it tempestuous and unfriendly to him; in truth, he appears to have been in almost every respect ill qualified for it; and the unbending integrity of his mind, as well as the natural bias of his genius, seems to have pointed out "the cool sequestered vale" of private life, as the only path for him to walk in. For the most part this has been his lot; yet, in whatever sphere he has been placed, no man has been less idle, or inattentive to the scenes that have surrounded him. An accurate observer of men and manners, highly polished in his taste, and deeply imbued with the pure waters of a classical education, it was not, indeed, to be supposed that he could remain unknowing or unknown; and hence is it that we are indebted to Mr. Cumberland for a greater number of productions in almost every branch of polite literature than to any other writer living; for elegant plays, elegant essays, and elegant poems. He has equally contributed to exalt our taste and to correct our manners, to gratify our thirst for innocent amusement, and to inspire us with reverence for the mysteries of revealed religion. It is impossible that the anecdotes of such a man

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should not be interesting—courted as has been his company, brilliant as has been his conversation, and connected by intermarriages, as we are happy to find his descendants are, with some of the most illustrious families of the country. To the Recollections before us we have therefore listened with peculiar pleasure; and though the natural garrulity of age has sometimes, perhaps, made the speaker unnecessarily prolix, it is an error which he who cannot forgive ought never to be forgiven himself. The good fortune which has attended Mr. Cumberland's children has not, however, attended his own person: and we are sorry to add, that one motive for bringing forwards the work before us during his lifetime, is to obtain a degree of pecuniary ease and comfort which at present he is in want of. Can we urge a stronger incentive upon the generosity of our readers?

"Correspondence between Frances Countess of Hertford (afterwards Duchess of Somerset), and Henrietta Louisa Countess of Pomfret, between the Years 1738 and 1741. 3 vols. 8vo." We have uniformly expressed our abhorrence of thus dragging from the sanctuary of an escritoire devoted to private friendship alone, letters that were never meant to be made public; of thus wantonly uncovering the most retired features of the soul, and pushing them, in all their nakedness of form, on the garish eye of a curious and inquisitive world. It is a stealth which nothing can justify; a custom which, if much longer persevered in, will produce the pernicious effect, that those who write with real confidence and affection will be afraid to preserve their correspondences even for the future use of themselves; and that those whose letters will be found to survive them, and who write with that express view, will feel compelled to be for ever on their guard, to suppress half they mean, to say what they do not mean at all—to be continually hunting for tropes, figures, and turns of expression, instead of suffering the pure current of their thoughts and sensations to flow forth without restraint—and thus to leave behind them a legacy of little or no use to the world—a dishonest diary of their own hearts; a varnished and unreal representation of the sphere of life in which they have moved. Such, however, we feel confident, is not the case with the letters before us. They have every proof of truth and ingenuousness, and do great credit to the very excellent and highly cultivated writers of them. The countess of Hertford is well known for her generous interference in favour of Savage the poet, at the time his diabolical mother endeavoured by false charges to get him starved, transported, or hanged. The countess of Pomfret will long be remembered at Oxford as the donor of the Arundelian marbles to that university, which had been previously purchased in Italy by sir Wm. Fermor, her ladyship's grandfather by marriage. The two correspondents were ladies of the bedchamber to queen Caroline, on whose death they retired from office and from court; the latter, with lord Pomfret and her family, first to France, and afterwards to Italy, and the former to some of the more quiet scenes of her own country alone. It was during this absence from each other that the letters before us were written. Their style is truly elegant and easy;

they display a highly cultivated taste, extensive reading and observation, and consist chiefly in an intercourse of opinion upon the books they occasionally perused, and the persons and events that surrounded them.

"The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, Knt. By Arthur Cayley, jun. Esq. 2 vols. 4to." The outline of the life of this truly extraordinary character is so well known as to render it unnecessary for us to enter into any detail at present. Mr. Cayley has, by his assiduous researches, obtained possession of many documents which are of considerable importance in the task he has undertaken, and has introduced copies of most of them either into the body of the work, or a subjoined appendix. He has used great diligence, and written with great modesty. His biography is a valuable acquisition to our libraries.

Capt. Franklin, who is already known to the world as the author of a Tour to Persia, and the History of Shah Aulum, has now offered us a quarto volume of "Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, who, by his extraordinary Talents and Enterprise, rose from an obscure Situation to the Rank of a General in the Service of the Native Powers in the North-West of India." The adventurer, whose variable life is here recorded, was a native of Tipperary in Ireland. He early embarked for India; and when a young man, from the comeliness of his form, and politeness of his address, soon ingratiated himself into the favour, and even affection, of the begum Sumroo. He commanded her troops, and contributed to her illicit pleasures. In about six years, however, he was supplanted by another foreigner whose name was Levasso, and who married the begum. Our adventurer then entered into the service of Appa-kandarow, a Mahratta chief, who was at that time engaged in hostilities with Scindia; he added to the common cause the whole stock of wealth he had amassed under the begum, and was to be repaid by imposts upon provinces which yet remained to be subdued. Appa-kandarow drowned himself in the Ganges, after having long suffered, without hope of relief, under a severe and excruciating disorder, and general Thomas united himself with his nephew and successor Vavan Row. Not being able, however, to obtain a regular payment of the sums stipulated, he resolved to establish a sovereignty of his own; he fixed on Hurianeh, a district of eighty cos in diameter, situate north-west of Delhi on the left bank of the Cugger, and converted the town of Hansi into his metropolis. He was driven from this district by the combined Mahrattas under the direction of M. Perron; and incapable of defending himself, he transferred his rights to the East India company, and retired into the English territory. The company prepared to assist him, but he died suddenly before he could avail himself of their offer. From these memoirs it should appear that general Thomas was a man of great restlessness and ambition; endowed with many, though not all the talents of an accomplished soldier, and whose services might be bought over in any cause, and upon any occasion. The work, however, is useful, as being largely interspersed with geographic and statistic accounts of several of the states composing the interior of the peninsula, and especially the countries

tries of Jypoor, Joudpoor, and Ondipoor, the seihs of Pun-jaub, the territory of Beyhaneer, and the country adjoining the great desert to the westward of Hurianeh.

At the distance of *thirty years* from his decease we have now offered to the public three volumes, in twelves, of "Memoirs of Samuel Foote, Esq. with a Collection of his Genuine Bon-mots, Anecdotes, Opinions, &c. mostly Original, and Three of his Dramatic Pieces not published in other Works. By William Cooke, Esq." The title is so full that we have scarcely any thing to add to it. We have found these Footiana for the most part highly amusing; but in many instances worthy of severe reprehension on the score of moral gravity or religion. The dramas bear evident tokens of their genuineness; but the personality, on which their merit chiefly depends, has passed its day, and totally incapacitates them for the modern stage.

"An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from his Birth to his eleventh Year. Written by himself. To which are added, Original Letters to Dr. Samuel Johnson, by Miss Hill Boothby." Johnson never pretended to any peculiarity of powers during his infancy. The scraps here offered us must have been written by him (if written at all) in an idle hour: and the matter of chief merit in the present duodecimo is that which tells us that the doctor himself looked them out for the express purpose of committing them to the flames, and that they were clandestinely purloined from this fate by his black servant, of whose wife the editor purchased them. Johnson judged with his usual accuracy: the flames would have been the best fate that could have awaited such *puerilia*: it was an infamous deed to rescue them, and a more infamous one to give them to the public.

The lamented fall of the heroic Nelson, and the affectionate anxiety that has been evinced to become acquainted with every hour and every incident of his life, have produced a variety of sketches of him, which can only be supposed to stalk their day till something intrinsically worthy of so illustrious a subject shall make its appearance. It is now, indeed, well known that a task of this truly grateful kind has been committed to Mr. Harrison by the immediate and nearest relations of his lordship: but the tardity with which this official biography is published, one volume only of a series having yet appeared; and we outstep our bounds to notice even this—is not likely to bespeak the public favour in its behalf. We have hitherto, however, received nothing that can in any degree excite our attention but a thin octavo of Memoirs of his life and achievements, by an anonymous captain of the British navy, and Mr. Charnock's longer account; to introduce a few extracts from which we have, with what we hope will be regarded by our readers as a venial trespass, stepped beyond the real limits of our periodical lucubration, and to which we may, therefore, perhaps, return for a more explicit description in our next year's Retrospect.

"Letters between the Rev. James Granger, M. A. Rector of Shiplake, and many of the most Eminent Literary Men of his Time: composing a copious History and Illustration of the Biographical History of England, with Miscellanies and Notes of Tours in France, Holland

Holland and Spain, by the same Gentleman.—Edited by J. P. Malcolm." Had Mr. Granger met with sufficient encouragement, it was his intention to have written a biographic history of England; and most of the letters here posthumously pushed upon the notice of the world are hints, and other temporary observations given him upon this subject by his bookseller chiefly, and incidentally by a few other persons with whom he was in the course of occasional correspondence. But to call such trash as is here offered, "A copious History and Illustration of the Biographical History of England," or to intimate in a *taking way* (for the title is unquestionably drawn up for this purpose), that it may be so construed, is as vile a prostitution of such terms as the modesty of the present century has ever exhibited to us.

But we turn to more valuable productions. Dr. Maton, we rejoice to find, has published a second and very enlarged edition of Dr. Pulteney's "General View of the Writings of Linnéus." It is a quarto volume, and falls into the class before us in consequence of a prefixed account of the original author, drawn up with a masterly hand from unquestionable documents. Mr. Lacy has given us an abridged "Life of Erasmus, with an Account of his Writings, reduced from the larger Work of Dr. John Jortin." There is some reason for such an abridgment. Dr. Jortin's biography is drawn up chiefly from Le Clerc, but is very considerably expanded, and especially by the introduction of Latin extracts that rendered it less useful as a popular book, and a multitude of long notes that at times are only collaterally connected with the main subject. In the edition before us these are purposely omitted, and the two bulky quartos of Jortin are hereby reduced to an octavo of less than four hundred pages.

"Original Anecdotes of Frederic the Second, and of his Family, his Court, his Ministers, his Academies, and his Literary Friends; collected during a familiar Intercourse of Twenty Years with that Prince. Translated from the French of Dieu-donne Thiebault, Professor of Belles Lettres in the Royal Academy of Berlin. 2 vols. 8vo." We have heard much of Frederic the Great, and have already been ushered, through the introduction of one confidential writer or another, into almost every corner and cranny of his private life, if a king who never threw off his kingship can be said to have had any private life whatever. Yet, much as we have heard, and read, and surmised, we are not so gorged with memoirs and anecdotes of him as to turn aside in disgust from others of his intimate friends and acquaintances, who yet beg leave to offer us new and additional information. Of this description is M. Thiebault, who left Paris for Berlin in 1765, at the express invitation of Frederic himself, and continued in habits of close confidence with him till the period of his decease. The work is written with great spirit, with an impartiality not always to be met with in the biographer of a friend, and an independence of mind still less frequent in those who have passed so large a portion of their lives within the bosom and incensed atmosphere of a court. It is divided into two principal parts, of which each is again subdivided into subordinate sections. The first treats

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of Frederic in his youth—Frederic in his private life and domestic life—old age, infirmities, and death of Frederic. The second introduces us to Frederic the great and his family—Frederic the great and his court—Frederic and his government civil and military—Frederic, his academy, his schools, and his friends, literary and philosophical.

"Memoirs of Marmontel, written by Himself." 4 vols. 8vo. These memoirs are translated from the French, and with more accuracy than we generally meet with. They appear to be genuine and authentic; and represent this man of wit and fancy in all his elegance of taste, and morality of sentiment: they comprise his literary and political life, and offer anecdotes of many of the principal characters of the eighteenth century.

"The Life of Professor Gellert: with a Course of Moral Lessons delivered by him in the University of Leipsic; taken from a French Translation of the original German; by Mrs. Douglas. 3 vols. 8vo." Christian Furchtegott Gellert was the son of an excellent and exemplary clergyman, and was born at Haynichen in 1715. In his corporeal constitution he was hypochondriacal, but in his spiritual feelings, warm, elevated, enthusiastic—an affectionate son, and a very devout christian. He laboured with all his might to excite in others of every class, the sensations he felt in himself; and hence his writings are of various descriptions and characters. For the gay he wrote comedies, and pastoral dramas of a moral or religious tendency; for the grave, pious essays, and thoughts on religion; for the young, moral fables in verse and devotional poems; for the old, consolations resulting from the vanity of the present and the happiness of a future life; and for the ignorant, models for epistolary correspondence upon the common subjects and events of the day. His poetical effusions, and almost all his dramatic pieces, are tame and insipid: his devotional writings are by far his best productions, and Mrs. Douglas had acted wisely in restraining her translation to these alone. Considering that this version is obtained through the medium of a French interpretation, it contains less bombast and inflation than we had reason to expect. The whole of M. Gellert's works, in the original German, consists of seven octavos; of which five were edited by himself at Leipsic in 1769; and two were posthumously added by his friends from papers found after his decease.

Mr. Fuseli has given a new edition of Pilkington's "Dictionary of Painters," with very considerable and valuable alterations and additions, an appendix, and an index. We perceive, upon a cursory glance, various errors which had crept into the original work, corrected, and the lives of several later painters added to the general list. And Mr. Greswell has met with sufficient success to publish a new impression of his very interesting "Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, and other celebrated Italian poets of the fifteenth Century." This impression is augmented by a life of Joannes Picus of Mirandola, who was born in 1463. It is a very spirited and important addition to the memoirs, and enters fully into the talents, pursuits and character of a man who may almost be regarded as possessed of the most extraordinary and comprehensive genius of the age in which he lived.

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In three duodecimos, entitled "Memoirs of a Picture," Mr. Collins, the compiler of these memoirs, has contrived to introduce a "Biographical Sketch of that celebrated, Original and Eccentric Genius, the late Mr. George Morland." This sketch he affirms to be *genuine*, and it bears many characteristics of being so: the author claims an acquaintance with Mr. Morland and his family of upwards of twenty years standing. But why he should thus queerly have introduced the life of his friend in the midst of a mass of matter that has no possible connexion with him, the writer himself not having informed us, we confess ourselves totally at a loss to conjecture.

From the remains and ruins of human genius and intellect, we proceed to the remains and ruins of human art and industry; and in the antiquities and archaiologies for the year, shall meet with much that is well worthy of notice, although little that will admit of a detailed description. The publications of this class, within the scope of our attention, are chiefly topographic: such is Mr. Nichols's "History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester," of which the second part of the third volume has now reached us, and displays the same unwearied spirit of research, the same enthusiasm for church relics and heraldic records which peculiarly characterize the earlier parts of this voluminous undertaking. Such too are Mr. Duncumb's "Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford," published in a quarto form, of which the first volume only has hitherto met us, and is expressly honoured with the patronage of his grace of Norfolk. We shall return to it upon a future occasion; and shall only observe at present, that of the eleven chapters into which this first volume is divided, the first seven are allotted to an introductory history of the county, and the ensuing four to the military, civil and ecclesiastical history of the city of Hereford.—Such again is the third volume which has now reached the public, of Mr. Polwhele's "History of Cornwall," confined almost entirely to the intermediate period from Vortigern to Edward I: in the course of which volume, Mr. Polwhele, however, is under very considerable obligations to several of his correspondents, and especially to Mr. Whitaker, whose fancies amuse us, and whose warmth and earnestness of language maintain our attention when the subject itself would otherwise only send us asleep. Such again is Mr. Blomefield's "History of Norfolk," in its re-edited form by Mr. Millar; if that can be fairly denominated a re-edition which introduces a considerable portion of new matter into the body of the original work, and proposes to enlarge it by two additional volumes as a supplementary appendage. This history will then extend to ten octavos; the three first only are before us at present. The editor is confident of success, and we trust he will sustain no disappointment. Such is the "History of Devonshire," another voluminous attempt of Mr. Polwhele, of which a single folio fascicle, entitled Chapter II. and containing what he denominates the Roman-British period, has reached us, and possesses all the desultory and unconnected pursuit of the segments that have preceded it. And such, in a considerable degree, is Mr. Jones's "History of the County of Brecknock," of which

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the first volume only is published, in a quarto form; although the author has entered more largely into chorographic illustration, and agricultural remarks, than the generality of our county historians. To these may be added, the second and third volumes of Mr. Malcolm's Londinum Redivivum, compiled from parochial records, archives of various foundations, the Harleian MSS. and other authentic sources, in which we perceive the same curious and indefatigable research which stamped a real and important value on his first volume. In some respects he rather *out antiquates*, as it appears to us, the office of the *antiquarian*, and especially in his liberally supplying of his own accord, if in the case of Edmund Calamy it may be allowed to be *liberal*, inscriptions for the tombs of our men of eminence who have never possessed such, or have been defrauded of them by the hand of violence or the insatiable tooth of time.—Dr. Millar's "History and Antiquities of Doncaster," introduced and concluded with much modesty, and largely interspersed with agreeable anecdotes and descriptions. Sir H. C. Englefield's second edition of his "Walk through Southampton," which, as a second edition, we should not have noticed but for its new and appended "Account of the Roman Station Clausentum," and a few other increments that add considerably to the value of the original design.—Mr. Hay's "History of Chichester," which combines the modern with the antique; and spends as much time in wandering around the country as in examining the architraves, and poring over the records of the cathedral.

In this part of our annual survey we have also to notice Mr. Britton's "Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain," of which the first three parts alone have hitherto reached our hands. The accuracy and elegance of the drawings do great credit to the talents of the writer as an artist, and the description of the buildings they exemplify, to his accuracy as an antiquarian. Those chiefly commented upon are St. Botolph's Colchester, King's College Chapel Cambridge, St. Sepulchre's Northampton, and the Temple church London.

"The ancient Cathedral of Cornwall historically surveyed: by John Whitaker, B. D. 2 vols. 4to." The name of this erudite but eccentric writer is known to other persons than antiquarians; but almost all persons, till they peruse the work itself, must be at a loss to conjecture, from the mere title-page, the author's scope and intention. No cathedral at this moment exists in any part of Cornwall, nor can the most piercing ken of the archaiologist point out with certainty any spot where such an edifice has existed in former times. Yet as Cornwall has to boast of an episcopal see, and as every see should possess a cathedral or episcopal church, it has been generally supposed that Cornwall must have had such a church formerly: and Malmesbury and Borlase have laboured to prove that it existed at Bodmin. The object of Mr. Whitaker is to point out the *blunders*, as he calls them, of these writers, and to remove its site from Bodmin to St. Germans. In the course of this attempt, although he is very far from establishing his position, and is perpetually running astray in pursuit of objects that have no possible connexion with it,

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he evinces a mass of erudition that we have seldom met with, and a style of embellishment and elegance that makes us readily keep company with him, however wild his track or transient the meteor that seduces him.

From the able pen of Dr. George Barry—a pen, we are sorry to add, that will now move no more—we have received by far the best "History of the Orkney Islands" which the world has yet had presented to it. It is divided into three parts; of which the first contains a general view of the islands, with a geographic description of each: the second an account of their autochthonous inhabitants, as obtained from those "feeble and scattered rays of light furnished occasionally by ancient writers"—and which inhabitants our author refers without hesitation to a Scandinavian stock: the third, a statistic account of their favourable situation, and the advantages of which they are susceptible. The agriculture seems to be in a very imperfect state; the farms are small, seldom exceeding forty acres, sometimes as contracted as ten; yet from the paucity of the population the annual produce is more than equal to the consumption; and though, from failure of crops, grain has in some years been imported, yet on an average of years, the importation has never been equal to the exportation: and if the lands were properly cultivated it would be adequate to four-fold its present population." And why are they not properly cultivated? How absurd to think of emigrating to Upper Canada, or the back settlements of the American states, to Bahama, or Prince of Wales island, while our home-coasts are so little explored, and we have such extensive tracts of rich arable land ready cleared to our hands, and capable of produce to the edge of the very wave that conveys the water-carriage for its reception!

But we must hasten to the department of philology and moral philosophy: and shall begin with observing that Mr. Drummond, who some few years since gave a neat translation of Persius, has now published, in quarto, the first volume of a work entitled "Academical Questions." To what extent it is proposed that this work shall branch out before its completion we can form no calculation: for the subjects at present discussed, though for the most part of individual importance, are in many instances desultory and unconnected. Our author controverts the idea that the intellect is naturally distributed into separate and distinct faculties; and hence, although without a reference to it, strikes a stern blow at the fashionable cranioscopy of the continent. The recondite subject of power—that of the primary and secondary qualities of matter—of solidity and extension—of motion and sensation, follow in consecutive order; and the ensuing ten chapters are devoted to an examination of the systems and sentiments of many of the most celebrated metaphysicians of modern times; of Descartes, Bacon, Newton, Spinosa, Hartley, dean Tucker, Leibnitz, Hart, and Reid.—The reasoning employed in the course of these discussions is shrewd and accurate; the learning evinced is copious and solid; and the language made use of elegant and perspicuous. It is not always that we have been able to trace our author's own opinions: he rather delights in detecting what is wrong than

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in asserting what is right—he is less of a dogmatist than of an academic.

A more systematic attempt is commenced before us in Mr. Forsyth's "Principles of Moral Science;" which, like the preceding, however, is at present an unfinished work, the first volume only being yet in the possession of the public. It is divided into three parts: first, the ultimate objects of human pursuit, moral qualities, moral duties, and anterior systems of morality: second, the mental qualities, powers and passions: third, religion, and the subjects connected with it. We cannot speak very highly of this work at present: the argument advanced has seldom any novelty to recommend it, and is not always legitimate in its deductions. We have, upon the whole, been better pleased with a thin anonymous octavo entitled "An Essay on the Principles of Human Action;" in which the writer very sturdily attacks the systems of Hartley and Helvetius, especially the former, and endeavours to establish the natural independence of the human mind, and, consequently, its superiority to every species of corporeal influence, or association.

The long expected second volume of Mr. Tooke's "Epea Pteroenta, or Diversions of Purley," has at length made its appearance. It pursues the theory commenced in the former volume with the same extent of learning, the same perspicuity of development, the same force of conclusion, and the same irrelevant and malignant introduction of modern politics which so peculiarly marked that motley production. It is well known that the grand object of Mr. Tooke is to simplify and diminish our elementary parts of speech, and to reduce them from eight or ten to two alone—nouns and verbs. It was the object of his first volume to prove that what are called the inferior parts of language, such as prepositions, articles, conjunctions, and adverbs, originate from verbs or nouns, still retain their primary meaning, and, in fact, are still verbs or nouns, which have relinquished their power of inflection. In the volume before us he applies the same rule, and with equal success, to our adjectives, participles, and abstract substantives. As it is, it is certainly the most luminous treatise yet offered to the world by any philosophic linguist whatever: we only lament that it should have been so much degraded into a vehicle for political abuse.

In Mr. Jones's "Grammar of the Greek Tongue, on a New and improved Plan," we perceive this system of reduction and simplification pushed to an unjustifiable extreme—for it is the object of Mr. Jones to prove that the verb alone is the chief or sole origin of speech, and that nouns, as well as prepositions, adverbs, and adjectives, are descendants from this primordial stock; while the different inflections of verbs are mere compounds of a radical with a secondary term in the form of a pronoun. The Hemsterhusian theory, here again had recourse to, as we have already observed in the chapter before us, is ably discussed by Mr. Bonner in article XII. of the fifth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. We wish Mr. Jones had read that treatise before the publication of his own; we are persuaded he would not then have offered for etymons

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many of the Hebrew terms that rank with him as such at present, and which are as foreign from the purpose as would have been the most random dip he could have given into Mr. Bryant's Ammonian radicals.

Mr. Walpole has made an acceptable present to the admirer of the Greek drama by his Comicorum Græcorum Fragmenta quædam—Fragments from the Greek Comedians." The authors from whom he has selected are, Cratinus, Eupolis, Plato, Pherecrates, Alexis, Antiphanes, Anaxandrides, Aristophon, Ephippus, Epicrates, Eubulus, Phœnicides, Phileterus, Timocles, Mnesimachus, Xenarchus, Macho, Theophilus, Menander, Philemon, Diphilus. Several of the passages selected are enriched by emendations from the classical pen of Mr. professor Porson; and to some of them are added Latin or English versions from Grotius, or Cumberland.—To the same gentleman we are indebted for a small volume of "Specimens of scarce Translations from the Latin poets; to which are added, Miscellaneous Translations from the Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, &c. They display a close acquaintance with classical literature, and occasionally revive passages which ought not to have been forgotten.

"The Nature of Things: a Didactic Poem. Translated from the Latin of Titus Lucretius Carus, accompanied with the Original Text, and illustrated with Notes Philological and Explanatory. By John Mason Good. 2 vols. 4to." The elegant poetical talents and the various learning of Mr. Good are already well known to the public; and these are qualities which it is requisite for a translator of Lucretius to combine in no ordinary degree. The preface contains at considerable length an account of preceding versions which have come to the knowledge of the translator, and the principles upon which it has been conducted: the original text selected is that of Wakefield,—who personally advised its accompaniment. The parallel passages and ideas, well as as the unquestionable imitations of Lucretius by other poets, are pursued through "Latin, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Portuguese and English;" to which are incidentally added, "Original Passages from Greek Writers to which our Poet has occasionally referred, or from which he has manifestly borrowed." Mr. Good, however, has not confined his researches to the writers of ancient or modern Europe: he is an oriental scholar of no mean accomplishment, and has, in various instances, rendered the Muses of the West tributary to those of the East. The preface is followed by a life of Lucretius. The materials are scanty; they appear however to have been gleaned with great industry by the biographer. Having satisfactorily defended the doctrine of Epicurus, and the philosophic poet his disciple from the charge of immorality and licentiousness, which has been thrown upon them by the ignorant or the disingenuous, Mr. Good next enters upon a more arduous task, that of clearing the Epicurean system from the imputation of atheism, which has in every age been affixed to it. The undertaking is bold and ingeniously supported: but, we cannot enter into his arguments. The appendix to the life contains a comparison of the Epicurean philosophy with other ancient systems, and a history of its various revolutions in ancient

and modern times. In proceeding to the translation, we cannot avoid observing that the choice which Mr. Good has made of blank verse, appears to us very judicious. The greater liberty of phraseology, and simplicity, and antique cast of diction which it admits, peculiarly adapt it to the character of Lucretius, and afford, indeed, the only means which the English possesses of imitating with success the nervous and severe style of the philosophic poet, which borrows no ornaments but from the ideas and sentiments which it conveys, and the pictures which it represents. Respecting the qualifications of Mr. Good as a translator, little is requisite to be said. He has not only studied the work of his author with diligence, but seems to have availed himself of every source of information which now remains for the illustration of the philosophic tenets which the poet inculcates. With the power of his own language he is well acquainted, and can apply its riches with readiness and propriety to the ornament of the subjects on which he treats. His poetical taste has been highly cultivated by a careful study of the best works in that branch of literature, in a great variety of languages, ancient and modern; and to erudition and taste he adds that scientific knowledge which qualifies him for becoming the interpreter of that poet whose theme is "The Nature of Things." The copious notes by which the translation is accompanied form a part of the work of too much consequence to be passed over without observation. Besides their merit as illustrative of the author, they comprise a collection of facts, poetical extracts, theories and arguments, which furnish a highly entertaining miscellany.

"The Tomb of Alexander; a Dissertation on the Sarcophagus brought from Alexandria, and now in the British Museum, by E. D. Clarke, LL. D." The object of this dissertation is to prove that the sarcophagus surrendered by the French to the British troops at Alexandria, was the real tomb in which the body of Alexander the Great was at one time deposited. It is impossible to enter into the body of history, or the train of ingenious arguments which are here advanced by Dr. Clarke and his friend Mr. (now *Dr.*) Henley, in support of this opinion. If conviction have not been given to every reader, it is not the fault of the builders of the theory before us, but of the materials alone.

Dr. Vincent has published the second part of his "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea." The object of this elaborate work is to describe the navigation of the ancients from the gulf of Elana, in the Red Sea, to the island of Ceylon: and the same indefatigable industry, the same extensive learning, the same chorographic precision which were so eminently perspicuous in the former part, still characterize the present. The volume closes with three dissertations of great merit and profound research: the first is designed to prove that the Sinæ or Thinæ of the Periplus, and Seres or Silk-growers, were inhabitants of the north of China; the second is a dissertation upon the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, containing a prophecy against Tyre; the third contains a catalogue of the articles of commerce mentioned in

the digest of the Roman law, compared with those in the Periplûs of the Erythrean sea.

From the pen of miss Knight, though published anonymously, we have received a quarto volume entitled "A Description of Latium, or la Campagna di Roma," which will be found of very considerable utility to our tourists and travellers over Italy, whenever the time may come for the renewal of such peregrinations. It is a work that does great credit to the topographic knowledge and refined taste of the fair writer; and which, even at home, cannot be perused without high pleasure by the classical student, the antiquary, or the painter.

"An analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste. By Richard Payne Knight." This is an amusing, and at the same time a scientific work. It is divided into three parts, which treat consecutively of sensation, association of ideas, and the passions. It diverges into a variety of collateral considerations and remarks, and is always ingenious and enterprising, if not always correct and successful.

"Essays, in a Series of Letters to a Friend: by the reverend John Foster." 2 vols. 12mo. These essays have obtained so considerable a circulation, that while thus only announcing them we perceive a *third* edition advertised. They are entitled to this encouragement: for they contain a masterly stretch of thought, new views of subjects that have been deemed by other writers incapable of novelty, much force of reasoning, and a steady and animated desire to promote the best interests of men. They are appropriated to the following subjects: On a man's writing memoirs of himself: on decision of character: on the application of the epithet romantic: on some of the causes by which evangelical religion has been rendered less acceptable to persons of cultivated taste.

But we hasten to the original poetry of the year: and shall first notice, as first entitled to notice, Mr. Southey's "Madoc." The subject of this epopeia consists in the supposed discovery of Mexico about the year 1169 by a Welch prince, from whose name the poem is entitled, and who left his native country in quest of a more secure place of rest, in consequence of a contention between the princes his brothers for the throne of their father, king Owen Gwyneth. He finds the situation of Mexico favourable to his views of establishing a new dynasty in that extensive empire, sails home for additional assistance—narrates the adventures that had befallen him—obtains the aid he stood in need of—returns to America, and eventually succeeds in establishing himself. It is obvious, therefore, that the fable is divided into two parts; the narrative, which extends to the first eighteen books, and the actual, which comprises the ensuing twenty-seven, the entire poem consisting of forty-five books, cantos, or short divisions. There is throughout most parts of it a degree of merit superior to any thing we have yet noticed from the genius of Mr. Southey—and which will convey it, we have no doubt, to a distant posterity. The manners of the different nations introduced are accurately exhibited: the images selected are in general highly appropriate—

propriate—the descriptions are all alive—the language is, for the most part, rich and select—and the causes are sufficiently varied, and sufficiently harmonious. The faults are irregularity of plan; deficiency of spirit in the latter or second part, which should have formed a poem of itself; a studied suppression of similes; a tasteless recourse to the most uncouth elisions, and a perpetual introduction of the most barbarous and cacophonous names for his heroes, and of feeble obsolete terms that ought never to have been introduced into the English language, much less to have been dragged back again from their grave after a natural decease and legitimate interment. Mr. Southey has also published, in the exuberance of his genius, a small volume of "Metrical Tales and other Poems," which are peculiarly successful where simplicity alone is required, but are meagre and spiritless when the higher ornaments of poetry are imperatively demanded.

Mr. Bowles has tried his venture upon *a sort of* epic, a descriptive poem in five books, which he has entitled "The Spirit of Discovery, or the Conquest of Ocean." Its subject, which reaches from Noah's ark to the maritime adventures of the present day, is far too long for a single poem of any kind, and, in fact, rather requires the extent and variety of an encyclopædia than a single octavo partitioned into five segments. Yet it has many touching and pathetic, as well as some brilliant and spirited passages. As usual, Mr. Bowles is most successful in the former: he has sacrificed with better auspices at the shrine of Melpomene than of Calliope.

The smaller and miscellaneous poems of the year are so numerous that we can scarcely find space for a catalogue of them. In the Gothic or Scandinavian class we have to mention Mr. Herbert's "Select Icelandic Poetry," a small octavo, translated from the originals, with notes, that evince a very competent acquaintance with northern paleosophy. Mr. Beresford's "Song of the Sun," imitated, and not unsuccessfully, from a poem of this name of the eleventh century, and to be found in the Edda: and an anonymous poem called "The Battle of the Largs," founded on the northern mythology, and not unfrequently happy in its application to the writer's general design. There are some smaller pieces that close the volume, which we prefer to this longer and less accurate attempt. Of a nature still more miscellaneous, we must notice Mr. Montgomery's "Wanderer of Switzerland, and other Poems,"—possessing a merit, and, we trust, experiencing a reception sufficient to induce him to add very speedily another volume to the present. "Ballads," by Mr. Hayley, which certainly will never add a single leaf either of laurel or ivy to the wreath that surrounds his brows. "Oriental Tales," and "Rhymes on Art;" poems that seem chiefly to have been intended to fill up the leisure hours of two of our most celebrated painters; the first by Mr. Hopner, and the second by Mr. Shee, and both (the last especially, which possesses some resemblance to Vida's Art of Poetry) exhibiting a cultivated taste and considerable ease of versification; a character which we may also bestow upon Mr. Burroughs's "Poetical Epistle" to another celebrated artist of the same profession, who has since paid the debt of

nature;—we mean Mr. Barry. Two small volumes by Mr. Boyd, the translator of the Divina Commedia; the one containing a translation of Vincenzo Monti's "Penance of Hugo," written after the manner of Dante; the other an original poem in the versification of Spenser, entitled "The Woodman's Tale," possessing his accustomed ease of rhyming, and evincing in what school he has passed the greater part of his leisure hours. Part II. of Mr. Smyth's "English Lyrics," a poet well worthy of encouragement; and who, we are glad to see, has been induced to add a *second* part to his former metrical effusions. "The Pleasures of Love, by John Stewart, Esq." and a small volume with the same title, by G. W. Fitzgerald, esq. the first successfully compounded after the Darwinean receipt; the second, rather a compilation from other amatory poets than a collection of original effusions. "Hispaniola, by Samuel Whitehurch;" a spirited description of several scenes that have lately been exhibited in St. Domingo. Mrs. West's vols. III and IV of "Poems and Plays," exhibiting her usual talents and her usual defects: and "The Sports of the Genii, by Mrs. John Hunter," whose poetical powers have been long duly estimated, and are here exhibited at their accustomed value.

Before we quit this department altogether, we must observe that Mr. Todd, whose labours were of late so ably applied to an illustration and new edition of Milton, has now given us also, in eight volumes octavo, a new edition of Spenser. The work could not have fallen into more competent hands: and he has well supported the credit obtained by his former efforts. Mr. Ellis has selected with great taste and attention, three octavo volumes of "Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, written during the former Part of the Fourteenth Century;" to which he has prefixed a very interesting history of the rise and progress of romantic composition in France and England. And Mr. Mackenzie has published his "Report upon the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," drawn up according to the directions of the committee of the Highland society of Scotland, by himself as its chairman. A book of more literary curiosity, or more impartial statement, we have never met with. The purport of the report we have given among our selections for the present year, and of course need not repeat it. We are somewhat surprised that so soon after this report, Mr. Laing should have unequivocally printed a new edition of the "Poems of Ossian" as the sole and absolute production of Mr. Macpherson.

The dramatic productions of the year are scarcely worthy of a moment's notice. Mrs. Inchbald has sunk some portion of her reputation as an author by her comedy of "To Marry, or not to Marry." A few touches only of real nature, and of those happy powers, which she has evinced on other occasions, are to be met with in this piece of extravagance, and satiric abuse. Mr. Holcroft has worked up into a spirited melo-drama of two acts, an incident related by the honourable Mrs. Murray, in her "Guide to the Western Highlands of Scotland." Of Mr. Mason's tragedy "The Natural Son;" Mr. Reynolds's two comedies, "The Delinquent," and the "Blind Bargain;" Mr. Tobin's "Honey-Moon;" Mr. Morton's

Morton's "School of Reform;" Mr. Colman's "John Bull;" Mr. Dibdin's "Cabinet;" Mr. Dimond's "Youth, Love and Folly;" Mr. Kenny's "Too many Looks"—it is enough to say not that *such things are*, but *that such things have been*. The writers themselves, we apprehend, do not expect to hear any thing more of them; and have probably prepared a new assortment of similar and equally brittle wares for the current season. Before we close this unthrifty and meagre account, we shall observe that Mr. W. Giffard has brought forward a new and excellent edition of Massinger's plays, with a large body of notes, critical and explanatory: and that the "Nathan" of Lessing, the most interesting drama he ever wrote, and perhaps his masterpiece, has been admirably rendered into English by an anonymous translator.

The novels of the year are, upon the whole, of a better character than the dramas. Mr. Godwin's "Fleetwood, or the New Man of Feeling," is strongly conceived, though there are some sins against nature. Mrs. Opie's "Adeline Mowbray" is a busy, and on several occasions, a pathetic story. Miss Sophia Lee's "Life of a Lover" is composed in the epistolary form, and extends to *six* volumes in twelves. It has *merit*; but we feel in every page that it still wants the *merit of compression*. The sister of this lady, miss Harriet Lee, has published the fifth volume of her "Canterbury Tales." The work is now finished, and is animated to the last. Mr. Holcroft's "Memoirs of Bryan Perdue" have less force and effect than he could have given them with a little more exertion. Yet they form one of the best novels of the year. So also does the Herman and Dorothea of Goethe again translated into English, but this time in plain prose. The remaining pieces are Mrs. Helme's "Pilgrim of the Cross;" Mr. Lambert's "Adventures of Cooroo, a Native of the Pelew Islands;" Mr. Lucas's "Duellists;" and Mr. Lathom's "Mysterious Freebooter."

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1805.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL;

Of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Portugal, France, America.

THE aggregate of the biblical and theological volumes of different sizes offered for sale at the last Leipsic fair, proves sufficiently that, notwithstanding the distracted state of the continent, the study of subjects connected with religion is persevered in with at least as much earnestness as ever; and, perhaps, a part of this earnestness may be owing to this very distraction itself; as no event has so strong a tendency to impress mankind with a deep sense of the truth and importance of religious doctrines as national distress or calamity. We understand that the whole number of the books of this description alone were very nearly five hundred, of which about a tenth part were the production of catholic divines. Most of the periodical publications of this class, which are fairly entitled to success, and some that have scarcely this claim, are still persevered in. Of the former is the Syst. Einleitung in die Religions Philosophie, "Systematic Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion, by M. Stutzman of Göttingen; professor Plank's Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung der Christlichen Geselschafts verfasungeim Römischen Staaete, "History of the Origin and progressive Formation of the Constitution of the Christian Church in the Roman Empire;" Scherer's "New Magazine for Biblical Literature;" and professor Paulus's Commentar über des Neuen Testaments; "Commentary on the New Testament;" now published at Würtzberg in consequence of his having been elected, as we noticed in our last Retrospect, to a professional chair in the *royal* university of this city. Perhaps there is no university that has to boast of so rich a variety of bibles in different languages as that of Würtemberg; they were, for the most part, collected some time ago at Copenhagen by a clergyman of the name of Lork, and amount in the whole to upwards of four thousand different editions in various languages, translated either completely or in part: among these are twenty-eight copies in Arabic, six in Hindustanee, fourteen in Malay; but we perceive none in Chinese: there is, however, one in Cingalese, and two in North American Indian.

Versuch

Versuch einer Systematischen Entwickelung, &c. "Attempt towards a systematical Illustration of all the Ideas belonging to Doctrinal Religion according to the symbolic Books of the Protestant Churches; by C. G. Brettschneider." M. Brettschneider is a professor of philosophy at Wittemberg; and his object in this work is to give a comprehensive detail of the principal ideas contained in the Lutheran profession of faith, as deduced from the Lutheran symbolic books in conjunction with various publications of such other protestant churches as are supposed to maintain doctrines for the most part of a similar tendency. The work is ably conducted, and contains the most ample table we have yet seen of books in which the Lutheran creed has been discussed. Under this class we may also notice Dr. Metzler's treatise in two volumes 8vo. Ueber den Einfluss der Heilkunst, &c. "On the Influence of Medicine on Practical Theology." This is a useful publication, and has for some time obtained a second edition. Its object is to prove to the parochial clergy of what immense importance a due discharge of their duty, not only in the pulpit, but more especially by domestic interviews, and moral and religious communications by the fire side, may be rendered as well to the bodies as the souls of their parishioners, by the introduction of a spirit of industry, sobriety, general harmony and friendship, which contributes so largely to the health, happiness, and longevity of life. An undue portion of physiologic and pathologic science seems to be crowded into the discussion.

Professor Ständlin of Gottingen has published an useful volume in octavo, on "Ecclesiastic Geography and Statistics;" meaning by this last phrase the secular or political branches of ecclesiastic geography as distinguished from its local, moral, and theological departments. It was his intention to have extended this work to an examination of all the various religions professed, or which have been professed, in any part of the world, and have been supported by or connected with secular power and authority. But he found either his plan too comprehensive, or the labour too herculean which it seemed to demand, and he has hence limited his inquiry to the Jewish and Christian religions. In the Neuer Kritischer Commentar über das Neue Testament, von D. J. Otto. "New critical Commentary on the New Testament, by D. J. Otto," we have an elaborate work; but as we have only received the first volume we shall merely notice it at present.

We observed in our last year's survey, that a subscription had been proposed and opened at Mansfeldt for the purpose of erecting a massy and magnificent monument in honour of Martin Luther, and we have received various publications from different artists containing plans for the consideration of the committee; of these the two most ably conceived are that of M. Klenze in his Entwurfe zu einem Denkmall für Dr. Martin Luther, "Projects for a Monument for Martin Luther;" and that of professor Schaffer of Dusseldorf, in his Ideen zu Luther's Denkmall, "Ideas for Luther's Monument, &c." The subscription, however, proceeds but slowly; and M. Klenze's plan, which is by far the most expensive, is, we understand, already relinquished; though a hope

is still entertained that in about a twelvemonth from the termination of the war, such a fund might be obtained as to enable the committee to commence the plan proposed by M. Schaffer.

We have not met with any publication of the biblical or theological class that is peculiarly entitled to attention in the course of the year before us; yet we ought not to omit noticing the Aanhangsel oph et Bigbelsch Huisbock, the "Appendix to Scheidins's Family Bible," from a Leyden press. Scheidins's bible is one of the most useful as well as the most successful in its circulation of any throughout the Dutch provinces; and the author of the present appendix has illustrated many passages in Scheidin's text which have hitherto been justly regarded as obscure; and has at the same time proved himself, if not a very perspicuous writer, at least a good Hebraist, and a man of extensive biblical reading.

Among the best Swedish publications on biblical criticism we may mention the Strödda filologiska Anmärkningar öfver Svenska Tolkmingen utaf Matthei Euangelium, "Miscellaneous Philological Remarks on the Swedish Translation of St. Matthew's Gospel" by the bishop of Sudermania, Dr. Tingstudius. This is one of the ablest commentaries we have ever met with, and altogether worthy the talents of a scholar, who, till his late retirement, filled with so much reputation the office of professor of the Oriental languages in the Upsal university. The Hebraism cap. i. 1, Βιβλος γενεσεως I. X. in all modern versions incorrectly rendered "The book of the *generation* of Jesus Christ," as though it were a biography of the ancestors or progeny of our Saviour, this ingenious prelate renders "an account of the life of Jesus Christ the son of David, &c." and fully justifies the rendering by arguments we cannot enter into. He has an excellent illustration of the proverbial phrase, cap. v. 13, "Ye are the salt of the earth," proving from parallel passages in the Old Testament, that wisdom and virtue were always represented under ideas of *sapidity*, *savour*, or *taste*, and vice or folly under the converse, viz. those of *insipidity*, *froth*, or *saliva*. He afterwards more clearly translates the clause in v. 13, "but if the salt have lost his savour wherewith shall it be salted?" after this manner, "but if the salt should lose its savour, *how can we then salt with it?*"

Before we quit Upsal we shall just mention that Dr. Oddman, in his Geographiskt Hand-lexicon öfver Nya Testamentets Heliga Skrifter, "Geographic Manual Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament," has produced a work that we should much like to see translated into English. His explanation of the different places referred to, and the manners or customs connected with them, so far as we have examined them, are highly entertaining, as well as strictly accurate.

In glancing at the Danish press we perceive with pleasure that M. Nicholas, under the title of Theologisk Maanedskrift für Faedrelandets Religionslaerere, has established "A theological Monthly Repository," which, though professedly edited by a minister of the established church, and directed to the doctrines of the established worship, allows a very considerable latitude of correspondence to those who are of different sentiments; and in some parts, indeed,

attempts

attempts to point out advantages resulting from a variety of opinions upon the subject of the christian religion. About fifteen numbers of this Repository have now issued from the Copenhagen press.

To the same country and press we are indebted for an Actuarium Codicis Apocryphi N. T. Fabriciani &c.—"An Accompaniment to Fabricius's Apocrypha to the New Testament, containing much that has not hitherto been edited, and much that has been more carefully collated with MS. Codices." This very eleborate and useful work is the production of Dr. Birch, bishop of Laaland and Falster. It is a very considerable improvement upon Fabricius, whose apocryphal codex was published in distinct numbers between the years 1703 and 1719. The apocrypha to the Old Testament, by being often bound up with the admitted text, is known to almost every one; but it is not so generally known that writings of the kind here exhibited as supplementary to the New Testament, acquired a general circulation among the primitive and many later christians, under the character of apocryphal—that is of doutful origin, but still tending to elucidate the history narrated. The gospel of Nicodemus occupies the foremost value in the present collection, and is edited with most punctilious, we had almost said unnecessary care; for we have not only a copy of the version of Grynæus, cautiously corrected from prince Porsini's library at Rome, but of the Greek original itself, the existence of which has been doubted by Klenker and some other critics on the continent. Of the other apocryphal writings here offered, the chief are those which bear the name of Pilate; they consist of his Πραξεις, Ανaφορα and Παράδοσις, his "Acts," "Report to the Emperor Tiberius," and "Betrayal and Execution." We shall expect to see a re-imprint of this work in our own country as it makes its appearance. At present the first fascicle alone is published.

It has often fallen to us to mention (and we have always done it with veneration) the name of M. de Rossi. Emulous of the reputation acquired by Dr. Kennicott, he set to work to glean in the very fields from which the latter had brought home so abundant a harvest; and so successful has he been in the same pursuit, as to astonish the biblical critics of every country with the oriental riches he has obtained. The result of his labours is now published at Parma in three volumes octavo, and constitutes the most valuable work that has reached us from the Italian press in the course of the current year; which, nevertheless, ought to have reached us rather earlier, as the date of the third volume is August 1, 1804. It is published in Latin, and is entitled MSS. Codices Hebraici Bibliothecæ J. B. de Rossi, Ling. Orient. Prof. accurate ab eodem descripti et illustrati. The number of these Hebrew MSS. amount to 1377, of which many consist of several volumes, and are distinct biblical illustrations. To these Hebrew MSS. is added a catalogue of M. De Rossi's MSS. in other languages. They consist of six Syriac; thirty-four Arabic; eight Persian; one Turkish; two Armenian; one Iberian; one Malabar; *two Chinese*; ten Greek (including a copy of the four evangelists of the eleventh century); eighty-five Latin; thirty-one Italian; seven

Spanish; two Jewish-German; one Russian; two Polish.

From Portugal we have only to notice an anonymous Historia de las Idolatrias que ja se usarao en nossas Terras, "History of our national Idolatries." To the list here specified, more, we well know, might be added; but if even these should be abolished, no small progress will be obtained in the way towards perfection.

France has once more endeavoured to establish a name for religion; but her modern contributions in support of such pretensions are few and meagre. There are but two of which we find it necessary to take any notice. The first is from the pen of M. F. A. Chateaubriant, and is entitled Génie du Christianisme; ou Beautés de la Religion Chrétienne. "The Genius of Christianity, or the Beauties of the Christian Religion." It is certainly written in animated and captivating language, but is too declamatory, inflated, and apostrophic: and in the zeal of the writer to ascribe to his subject every individual blessing it has actually produced, he often oversteps the modesty of his office, and attributes to it acquisitions which are merely collaterally connected with it. "The modern world," says he, "is indebted to it for every thing, *from agriculture to the abstract sciences;* from the hospitals erected for the reception of the unfortunate to the temples built by Michael Angelo, and decorated by Raphael; nothing is more divine than its morality; nothing more amiable or transcendant than its dogmas, its doctrine, and its worship; it is auspicious to genius, purifies the taste, develops the virtuous passions, gives vigour to thought, *presents noble poems to the man of talents, and perfect models to the artist;* no shame is it to believe with Newton and Bossuet, Pascal and Racine." This work is dedicated to the emperor Napoleon, and has already passed through several editions.

The other work we shall notice is entitled Examen impartial de la Philosophie et de la Religion considerées dans leurs Rapports respectifs, "Impartial Examination of Philosophy and Religion considered in their respective Relations." It is published anonymously, and forms only a mere outline of what the author before us, with the talents he possesses, might have extended to several volumes without prolixity. He ably defends true religion from the charge of fanaticism; shows the superiority of the advantages she has bestowed on mankind above those derived from philosophy—and how monstrous were the errors of what was called morality itself till illuminated by her pure torch.

The theology of America has chiefly consisted in the publication of sermons, and these for the most part on topical and temporary subjects, and seldom of pre-eminent merit: the best are from the pens of Dr. Millar, Dr. Elliott, and Mr. Christie. The executors of Dr. Priestley have published his Index to the Bible, and are about to present the world with a biography of him. Dr. Millar of New York is also about to publish the late Dr. Nisbett's "Lectures on Theology, together with an Account of his Life and Character." Dr. Nisbett was president of Dickenson College in Carlisle, Pensylvania, and a man of letters and genuine piety.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL;

Of France, Germany, Hungary, America, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Russia.

WE shall begin this chapter with the productions of France. M. Mortehan in his Traité sur l'Influence des Passions, &c. "Treatise on the Influence of the Passions in regard to the Temperament and general Health," evinces a considerable depth of knowledge in what is called the philosophy of mind, and a close attention to its association with the corporeal functions. M. Prost's Essai Physicologique sur la Sensibilité, "Physiological Essay on Sensibility," has endeavoured to prove, like Girtanner, that *oxygen* is the principle of sensibility as well as of irritability, and consequently the living principle itself; and that there is a perpetual sympathy or consent between the state of the stomach and that of the brain. M. Merat de Vamnartrise has given a good dissertation on the Colica Pictonum, from a close attention to a variety of cases of this disease that have occurred within the compass of his practice; and M. Thomas has translated Dr. Saunders's Treatise on the Liver, to which he has added a variety of notes that do not appear to us very considerably to augment the value of the original work.

A more important work has been presented by M. Cabanis, of whose name no one can be ignorant who is acquainted with the memoirs of the national institute. It is entitled Coup d'Œil sur les Revolutions et sur la Reforme de la Medicine, "Glance at the Revolutions and Reformation of Medicine." M. Cabanis first gives a brief history of medicine, chiefly from the time of Hippocrates, and examines into the causes of the various theories that have successively become fashionable, and successively yielded to others. He then points out the primary evils that beset the medical science at present, and resolves them into a mis-application of terms borrowed from other sciences, the introduction of improper terms from other languages, false theories, and the terms that such theories have engendered. That there is ample room both for a new nosology and a new and more compact nomenclature there can be no doubt, for nothing can be well more confused and prolix than Sauvages'; nothing less classical than Cullen's.

Cours théoretique et pratique de Clinique externe par J. P. Dussault, &c. "Theoretic and practical Course of the external clinical Profession, by J. P. Dussault, Surgeon in Chief to the Hotel-Dieu; or an Abstract of his Lectures, compiled and published by J. J. Cassius, M. D." Dussault was an able lecturer, but he left it to his pupils to publish his opinions instead of communicating them to the world by his own pen. Hence, many years ago, we had his "Œuvres Chirurgicales" drawn

up

up by one of his students whose name was Chopart, and which has since been translated into English, if we mistake not by a Mr. Gosling. M. Cassius was another of his scholars, and is here doing that additional justice to his master which has yet remained to be performed. The work concludes with an able treatise on diseases of the bones by Professor Sue, librarian to the school of medicine.

Essai sur l'Histoire topographique de Paris &c. "Essay on the Topographic History of Paris; or Letters to M. d'Aumont on the Climate and State of Medicine in that Capital." These valuable letters are the production of Dr. Menuret, and a fourth edition of them has been already demanded. He regards Paris as on the whole healthily situated, and attributes its more common diseases rather to epidemic than endemic causes. On this occasion he introduces his opinion on the small-pox, and on vaccination, to which last, although not an enemy, he appears a less decided friend than the aggregate body of the national institutists, if we may judge from one of the articles inserted into their memoirs.

We cannot quit the medical boundaries of France without noticing the Memoires de Physiologie et de Chirurgie Pratique, "Memoirs on Physiology and practical Surgery," by Professor Scarpon, and M. Leveille, physician to the school of medicine at Paris; it is a well written octavo, with eight engravings;—the subjects chiefly treated of are the structure of the bones, with pathological notes; club-feet, and the mode of correcting them; front luxations of the thigh-bone; and general remarks on necrosis.

M. C. A. Rudolphi has commenced an extensive work at Berlin, entitled, Bemerkungen auf dem Gebiet der Naturgeschichte, Medicin, und Thier arzneikimde, &c. "Observations on Natural History, Therapeutics, and Veterinary Medicine, made during a Tour through Germany, Holland and France." Of this work the first volume only is yet published—and it is given in the form of letters to a friend during the period of the author's tour, and contains his remarks on the practice of medicine in different parts as it occurred to him. We hope he will be encouraged to continue his observations.

Grundlinien einer neuern Theorie der Chimie und Physik, "Principles of a New Theory of Chemistry and Physic, by M. E. Bartels." This volume is from the press at Hanover. In direct opposition to most of the French and several of our own most celebrated chemists, this author attempts to prove in the theory before us that light and carbon are the same substance—as also caloric and oxygen: that light is carbon expanded—that caloric is oxygen expanded, and *vice versa*.

M. Knape has commenced, at Berlin, a work entitled "Critical Annals of public Medicine during the Eighteenth Century;" and M. Ruland has published at Würtzburg a volume of "Medico-Psychological Observations on Disorders of the Mind, and on the Influence of the Mind on the Body." It bears no small resemblance in its general train of reasoning to Dr. Crichton's Treatise on Mental Derangement.—A multiplicity of tracts have been written on the yellow fever—*nova pestis Americana*, as it is unclassically denominated; but the treatment in all of them is

of

of the every-day kind—and sometimes exhibits a degree of infantine simplicity. It seems to be uniformly regarded in Germany as a contagious fever, and consequently all manner of preventives—as fumigations of nitrous and muriatic acid, camphor, ether, spirit of hartshorn and musk—together with punctilious quarantine, are uniformly and strenuously recommended. The chief writers are M. M. Augustin, Harles, Elsner, and Ketterling.

On the subject of judicial or forensic medicine we have also met with various publications, as it forms a branch of science on the continent much more closely studied than among ourselves: such is M. Krans's "Art of Legal Dissection" printed at Brunswick; M. Roose's "Manuel" of the same, printed at Frankfort. We also perceive a volume upon the same topic published in Italy (Parma) by S. Giuseppe Tortosa, entitled Istituzioni de Medicina forenze—"Institutions of Forensic Medicine:" it contains many valuable instructions.—We find that vaccination has advanced from Germany to Hungary, and that M. Varadi has published in the Hungarian tongue a treatise on its effects and progress; it is accompanied by coloured plates (taken from one or two of our English dissertations) representing the different stages of the disorder.

The science of medicine is likely to profit in America from the establishment of several respectable periodical publications devoted to its interests: such is "The Medical Repository, and Review of American Publications on Medicine, Surgery and the auxiliary Branches of Science," edited by the joint labours of Dr. Mitchill and Dr. Miller of New York. "The Philadelphia Medical Museum," by Dr. Coxe: and "The Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal," by Professor Barton. But, independently of the facts and observations communicated in these periodical volumes, we do not perceive much that is entitled to particular notice in the science of disease and health. Dr. Waterhouse has published an useful popular manual of "Cautions to young People concerning Health;" and Dr. Rand, in his Phthisis Pulmonalis, is still extolling the virtues of the Digitalis, and strenuously recommending the use of the tepid bath. Upon the cause and *modus medendi* of the yellow fever we perceive the American practitioners as much divided as ever; but we have no desire to enter into the contest.

That we may not have to recross the Atlantic in the course of the present chapter, we shall here observe that the success which has attended Professor Barton's reimpression of Pinkerton's geography, has excited Mr. Davies of Philadelphia to an original work of the same kind, which he has executed with taste and accuracy, and in which the maps relative to the territories of the American states are given with fewer errors than in even the American edition of Pinkerton. A new and improved edition has also made its appearance of Dr. Brown's "Universal Gazeteer."

In returning to the continent of Europe, we shall renew our remarks by observing that, in the sciences of chemistry and natural history, M. Izarn, who lately acquired some reputation by his publication on *Cloud-stones*, has now offered an octavo volume on Galvanism, Manuel du Galvanisme; Description et Usage des divers Appareils;

&c.

&c. "Manual of Galvanism; with a Description of the different Apparatuses in common Use, as well for physical and chemical Experiments, as for medical Applications." It is the best history, and the most practical treatise upon the subject we have yet met with. It consists of six sections:—in the first we have an account of the rise and progress of the science from the first moment of its discovery till the invention of the electrometer by M. Volta: in the second, the author expatiates on the distinct experiments, discoveries, and instruments of Galvani and Volta: the third describes the various results which have followed from the experiments of other philosophic chemists: the fourth enters in full detail into the numerous modifications which the Voltiac electrometer has received at different times from different experimentalists, and especially the portative pile of Volta, the trough of Cruickshank, the large piles of Aldini: the fifth gives us a description of various galvanometers, and a multitude of curious or interesting experiments: the galvanometers chiefly noticed are those of Erman and Bithr, and Robertson and Grapeson. The work concludes with an account of instruments necessary to render a galvanic apparatus more complete, and which the author denominates secondary.

A new edition of Buffon's entire works is in hand as a national undertaking: it is, of course, to be adopted in all the departmental schools of public education: it will make eleven octavo volumes, accompanied with 185 plates: but the volumes are to be brought out separately. When completed the price will be, with coloured plates, 200 francs; plain, 72 francs.

M. Bonpland, the companion of M. Humboldt, is preparing, at Paris, a splendid work on the plants of the equatorial regions. The abbé Rozier's Dictionary of Agriculture and Rural Economy, if divested of its foreign matter, that, we mean, which relates to the sciences of medicine and general chemistry, would be one of the most useful works upon the subject. In a new edition of this dictionary we are glad to find that these excrescences have been actually lopped off; and the whole, in consequence, reduced to two quartos, price 22 francs.

M. J. J. la Billardiere, editor of the "Voyage in Search of La Perouse," has commenced, at Paris, a botanical work intended to comprehend these plants which he discovered in the islands of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land. It is in Latin, and entitled Novæ Hollandiæ Plantarum Specimen. Four fascicles are already before the public, and contain forty specimens neatly described.

Tableau élémentaire de Botanique, "Elementary Treatise on Botany." This, when completed, bids fair also to be an useful work, but, as its title expresses, it is chiefly designed for younger students. The author is M. Sebastien Gerardin de Miremont. The first volume only is yet published, and the drift of the whole undertaking is to trace the science from its origin, to enlarge on its utility in relation to the arts, to medicine, and to agriculture, and to give a comparative view of the merits of the various systems of Tournefort, Linnæus, and Jussieu.—A similar work has also been published by M. Mouton-Fontenille, under the title of "System of Plants:" this is chiefly, however, an abridged translation of the Systema Plantarum of Linnæus: to which the

author

author has subjoined an explanatory scheme of the natural orders of the illustrious Swede, the natural method of Jussieu, and the system of Ludwig.

An important work of a more extensive kind is also announced at Paris as nearly ready for publication—we mean "The New Museum of Natural History; or, Representations of the most remarkable Objects in the Three Kingdoms of Nature. The plates will be exquisitely finished, and chiefly by Deseve: and the whole, prior to going to press, is to be subjected to the inspection and approbation of M. M. Lacépède, Desfontaines, Faujas de St. Fond, Geoffroy, Olivier, and Rose. Each volume will contain a hundred plates; and the subscription for each is sixty francs.

Flore du Nord de la France; ou Description des Plantes indigenes, &c. "The Flora of the North of France; or a Description of Plants as well cultivated as indigenous in the Departments of la Lys, the Scheldt, la Dyle, and both the Netherlands;" by M. Roncel. Of this work, so far as it has yet appeared, we cannot speak in very high terms; it is published in numbers, but in none of them that have yet reached us are we made sufficiently acquainted with the period of the flowering of the plants described, or the duration of their corols. The most common plants only are noticed, and even of these many are omitted. In the cryptogamic catalogue it is shamefully deficient. An anonymous Swiss botanist, who dates from Winterthour, has been more successful in his "Botaniste sans Maitre;" which is meant to be a continuation of Rousseau's plan, and extends it from eight to twenty-four letters; in the prosecution of which, however, it should not be forgotten that the present epistolist is very largely indebted to professor Martin, who many years ago made a similar version and addition.

Sed paulo majora.—We rejoice to behold the second volume completed of "La Menagerie du Museum" of those illustrious naturalists MM. Lacépède and Cuvier. The work is designed to give an account of the *living* animals in the national Museum of natural history at Paris. The figures are all drawn from the life by M. Marechal, and the volume before us contains twenty-one plates admirably executed. The animals here represented are the serval, callitrix, brown maki, maki moroco, female elephant, porpoise (delphina phocæna Lin.), male and female sajou, axis or deer of the Ganges, rhinoceros, black bear of America, lama paseng or wild goat, male and female zebra, genet and zebu. The utmost accuracy appears to be preserved, the descriptions are popular, and a multitude of errors (particularly of a chorographic kind) committed by Buffon, Sonnerat, and other zoologists, are distinctly pointed out and corrected. The work is deserving of every commendation and encouragement.

Not much inferior in value, though exhibiting something more of the marvellous, is the Recueil d' Observations de Zoologie et d' Anatomie comparée, &c. "Collection of Observations on Zoology and comparative Anatomy made on the Atlantic Ocean, &c. by Alexander de Humboldt, and Aimé Bonpland." The name of the former of these natural historians is well known in our own country; the name of the latter is as well known in France. The work before us is, when finished, to consist

sist of drawings and descriptions made by the two conjunctively while coasting the Atlantic Ocean and South Sea, and travelling in the Interior of America in 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803. The only part yet published is the production of M. Humboldt alone; it consists of observations on various branches of zoology and comparative anatomy; and especially of remarks on the larynxes of monkeys, crocodiles, birds; a description of a species of monkey unknown in Europe, called the lion-monkey; two new genera of fishes of the family of Apodes; and a particular account of that formerly described by M. Humboldt, as thrown from the volcanoes in the province of Quito. The second part, which will complete the work, is to be the exclusive production of M. Bonpland: it proposes to give numerous and correct figures of Indian cranes, observations on the crocodile or cayman of Oronooko; on the alligator, the lamatin, ant-eater, lazy, and lama; new species of monkeys, birds, fishes and serpents; galvanic electricity of the gymnotus; and the gaseous secretions that occur in the respiration of young crocodiles.

M. Castera has been induced to publish a third edition of his translation of Sir George Staunton's History of Lord Macartney's Travels into the Interior of China, and has now added, for the first time, a summary of Huttner's voyage to the same country, translated from the German. It occupies, in this form, five volumes octavo, and is enriched by thirty-seven tolerable plates, and four neatly engraven charts. The first volume is also published of an "Historical Essay on the Commerce and Navigation of the Black Sea, with an Account of a Voyage undertaken to establish a Commercial and Maritime Correspondence between the Ports of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean." The French commerce in the Black Sea has, on various accounts, been regarded of late years as a losing concern. The anonymous author of this work endeavours to point out the chief causes of its failure, and the means of repossessing the advantages formerly enjoyed by it. M. Michaux's Voyage à l'Ouest des Monts Alleghanys, &c. we have already noticed in its English dress, and shall therefore dismiss it without further detail.

Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne et moderne, "History of antient and modern Astronomy, in which the historical Text of the Original is preserved, and such scientific Details and abstract Calculations are suppressed, as are not interesting to the generality of Readers." This is a very elegant abridgment of Bailly's well known and deservedly celebrated history. The editor appears to have executed his task very successfully.

De l' Impossibilité du Systeme Astronomique de Copernic et de Newton, "On the Impossibility of the astronomical System of Copernicus and Newton, by S. J. Mercier." In the opinion of M. Mercier, these philosophers are *grands mystificateurs*: in our opinion, however, there is more mystery in the volume before us; for we cannot perceive the object it aims at; nor admit that the few peccadilloes chargeable upon the *Principia* can subvert a theory which has no necessary connexion with them, and which were the mere chance-errors of their illustrious author.

M. Durand, architectural professor at the Polytechnic School, has

has published his second volume of Lessons delivered at that institution. It gives able and elegant principles for both public and private buildings, and is well calculated to augment the fame he has already obtained in the sphere of science he professes.

In the German language, the chief works which have occurred to us in natural history are, M. Meigen's "Description of the Diptera (two-winged insects) of Europe," published at Brunswick: M. Schmidt's "Observations on Insects," (Versuche über die Insecten) published at Gotha; and both useful compilations, whether for amusement or scientific pursuit: M. Frenzel's Physiologische Betrachtungen über den Umlauf des Safts, &c. "Physiological Observations on the Circulation of the Sap in Plants and Trees;" in which the author endeavours to disprove the theory of Duhamel; and has added, towards the close of his volume, a dissertation on the origin of fungi, founded on the theory of spontaneous generation. It is published at Berlin. M. Londe has printed at Gottingen a useful Handbuch der Botanik, "Manual of Botany." M. Schlutz has begun his very valuable and elaborate German Cryptogamia, Deutschland's Cryptogamische Gewächse: of which the first part only has yet made its appearance. M. Dieterich has also published at Berlin, under the name of Der Wintergaertner, "The Winter-Gardener," a book replete with valuable instruction upon the methods of raising ornamental flowers and plants in rooms or cellars, without glass frames or bell glasses. M. Schweiger has given an elegant topographic Flora Erlangensis, or "Description of the Plants growing in the Environs of Erlang;" and M. Hechenburg has commenced a topographic herbal, comprehending a history of the poisonous plants in and around Salzburg.

Of books devoted to a more comprehensive survey of natural history, we have met with a work just commenced at Leipsic by MM. Weber and Mohr, entitled Archiv für die Systematische Naturgeschichte, "Memoirs of systematic Natural History;" M. Telesius's Jahrbuch der Naturgeschichte, "Annual Repository of Natural History:" and a periodical publication by Dr. F. Schwærichen, also of Leipsic, entitled Leitfaden zum Unterricht in der Naturgeschichte, "First Elements of Natural History," of which we have only seen the introductory number.

M. Ch. L. Sickler has published the first volume of his "General History of the Culture of Fruits, from the earliest Antiquity to the present Time:" M. Leopold of Hanover, part II. of his "Agricola"—being a collection of the most useful discoveries in rural œconomy by antients and moderns: and M. Schlotheim, of Gotha, an essay towards a Flora Antiqua, illustrated by plates, under the title of Beschreibung merkwürdiger kräuterabdrüke und Pflanzen-Versteinerungen, "Description of Fossil Impressions of Vegetable Productions and Petrifactions of remarkable Plants." Of this work one fascicle only has yet been published; and we have no doubt, from its intrinsic merit, that it will meet with considerable encouragement.

The best books which have appeared on the subject of mineralogy are, M. Lehman's "Essay towards a systematic Encyclopedia of Mineralogy and Metallurgy," published at Freyburg; the "Clas-

sification of Fossils," by M. Titius, of Leipsic, which is purposely intended to supersede the Mineralogical tables of Karsten, and will probably succeed in this intention; and M. Sonnschmid's elaborate, and we suppose accurate, "Description of the principal Mines in Mexico; with an Account of the Volcanoes of Colimo and Popocatepec." It is printed at Bareuth under the title of Mineralogische Beschreibung der Bergwerksriviere, &c.

In Italy, a collection of essays and observations relating to the improvements of agriculture has issued from the press at Parma, under the title of Giornal Economico Agrario—"Economic Rural Journal,"—that possesses more merit than we expected to have seen in any collection from this quarter. We trust this *Journal* will be continued: and at Lisbon, M. Brotero, professor of botany at the university of Coimbra, has published, in two vols. 8vo, A "Flora Lusitanica"—which does credit to Portuguese literature. It forms the result of the professor's travels and collections in every part of the kingdom during seventeen years.

The literature of Russia has been improved by a description of the very numerous and curious plants in the garden of count Canal at Prague. This description is from the pen of Dr. Nowodworski, and is entitled "Elenchus Plantarum quæ in Horto Comitis Josephi Malabaila de Canal Studio et Diligentiâ coluntur ac in Herbario vivo asservantur." The plants specified amount to four thousand in the whole; 2846 in the open air, and 1180 in green-houses. Within the limits of the same empire we shall notice the publication of another work that has also done credit to general literature, and that is, "Capt. Sarytschew's Voyage to the North-east of Siberia, in the Frozen Sea, and the Eastern Ocean, during the Period of eight Years, extending from 1785—1792." Capt. Sarytschew was a companion of capt. Billings, and of course the voyage before us is only another history of that expedition; but we do not know whether it is not more valuable in several respects. The charts of the Atlas (in folio) appear better laid down, and the plates to the work are numerous. Besides the Atlas, it occupies 2 vols. 4to.

While upon the subject of Charts, we shall observe that the best of Arrowsmith's are now copying in Italy and Portugal: that in this last country an excellent six-sheet map has been published of the country itself in its present state; "Mappa breve di Lusitania em seis tāboas:" another of antient Portugal, "Lusitania antiga illustrada na Geographia e na Genealogia," illustrated as well with regard to its geography as its different dynasties; and one of Portugal, in conjunction with its conquests and colonies; "Mappa breve de toda Portugal e Conquistas." This last extends to *ten* sheets. In Spain we meet with (published at Madrid, and by royal authority) "An Account of a Voyage of Discovery along the Straits of Fuca, undertaken in 1792." Copies of Arrowsmith's maps of the eastern and western hemispheres have also been published, we perceive, at Nuremburg, under the superintendance of MM. Schneider and Weigel: a large German Atlas has been undertaken at Leipsic, to consist of not less than *thirty* folio sheets, designed to exhibit all the changes to which

that

that country has lately submitted. A trigonometrical map, in four sheets, of the principality of Würtzburg, has been published at the capital of this name by M. J. de Fakenhosen. A Reise-Atlas von Baiern, an "Atlas of the Roads of Bavaria," accompanied with a minute description of curiosities peculiarly worthy the attention of travellers, has been published at Munich by M. Adrien de Riedle, of which the first three numbers alone have yet made their appearance. The size is quarto, and each number contains about twelve or fourteen maps. And M. Mannert has finished, at Nuremburg, his valuable, because accurate, map of Turkey in Europe, Asia Minor, Syria, and the countries adjacent.

We shall conclude this chapter with M. Schröter's very important Astronomical Lilienthalische Betrachtungen, &c. "Observations made at Lilienthal on the Three lately discovered Planets. Gottingen, 1805." With two of the three planets here referred to, our readers are generally acquainted. Piazzi, discovered by M. Piazzi at Palermo, and hence bearing his name, as Herschel bears that of our adopted countryman, and Olbers, discovered by M. Olbers at Bremen. Since this time, M. Harding, one of the assistants of M. Schröter, has traced a third, and to this the name of Harding has in like manner been appropriated. The "Observations" before us are designed to give the relative magnitudes of these new planets with each other, as also with those of earlier detection: and in doing this M. Schröter finds himself compelled to differ essentially from Dr. Herschel, who, as we have lately understood, does not mean any longer to contend for the accuracy of his own sentiments, which, in fact, were founded on too few observations to render them fairly authoritative, the doctor having never measured Piazzi but three times, Olbers but once, and Harding not at all. From the calculations before us it is conjectured that Olbers is about the size of our moon, that Piazzi is about three-fourths the size of Olbers, and Harding rather more than half: that the atmosphere of Piazzi is nearly fifteen times denser than that of the earth, and four hundred and twenty times than that of the moon: that the atmosphere of Olbers is about ten times denser than that of the earth, and consequently two hundred and ninety-three times than that of the moon: and that the atmosphere of Harding discovers less difference from our own; but that there is still reason to suppose its atmosphere denser than that of any of the earlier discovered planets, from the changes in the appearance of its light.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Of Germany, France, America, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland.

PERHAPS we cannot commence the moral and political history of Germany with a more important work than M. Frœhn's Latin version of Ibn-el-Vardi's Arabic History of Egypt, which forms a part of his cosmography, and is entitled Kharidet ol Adschaib, or the "Pearl of Wonders;" a composition from which M. Deguines has made various extracts, and inserted in his account of the MSS. in the national library at Paris. M. Frœhn's title is "Ægyptus; Auctore Ibn-el-Vardi. Ex Apographo Escorialensi, una cum Lectionibus variis e Codice Dresdensi; primus edidit, vertit, notulisque illustravit, C. M. F." It gives the Arabic text in conjunction with the Latin version; and offers several preliminary articles of some consequence; of which the first is a memoir on the name, country, and æra of Ibn-el-Vardi; the second, an index of the contents of the Arabic work, with the arguments of its fifteen chapters; the third, a catalogue of the works consulted by the Arabic author, as mentioned in his preface; and lastly, a notice of such of his works as have hitherto been published.

M. Hübler, by the publication of his fifth volume, has completed his Handbuch der allgemeinen boelkergeschichte alter Zeiten, "History of the Antients from the Formation of States to the Termination of the Roman Republic." The volume before us includes a term of forty years, from the close of the life of Julius Cæsar to the absolute sovereignty of Octavius. To this regular history is appended an account of the wars against the Parthians conducted by Crassus and Anthony, and an abridgment of the Jewish history from the Asmonæan dynasty to the destruction of the temple by Titus.

M. Müller has completed a good History of Switzerland—and M. Pfister a History of Swabia to the middle ages; the last is a close but not a successful imitator of M. Müller's style. M. Schmidt has translated from the Russian the "Historical Picture of Georgia, or Gressia, considered in its political, religious and literary Relations;" and accompanied his version with some valuable explanatory notes. M. Gardthausent has translated Nyemp's Historical and Statistic Picture of Denmark and Norway; and M. Goede in his "England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland," has given us memoranda made during a tour in 1802, 1803. He is perhaps accurate in his remarks, but they want sprightliness and elegance to render them popular and of grateful reading. M. Aschenberg is publishing at Dortmund a periodical work of some promise, entitled Nieder-Rheinische Blätter fur Belerung und Unterhaltun; "Journal of the Lower Rhine, intended for Instruction and Amusement."

ment." The plan embraces the natural history of, and travels in, that district—the present state of its commerce, products, manufactures, agriculture, public establishments, fine arts, and general literature.

Of at least equal value are the Bemerkungen—"Observations of M. Rohrer on a Journey from the Turkish Borders over the Bukowina, through East and West Gallicia, Silesia, and Moravia, to Vienna." They contain some interesting information with respect to a sect of Jews at Halifez on the Niester, who still adhere to their antient principles alone, and reject the traditional law of the Talmudists.

Reise uber den Sund, "Travels to the Sound." Published at Tubingen anonymously; a defect which we apprehend no second edition will ever supply.—Mahlerische darstellungen der Sitten Geträuchte &c. "Picturesque Representations of the Manners, Customs and Amusements of the Russians, Tartars, Monguls, and other Nations of the Russian Empire." M. Geissler, the author of this work, accompanied Pallas as his artist, on his last journey to the southern departments;—and the plates which are here offered, and which amount to forty, of admirable execution, form an excellent supplement to M. Pallas's Travels. —Deutschland oder der Reisende Kaufman. "The Tradesman's Travels in Germany, Silesia and Bohemia, by J. H. Meynier." This is a useful book for young persons, as it tends to instruct them in the form of a game to be played at, with the different productions and commodities of the countries referred to.

The different histories and travels furnished us from France are more numerous than ordinary. We can only glance at those which appear most worthy of attention. Tableau historique des Costumes, des Mœurs, et des Usages des principaux Peuples de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age. "Historic Description of the Customs, Manners, and Usages of the principal Nations of Antient Times and of the Middle Ages." This is a very comprehensive and important undertaking, and when completed will extend to six volumes octavo, with six folio volumes of coloured plates. It is published at Metz by M. Robert de Spallart. At present the first three volumes only have been presented to the public, which, by closing the history of antient nations, embrace the anterior half of the subject proposed. The first volume comprehends the Egyptians and Greeks: the second, the barbarous nations; as Phrygians, Thracians, Amazons, Assyrians, Babylonians, Syrians, Armenians, Parthians, Dacians, Sarmatians, Germans, Gauls, Belgians, Britons, Phenicians, Carthaginians, Numidians, Mauritanians, Celtiberians, Medes and Persians: the third treats of the Romans, Etruscans, Latins, Samnites, Marsians, and Sabines. The execution is as minute as the scope is extensive: the author enters into a detail of the dresses and drapery, private, public, and functionary, of males and females; arms offensive and defensive; chariots and warlike machines of all kinds; cavalry, vessels and navigation; architecture, gardens, sacrifices; religions, funeral and nuptial ceremonies; furniture; ornamental vases; banquets, and the customs observed on such occasions; sculpture, painting, writing; books, music, dancing,

cing, and gymnastic exercises. These all pass in review before him, and wherever delineations have been preserved, they are copied into elegant engravings; while, where we are left to description alone, the author has modestly not attempted to exhibit by drawings, but merely from the best accounts extant.

Elemens de l'Histoire de Portugal, "Elementary History of Portugal:" a production of M. Serieys, censor of the Lyceum of Cahors. It details the causes of the rise and decline of the Portuguese kingdom—enters into its history, revolutions, laws and commerce. The whole, however, is in a style and form too compressed for minute information.

Histoire de l'Empereur Charlemagne, "History of the Emperor Charlemagne;" a free translation from the German of professor Hegewisch. 8vo. Paris. Some additional matter alone, together with a new cast of the whole, was made by M. Hegewisch from the prior history of M. Gaillard, when he undertook to write the account before us. The new matter, however, is not of any great consequence; and the political life of Charlemagne yet remains to be done justice to. The present translator, indeed, seems sensible of this: for he also has attempted to enrich the work by other augmentations, and especially by a character of his hero drawn from different sources, French and English. Even Voltaire, enemy as he was to this man of inordinate ambition, and severe as he has uniformly been upon his crimes and oppressions, has been ransaked for something in his favour.

Régence du Duc d'Orleans, "The Regency of the Duke of Orleans." This is a posthumous work of Marmontel, who, it should seem from other posthumous works of his also lately published, is about to be made a greater writer after his death than even during his lifetime. Yet the history before us bears evident marks of genuineness, and is a very elegant composition. This indeed was to be expected, not only from Marmontel's general grace of diction, but from the fact (for the truth of which the editors solemnly vouch), that the author transcribed it three times with his own hand in order to advance its perfection. The chief authority here referred to is the duke of St. Simon—and from the active part he took in the public transactions of the state during the minority of Louis XV., it is an authority that may well be relied on. M. Marmontel himself, indeed, has asserted in his Memoirs that he had been fortunate enough to obtain leave to inspect and copy from his grace's Depôt des Affaires étrangères: and he appears to have made good use of the permission thus granted him.

Histoire du Corps Impérial du Genie, "History of the Imperial Corps of Engineers; of the Sieges and Works it has directed; and of the Changes that have taken place in France in the Mode of Attack, Defence, and Construction of Fortresses, from the Origin of Modern Fortification to the Death of Louis XVI. By A. Allent, Lieutenant-colonel of the Engineers, Secretary to the Commission of Fortifications, and Member of the Legion of Honour. 8vo. Paris." The length of the title saves us the trouble of a further description. We shall only add that this history is chiefly drawn up from Anselme and Daniel, and

that

that few of the errors uniformly admitted to exist in their writings are corrected in the present compilation.

Annales de l'Empire Français, "Annals of the French Empire, by a Society of Men of Letters, Vol. I." Of whom this Society of Men of Letters consists we know not: the announced *editors* are MM. de Beaunoir and Dampmartin. They affect the strictest impartiality, and pretend a reverence for truth alone: but the idolatry here offered to the founder of the *empire Français* proves, as was formerly observed of the young men of Athens, that they rather know what is right than practise it. In effect, the work would have been better entitled *Eloge* than *Annales*. It must nevertheless be admitted that it is written with spirit and ability, and may afford a useful harvest for the future historian.

"Mémoire sur les Monumens et les Preuves qui servent de Base à l'Histoire Romaine, par C. Levesque." M. Levesque is a very active and a very able member of the National Institute, and, we believe, has contributed more papers, and papers of considerable interest and value, to its memoirs than any other member whatever. The work before us is one of this description; for it was presented to the class of Moral and Political Sciences, and, having received its approbation, was read before the whole body of the Institute conjointly. It assumes positions which are highly ingenious, but altogether repugnant to generally conceived opinions and matters of historic record; and hence it has met with many attacks and much opposition. The author conceives that there is a gross mistake in the epoch commonly assigned to the foundation of the city of Rome, and that it ought to be transferred not less than four centuries higher. He thinks it impossible that a city originating from the mere association of a small band of robbers, could have acquired, in so short a time as ordinarily conducts us to the reign of the Tarquins, such an extraordinary degree of splendour and power, and have been able to erect those noble edifices whose remains fill us with astonishment and reverence even at the present day. He exclaims also upon the commonly alleged fact, that in the tomb of Numa Pompilius, accidentally discovered four centuries after the death of this prince, a variety of Greek and Latin books were found buried with him—"How was it possible," says he, "for Numa Pompilius to compose books in the Greek language, when writing was as yet unknown in Greece, and Latium was still more ignorant?"—The seven successive monarchs of Rome, moreover, are stated to have reigned altogether not less than *two hundred and forty-four years*: upon which vulgar chronology our author remarks, that such a period compared with such a number is a fact unexampled in universal history. These objections are plausible:—there are others of less value; but they are all overturned by the replies which have since been made to them; the most able of which is from the pen of M. C. Larcher, who is also a member of the National Institute. This learned antiquary undertakes to confute the common story, that the earliest Romans were a band of barbarous robbers under the control of two daring but ignorant chieftains; contending that Romulus and Re-

mus had received an able education under the care of their grandfather Numitor; and that their associates were a colony of worthy men and brave warriors selected by the latter, and afterwards joined by large bodies of Etruscans, a people well acquainted with the arts. He maintains that written language was in use among the Greeks long anterior to the age of Numa; and brings *twelve* distinct lists, of seven successive princes in each, selected from different nations, both antient and modern, whose aggregate reigns exceed in every list the term commonly assigned to the seven Roman monarchs.

Voyage en Portugal, &c. "Travels in Portugal, by the Count of Hoffmansegg." 8vo. This volume was prepared for the press by M. Link, whose Travels in the same country we have formerly noticed; and is designed to be a companion to his own work. The count of Hoffmansegg was an associate with M. Link, who states in his own volume, that on his return to Germany he left the present author to prosecute some further journeys in the neighbourhood. It will, probably, be translated into our own tongue, and we shall have occasion to notice it again.

Essai sur le Principe de la Souveraineté, "Essay on the Principles of Sovereignty: by a Grand Vicar." This work, which has also just been translated into English, and will again offer itself to our attention, is meant as an apology on the part of the French clergy for having conformed to the revolutionary church of France, and submitted to its existing civil authorities. It is certainly a forcible, argumentative, eloquent appeal: it displays a liberal and enlightened mind, and is not degraded by that selfish and fulsome incense which has so often of late been offered up at the shrine of the imperial government.

De la Préponderance Maritime et Commerciale de la Grande Bretagne, "On the Maritime and Commercial Preponderance of Great Britain; or on the Interests of Nations with regard to England and France; by M. Monbrion." 8vo. Paris. The maritime supremacy of England is here pointed out as the greatest evil that can befall the world, and much sophistry and delusive reasoning is advanced to induce the different courts of Europe to feel all the indignation upon this subject which warms the bosom of the writer. The system has, undoubtedly, been pushed at times too far on the part of England: but let the nations of the continent beware how, at the present moment, they resist that superiority which can alone form a balance against the overweening magnitude of imperial France, and which, of course, offers them the only security for the little liberty and independence they yet possess.

Mémoire sur les Relations Commerciales des Etats-Unis avec l'Angleterre, "Memoir on the Commercial Relations of the United States with England, by M. Talleyrand; read before the National Institute, 15 Germinal, Year 5. To which is added, an Essay on the Advantages to be derived from New Colonies in the present Circumstances; read also before the Institute." The character here sketched of the Americans is correct, at least in regard to the inhabitants of the northern states; and the bonds that chiefly tend to unite nation with nation are ably described.

described. The second memoir proposes the establishment of new colonies, and chiefly along the African coast, near the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia, under the idea that the Atlantic islands must eventually fall into the grasp of the American states.

Being thus incidentally transported to the shores of America, we shall briefly enumerate the very few publications of the United States arranging under the present chapter, and which we have found entitled to attention, before we return to the remaining countries of Europe.

A History of the American Continent is in a train of completion, by M. R. Snowden, which is to extend from the discovery of Columbus to the present times. A female pen, of which report speaks favourably, that of Mrs. Warren of Philadelphia, is engaged in a history of the rise, progress, and termination of the revolutionary war between Great Britain and the American States, interspersed with biographic, political, and moral lucubrations. "Discourses on Davila; a Series of Papers published on Political History: by an American Citizen." These discourses have now lost much of their value: they were written at the time when France had so absurdly thrown away all political distinctions and honours, and the whole mass of the country was melted down into plain *citoyens*: they forcibly point out the advantages of rank, orders, and titles, and warn the Americans against so mischievous an extreme. "The Constitutionalist: addressed to Men of all Parties in the United States: by an American." The extravagant flights of republicanism, panting after the hackneyed blessing of liberty and equality, which has of late been occasionally evinced in Pennsylvania and some other provinces, are here prudently checked, and the follies of the ring-leaders in such visionary pursuits severely and appropriately lashed. "Letters of Shah Coolen, a Hindu Philosopher residing in Philadelphia, to his Friend El Hassan, an Inhabitant of Delhi." Lord Lyttelton's Persian Letters have been often imitated among ourselves, and sometimes not without success: the last attempt that occurs to us is Miss Hamilton's Letters of a Hindu Rajah. The work before us is of the same description, but not of the same excellence: the writer is a heavy epistolist, and is for ever mistaking caricature for strength of feature.

We return to Europe by the *north-west* passage; and find that count Potocki, author of the History of the Periplus of the Euxine, Essay on the Sclaves, and several other literary works, has now added to his History of the Indigenæ of Russia, a quarto volume of considerable interest, and containing a copious explanation of their local opinions and traditions, as illustrative of the fourth book of Herodotus, two supplementary volumes; the first containing "The antient History of the Government of Cherson;" the second, "The antient History of the Government of Podolia." Upon these subjects his attention has been indefatigable; and we know of no history so complete upon the points peculiarly investigated.

In Sweden, M. J. Gustavus Hebbe has published an "Account of the Azore Islands," well worthy of general consultation. M. Hebbe is an officer in the Swedish navy, and

and resided in Pico and Fayal (two of the Azores) in 1800 and 1801. It was during this period that he collected his materials for the work before us. M. Eric Michael Faut has written, at Upsal, a very valuable "Sketch of a Course of Lectures on Swedish History," which is carefully drawn up from Dælin and Lagerbring, the parts that relate to the Edda being chiefly from Thre. It is entitled *Utkask til före läsningar öfwer Swenska historien.*

Denmark has furnished us in Den Denske Reformation's Historie, "History of the Reformation" in this country, by M. D. Frederick Münter, with a very valuable performance. Denmark was one of the earliest states that suffered itself to be enlightened by the renovation of christian truth and christian simplicity; and afforded one of the earliest asylums to those who were threatened by the bigotry of the professors of the generally established and catholic religion. The subject is well traced and elucidated in the volumes before us.

In Holland, under the title of Beknoopt Dag-journall, &c. "Journal of Two Months Residence in the Empire of Morocco, and of a Journey by Land to Mesquinez," M. Haringman has made an acceptable present to his countrymen. M. H. accompanied the Dutch embassy to Tangiers in 1787, and thence travelled in a caravan to Mesquinez, the residence of the emperor of Morocco. A more extensive work is projected at Amsterdam, and the two first volumes completed, of a "General Survey of Mankind in all the different Quarters of the Globe." It is designed to be drawn up from the first authorities of every language; is superintended by MM. Martin Stuart and J. Kuyper, and its title is *De Mensch zoo als hey voorkompt op den bekenter Aardbol.*

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS

Of France, America, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey.

THE National Institute established at Paris has published its three fascicles of volume V, one being, as usual, devoted to each of the three departments into which this establishment is divided. Upon the whole, we have found the memoirs of which they consist, less interesting, less useful, and less recondite than the general value of those that constitute the preceding volumes. We shall notice a few of the more important. The first original communication in the chamber of Moral and Political Sciences is a valuable memoir by M. Buache, "On the Discoveries made by La Perouse on the Coast of Tartary and to the North of Japan." It contains an able summary from the papers of this lamented navigator which were

were fortunate enough to reach his own country. The object of the memoirist is to ascertain the knowledge we actually possess on the north-east coast of Tartary, and to assist future navigators in rendering it complete: and he justly points out that it yet remains to explore the coast of Tartary on the side of Corea, the Straits of Sagaar, and the western part of the Isle of Chicha as far as the Straits of La Perouse, the eastern coast of Tchoka or Saghalien from Cape Patience to its northern extremity, and the rest of its western coast, as far down as the straits which separate it from Tartary, and into which the river Saghalien discharges its waters. M. Buache has also, in another memoir, offered some very valuable "Observations on the itinerary Chart of the Romans, commonly called the Chart of Peutinger, and on the Geography, of the anonymous Author of Ravenna." M. Levesque, as we have before had occasion to remark, is one of the most active communicators to the Institute. We trace him in the volumes of every department;—we often admire his genius, which is for the most part directed to subjects of polite or moral literature; but we have not space to notice even the titles of all his disquisitions in the short limits to which we are thus arbitrarily confined. His memoir, in the fascicle contributed by the chamber of Moral and Political Sciences, "On the Formation of Languages considered with regard to the most simple Elements of the Greek Tongue," deals too much in onomatopœias. The French Institute has yet to learn the philosophic radicals of language. M. Levesque does not appear to have been acquainted either with Linnep, or the Epea Pteroenta. His memoir "On the Government of France under the Two First Dynasties" evinces a study with which he is better acquainted: often does he oppose Mably, and generally with success. M. Bouchaud has added much to the intrinsic value of the annual labours of the institute, by three consecutive memoirs, containing "Historical and Critical Researches on the Edicts of the Roman Magistrates."—M. Bouchaud is well known to have been an active member of the late Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. Upon this same subject he furnished it with six memoirs anterior to its suppression: the three now presented to us are therefore in succession, and their individual topics are—"Of the Edicts of the Dictators, Censors, and some of the Magistrates of Rome."—"On the Edicts of the Provincial Magistrates;" and "On those of the Emperors." Of the Mathematical memoirs and reports, those we can only notice are, a "Description of the Astrolabe of Synesius," and a paper "On the Stereographic Projection, by M. Delambre;" a "Report relative to the grand Trigonometic Tables," by the same; and a "Notice respecting the great logarithmic and trigonometric Tables calculated at the Board of Registry of Lands, under the Direction of M. Prony," by M. Prony. It is upwards of ten years since a decimal division of the circle was determined on, when, of course, a construction of new tables became necessary. The whole affair was left to the superintendance of M. Prony; and an abler mathematician could not easily have been found. We have in these papers the result of the labours of the board of registry, who

who have certainly, to adopt M. Prony's own words, used their utmost exertions "à en faire le monument de calcul le plus vaste, et le plus imposant qui eût jamais été executé ou même conçu." Among the physical papers we perceive a "Report on the Mode of escaping the Small Pox by the Vaccine Inoculation;" by M. Hallé. The objections which it notices it answers satisfactorily; but it does not enter into the most powerful of them, and could afford but little information to any party in our own country. M. Deyeux's "Report of a Committee appointed to examine the Experiments of M. Achard respecting the Sugar contained in Beet-root," is infinitely more worthy of attention, both in a chemical and a practical view. The result of this excellent paper is, that the cane will not become so highly maturated in any part of France as to yield a due proportion of saccharine matter; and that, although the beet-root yields it readily, it does not produce it by any process the committee was able to devise, so readily as to enable its sugar to be sold at so low a price as it can be obtained from the West Indian cane: the committee, nevertheless, think that by cultivation the beet-root might be rendered more rich in the possession of saccharine matter.

Les Monumens Antiques, &c. "The Monuments of Antiquity in the Napoleon Museum, designed and engraved by T. Piroli, with an Explanation by J. G. Schweighausen and L. P. Radel." The Central Museum, as it was lately called, into which all the noble ravage and illustrious spoils of Italy were transferred, is now denominated the "*Napoleon* Museum;" and the *monuments* before us, which are exquisitely copied from the most beautiful and valuable of its contents, are published in separate and periodical numbers, and in a quarto size, price in London 15*s.* vellum, and 7*s.* 6*d.* common paper. Eighteen numbers are the whole that have yet reached us: but we understand that the publishers MM. F. and P. Piranesi have announced as far as the twenty-fourth.—There is a still smaller and much cheaper work of the same kind in outline etchings alone, published by another association of artists, under the name of "Manuel de Museum." The size of this is octavo; and it is accompanied with a very useful analytic and explanatory description of each picture.

The National Museum of Natural History has published the second volume of its "Annals:" it consists of twelve numbers, each of them of considerable value in respect to many of the articles contained. The names of the different contributors are well known to the studious chemist or zoologist; and among the papers we perceive a "Notice of the Life and Works of Hedwig," by M. Deleuze.

Under the department of general science, we shall observe that MM. Chaudon and Delandine have received so much support in the publication of their Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique, "New Historical Dictionary," that another edition (being the eighth) is now completed. It extends to thirteen octavo volumes. It is an alphabetical biography of persons in every age who have rendered themselves famous either for virtues or vices; for talents, or other peculiar qualities of the mind. It stoops too much to the ruling politics of the day; but in other

respects

respects evinces great merit, and is well worthy of encouragement.

Dictionnaire des Sciences Naturelles, &c. "Dictionary of Natural Sciences; by several Professors of the National Museum of Natural History and of the other principal Schools of Paris." Of this valuable undertaking we have only yet received the first two volumes: their size is octavo, with a quarto number of plates. The sciences here treated of are considered in the relation they bear to medicine, agriculture, commerce, and the arts; and among the names of the writers we see those of Cuvier, Dumeril, Fourcroy, Geoffroy, Jussieu, Lacépède, &c. Why have we not a similar undertaking in our own country?

Mémoires de M. le Baron de Besenval, &c. "Memoirs of the Baron de Besenval, Lieutenant-general of the Armies in France in the Reigns of Louis XV. and XVI." 3 vols. 8vo. M. de Besenval entered at an early age into the army, and made the campaign of 1748 as aid-de-camp to marshal Broglio: he became acquainted, in this capacity, with the duke of Orleans, by whose friendship he was afterwards distinguished. In this public situation it is not to be wondered at that he should have been personally acquainted with various particulars and anecdotes relative to the courts, the ministers, and the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI.: but we see nothing in his own history, which he has personally prefixed to these three volumes, that need to have drawn him from the indiscrimination of common life, or in the memoirs he has related of other persons, which other persons would not have told as well if he had chosen to have forborne.

Vie de Madame Louise de France, &c. "Life of Madame Louisa, a Carmelite Nun, and Daughter of Louis XV. By the Abbé Proyart. 2 vols. 8vo. Lyons." The abbé Proyart has often appeared before us in a similar character: he has been the biographer of the late queen of France, and of the dauphin; and now, as though Buonaparte had himself appointed him biographer to the whole Bourbon dynasty, females as well as males, he undertakes the life of one of its earlier branches. Madame Louisa was an exemplary princess, and made an extraordinary vow, considering her rank and character in life. Surrounded by the pleasures and glitter of a court, she had long secretly determined upon abstraction from the world, and devoting herself to a nunnery. Her royal father, on the intercession of the archbishop of Lyons, consented: she made choice of a poor convent of Carmelites, one of the most rigid orders, established at St. Denis, and soon signalized herself by a strict attention to the rules of the establishment. The furniture of her cell, like those of her sisters, consisted solely of three planks supported on trestles by way of bedstead, a quilted straw-mattress, a table, a chair, and a crucifix. For linen she wore serge, and for an external dress coarse woollen cloth. Her nourishment a measured allowance of homely mess: eight months of fasting every year; seven hours every day devoted to the choir: and the rest of her time spent in hard work, mortifications, privations, silence, and prayer. Such, says the abbé de Proyart, were the delights of madame Louise de France, now humbled into La Sœur Thérèse

de St. Augustin. She was soon preferred to the office of superior of the noviciates, and shortly afterwards chosen abbess of the convent; in both which functions her conduct was exemplary for humility, regularity, and tenderness to the companions of her retirement. Such, with an account of her death, a few specimens of her letters, and devotional effusions, (which offer nothing extraordinary,) is the whole of the life of this royal recluse and religious, wire-drawn to two octavos, but which might much better have been presented in one, and would then have been entitled to general perusal.

Les Souvenirs de M. le Comte de Caylus. "Recollections of Count Calus, with a Sketch of his Life and Writings, 2 vols. 12mo." The Sketch is short, and from the barrenness of its materials had better have been omitted entirely:—of the Recollections, some of the anecdotes they contain, and documents they are supported by, are valuable as historic records; but the generality might as well have remained *without recollection* for ever.

Mes Souvenirs de vingt Ans de Séjour à Berlin, &c. "Recollections of twenty Years Residence at Berlin, by Dieudonne Thiebault." These we have already noticed in their English version.

Voyage sur la Scène des Six derniers Livres de l'Enéide, &c. "Travels over the Scene of the Six last Books of the Eneid, with some Observations on Modern Latium. By Charles Victor de Boustetten." A hasty stride for four days over a part of Italy not much visited to be sure, and where, with the Eneid in his hand, M. Victor flattered himself he was able to define the seat of Laurentum, Lavinium, and other towns celebrated in the pages before him, with as much certainty as M. Chevalier ascertained the site of antient Troy.—Pensées de Blaise Pascal, 2 vols. 8vo. "The Thoughts of Blaise Pascal." A new edition of a work well known; but worth noticing for the great accuracy with which it has been superintended.—Antiquités de la Grande Grèce, &c. "Antiquities of Magna Græcia, now the Kingdom of Naples, engraven by Francis Piranesi, after the original Designs and local Observations of Jean Baptiste Piranesi, arranged and explained by Antoine-Joseph Guattani." Of this splendid work the first volume only is yet published, and we have barely room to notice it. It contains thirty-five plates of views and ruins chiefly worth preserving; the execution is exquisite; the paper measures 39 inches by nearly 27. The price sterling for this volume alone is *twelve guineas*.

Of the poets of France, Delille ranks in every respect the highest; and is in every respect the most busy. It is not long since we had to announce his "Gardens;" shortly afterwards his "Ruralist, or French Georgics;" then his very elegant translation of the Georgics of Virgil; and we have now to announce a complete version of the Eneid, and of Paradise Lost. Of both these prodigious labours we may say in few words, for our limits will not allow us to enter into detail, that they are upon the whole highly valuable additions to French literature. In landscape poetry Delille chiefly excels, in argumentative he chiefly fails—in both he is far too redundant. In his Paradise Lost we foresaw the difficulty he would have to contend with in personify-

ing and characterizing the *Sin* and *Death* of Milton, the genders of which in the French tongue, like those of its original Latin, are precisely the reverse of the Saxon terms which have descended to ourselves we were anxious to observe how this difficulty would be surmounted; and on referring to the passage, we find that for the feminine *Sin*, instead of *le Peché*, which from its opposition of sex he could not use, he has employed *la Revolte*; while for the masculine *Death*, instead of *la Mort*, which for the same reason he was obliged to resign, he has employed *le Trepas*. The substitute is ingenious, but the terms are by no means synonymous, and in no respect equally apply.

We perceive also a pamphlet from the same elegant poet, containing Variantes de l'Homme des Champs, "Various Readings, and additional Passages to the Ruralist." These variations are made in a new edition of this admirable georgic; and the pamphlet before us contains them separately, that those who possess the prior editions may purchase them at a small price. Comparing several of them with a copy of the first edition given by the abbé himself to the writer of this article, we cannot but be struck with the general improvement resulting from the change.

Nothing can be a stronger proof of the fascinating powers of this unrivalled French poet than the fact, that whatever he touches he gives a fashion to, and forms an example of. Hence we perceive announced for speedy publication, another French version of the Paradise Lost, and another Georgiques Françaises: the first is to be attempted by M. Moneron; the second by M. J. B. B. Labergerie.

M. Emenard is engaged on another poem on Navigation. If he continue to write with as much spirit and excellence as he has exhibited in his first poem of this name, we do not care how often he *navigates*, provided we are of the party.

The rest of the poems we have chiefly been pleased with are, "The Four Ages of Woman," in four cantos, by M. A. F. R. Teneblières: "Maternal Affection," by M. C. Millevoye: M. Thevenau's Caroléide, or "Charlemagne," in twelve cantos; and M. Rabateau's Fantasie, "Sports of Infancy."

The Drama is as barren as our own. It has furnished us, from the pen of M. Picard, with La Noce sans Mariage, "The Wedding without a Marriage," a comedy in five acts: L'Espoir de la Faveur, "The Hope of Favour," a comedy in five acts also; and "Vincent de Paul," in three acts. These are all verse pieces. Their merits we cannot discriminate: nor is it of consequence, for, perhaps, by this time they are all and equally forgotten.

From the novels and romances of the year we shall select for notice Alfred et Liska, &c. "Alfred and Liska, or the Fortunate Hussar: an historical Romance of the 17th Century, by J. H. F. Lamertelliere." This might well bear an English version: it is always busy, and interesting—improbability without overstepping the laws of possibility.—Le Comte de Soissons et la Duchesse d'Elbeuf, "The Count of Soissons and the Duches of Elbeuf; an historical Romance of the Age of Louis XIII.

XIII. by Madame * *". Ironsnous à Paris? "Shall we go to Paris? or The Family of Jura, a Romance full of Truth." It is a good composition, but of rather too political a cast. Tulikan, Fils de Geniskan, "Tulikan, Son of Geniskan, or Asia consoled;" by A. Gibin. We see no reason why this should have obtained a second edition.

The AMERICAN STATES furnish us with but little for the present chapter. In poetry, the country has yet to acquire a name; and in philology it has made no great proficiency. We notice, however, with pleasure, that the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Massachusetts has published its second volume of "Memoirs;" and that it contains several communications upon natural history and mechanics which are truly valuable. We rejoice also to perceive that the scientific spirit which has thus spread from Philadelphia to Massachusetts, has equally aroused the inhabitants of New York: an university, and society for general science, have been for some time established in this city: an academy for polite arts is just instituted; and a subscription, to which we heartily wish success, is now open for the purpose of obtaining from Europe select models and examples. The catalogue of books printed in the United States for 1804, which has been lately published at Boston, is highly respectable in point of number, names and subjects: the whole amount to 1319 separate articles, without including pamphlets or pieces of merely local interest. Of the gross amount, however, not quite one-ninth part consists of original American literature: the remainder is English literature reprinted.

In GERMANY, under the patronage of count Hoym, governor of Silesia, a Silesian society of natural history and industry has been effected. The mineralogical society at Jena has published the second volume of its Annals: many of the articles display close attention to the science it cultivates; the most useful contributors are MM. Werner, Keyman, Kirsten, Fischer, Kimrod, Heim, and Schreiner.

M. Abel's work "On the Powers and Faculties of the Mind," Versuch über die Seelenstürke, bids fair to be an able production. The first volume only is yet published. We have Greek grammars in vast abundance:—a critical grammar by MM. Reiz and Ilgen has been *begun* at Leipsic, and the *first two volumes only* are printed. The form is octavo. M. Butman has republished his Greek grammar at Berlin; and several others are forthcoming. M. Jacol has printed at Jena his Elementarbuch der Griechischen Sprache, "Elements of the Greek Tongue;" and M. Schneider his Kritisches Griechisch Deutsches Wörterbuch, "Critical Greek and German Dictionary." Besides these, the greater number of elementary books are on the English or Bohemian tongues. Hume's History of England has been translated into German by professor Timæus of Luneburg; and Steevens's last edition of Shakespere is reprinting in English at Leipsic.

Professor Wolf's edition of Homer's Iliad has been republished at Leipsic by M. Göschen; it is accompanied with beautiful engravings, we believe re-prints from

our

our own Flaxman, and the professor's prolegomena—many doctrines advanced in which last have been strongly combated in France. Independently of this, we have an edition of Tacitus by Dieterich; a re-edition of Pliny, by Schäfer; of Propertius, by Kuinöl; and of all the Greek and Roman classics in a uniform set, by a society of booksellers at Göttingen and Leipsic, superintended by classical scholars of pre-eminent abilities.

Struensee, ein Skisse, &c. "Sketch of the Life of Struensee, by H. H. L. von Held." It is well known that this politician was once prime minister of Denmark, and that he fell with the fall of the unfortunate Matilda of England. The sketch before us is pretended to be written by one of his friends; but he still suffers his character to remain problematical. Karl's von Dittersdorf lebens Beschreibung, "Life of Charles von Dittersdorf." Dittersdorf was well known as a composer of music before the days of Haydn and Mozart. It was scarcely worth while to drag him into public notice now, since he had long quitted it before he died.

Aelteste erdkunde des Morgenlaenders; Ein biblich-philologischer versuch von Philipp Butman, "Essay on the Knowledge of the Earth in the East in antient Times, by Philip Butman. Berlin." The object of this treatise is to discover the meaning of the old and common tradition in regard to the garden of Eden, with the four streams flowing out of it, of which the first chapter of Genesis contains only a brief account. The inquiry is conducted with learning, liberality, and more reverence for the Mosaic records than we generally meet with among German scholars of the present day.

In DENMARK, M. Biörn Hulderson, an Icelandic clergyman lately deceased, has left materials for an Icelandic Dictionary, which is about to be published at the expense of the Danish government. M. Arent is on the point of publishing an Icelandic Grammar, having acquired a competent knowledge of the language, in the course of his Icelandic researches to collect plants for a Flora Danica.

SWEDEN will be shortly enriched by an edition of the works complete of count Oxienstiern, both prose and verse. It will be published at Stockholm, in 3 vols. 8vo. The "Works Political, Literary, and Dramatic of Gustavus III." are printing at Paris: of which the first two volumes only have yet made their appearance. The correspondence of this accomplished prince is to be included.

Berättelse om Svenska Kongliga Mynt-Cabinett, med beskrifning öfver de i detsamma befintliga Guld-Mynt, samt atskilliga af de öfriga Sällsyntare Penningar. Von J. Hallenburg. An Account of the Royal Swedish Cabinet of Coins, with a Description of the Gold and several other Coins contained in it. Stockholm. 1805." M. Hallenburg is well known to the republic of letters already as a critical and profound biblicist, an antiquary, and historian; and the work before us proves him to be as excellently qualified for a medallist; and that, in appointing him, upon the death of M. Tinkleman, to be secretary of the royal academy, and keeper of the cabinet of medals at Stockholm, the court could not have exercised an abler choice. The work before us is only a specimen of his future labours, in which we shall have no objection to his perseverance

if unfortunately they do not preclude him from completing his very valuable history of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus.

Om sættet att ritta Militariska Charter, "Observations on the Art of constructing Military Charts." These observations do great credit to their author, the chevalier Friand, who is on the point of very considerably enlarging them. They are published at Abo.

Adsigt öefwers den Swenske Digtekunstes Skjæbnei nyest tiden, "Sketch of the Revolutions of Swedish Poetry in modern Times," by M. Kragh Hoest. This is a continuation of a very agreeable work published by the same writer in 1794. It contains a selection of the most pleasing Swedish poetry, and an account of the ablest Swedish poets, and of Swedish versification in general.

In Russia, the society of literature, arts, and sciences at Petersburg has published the first volume of its memoirs. It contains a history of the society: its by-laws and regulations, and various pieces in prose and verse, by different Russian authors; of which several are possessed of considerable merit.

Count Rasoumowski at Moscow has offered to the minister of public instruction a voluminous library, a valuable cabinet of natural history, and the sum of 100,000 roubles to be employed in purposes of public instruction.—A Geographic Dictionary, commenced at Moscow about four years since, by Witch and other geographers, is in great forwardness, and may soon be expected to be complete. It is peculiarly devoted to a delineation of the Russian empire in all its parts. The first volume alone is yet published: it contains only the first three letters of the alphabet, although it extends to 1300 pages. Its size is 4to; and its title is "*Geografitscheskoi Slowar Rossiikago Gossudarstwa.*" The entire work will occupy four or five volumes of the same bulk. The imperial geographic institution at Petersburg has published an atlas of the Russian empire on *forty-four* sheets, in the Russian language: there are also others published under the same royal patronage upon a smaller scale, both in the Russian and French tongues.

"Owidago Nazona, &c.—Horacego list do Pizonow." Under these titles M. H. Przybylsky has published at Cracow a translation into the Polish language, of the Tristia, Elegies and Heroic Epistles of Ovid, in one volume; and the Epistle of Horace to the Pisos in another. The translation is conducted with considerable elegance, though with somewhat too much redundancy.

The Dutch government appointed, in 1801, professor Siegenbeck of Leyden and M. Wieland of Rotterdam, to compile a classical grammar of the Dutch language, and to regulate its orthography: this grammar is now completed, and being highly approved, the government has further decreed that the grammar shall be made use of in all the public schools, and the proposed system of orthography in all the public offices. Professor Siegenbeck has since obtained a prize proposed by the literary and poetical society of Rotterdam for the best memoir on the question, How far is it expedient to accommodate Dutch orthography to euphony and ease of pronunciation? M. Van Streck has published at Amsterdam a Dutch translation

translation in verse of the abbe Dellille's Homme des Champs. The versification does credit to his abilities.

In SPAIN, the taste for literature, which, we had lately an occasion to observe, was in a progressive state, still continues to increase; and the literary journals are hence augmented in their numbers. The two most esteemed are the Memorial Literario, o Biblioteca de Ciencias y Artes, "Literary Records, or a Library of the Arts and Sciences;" and Variedates de Ciencias, Literatura, y Artes, "Varieties of Science, Literature, and Arts." These are both published at Madrid. Apologia de la Bascongada, o Ensayo Critico-filosofico de su Perfeccion y Antiguedad sobre todas las que se conocen. "An Apology for the Basque Language; or a Critical and Philosophical Essay on its Perfection and Antiquity, in which it surpasses all others." The author of this elaborate work is don Pablo Pedro de Astarloa, who has brought it forth at Madrid, in answer to some doubts started as well upon the antiquity as the copiousness of the Basque tongue by don Joachim de Tragia. M. Pedro, who is of Basque lineage, is well qualified to take up the gauntlet in favour of his native tongue—and he appears to have established that it was the original language of the country, and in universal use anterior to the introduction either of a Moorish or Latin vocabulary.

The directors of the maritime-chart establishment (*Direccion de trabajos hidrograficos*) instituted at Madrid, have published a Spanish maritime atlas, founded on the observations of commodore don Vincento Tosinno. It consists of twenty-one charts, sixteen plans, and ten views. They have also put forth not less than seventeen charts, and six plans, relative to the Spanish settlements, and chiefly those in America.

Poesias de el Dr. D. Juan Melendez, Valdos, "Poems by Don John Melendez, LL.D. a New Edition, with Additions, 3 vols. 8vo, Valladolid." It is now nearly twenty years since this exquisite Castilian published the first edition of the poems before us. His taste was founded on the poetry of our own tongue, and the study of our best and happiest writers, for he had studied English, and was always charmed with its force, its copiousness and harmony. Twenty years have since expired; but the pieces now added prove that age has not in the least damped the spirit or chilled the ardour of Melendez; his epitaphs are as pointed and epigrammatic, his odes as animated, his elegies as tender, and the whole as harmonious and elegant as when he enjoyed the prime of youth.

We shall close this brief glance at the Spanish literature for the year by observing, which we do with much pleasure, that the Inquisition has given its imprimatur to a very excellent work upon polemic theology, directed against Voltaire, and entitled "The Oracle of Philosophers attacked and confuted from his own Writings." It extends to 3 vols. 4to.

Of PORTUGUESE literature, the first work we shall notice is the establishment of a new literary journal at Lisbon, which from the activity of its proprietors, and the general merit of the contributions, deserves success, and we doubt not will meet with it. It is entitled Mi-

nerva Lusitana, o Jornal de Sciencias e Litteratura, "Portugueze Minerva, or a Journal of Sciences and Literature."

O Perigo das Paxões, "The Danger of the Passions." By John Charles Morao Pinheiro. Lisbon, 1805. This work is designed to give an analysis of the human passions under the form of an allegorical and moral tale, in the construction of which, the author has often had his eye directed to the well-known Telemachus of archbishop Fenelon: and he has ably accomplished the object of his aim. The young, for whom it is chiefly designed, cannot have a more entertaining or instructive book intrusted to their hands. We wish to see it naturalised in our own tongue.

In this kind of light and cheerful morality, we have met with various publications in the same language entitled to attention. Of these we shall notice the following: O Triumfo da Virtude, "The Triumph of Virtue, or Adventures of Olympia;" A Força d'Amizade, "The Power of Friendship, a Story of real Life;" Menandro e Laurentina, "Menander and Laurentina, or The Lovers of Estramadura, a Portuguese Novel." In effect, the whole of these are of the novel character; and they all contain a simplicity of narration, amenity of expression, elegance of style, and chastity of sentiment, which we should in vain look for among the novels of our own country, and which may well make us blush at a comparison. We boast of the purity of our religion—but we must yield to Portugal the boast of purity in its books of entertainment and imagination.

We advance to the literature of Italy. At Florence we perceive an Italian translation of Dr. Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, by S. Francesco Soave, accompanied by notes and some additional matter. The version appears faithful, but the additional matter might have been spared. We perceive also, that a series of sixty engravings, from Ossian, after designs by Piranesi, is in preparation at Rome. The poems of Ossian have long been rendered into elegant Italian, and a new edition of the Italian text is to accompany them.

The Italians appear, however, as much disposed to cultivate a taste for German as for English literature; and hence a monthly repository to be devoted solely to German literature is now published at Roveredo by Marchesani. It is entitled Spirito dei Giornali Tedeschi, "Spirit of the German Journals."

The abbaté Antonio Magnanio is publishing at Bologna a translation of the Grecian Theatre. It is a very comprehensive undertaking, and the whole number of volumes to which it will extend is not yet decided. The price of subscription is 5 Roman pauls each. The Typographic Society of Pisa has commenced new and splendid editions of the Works of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso. Those of Dante alone are yet published: they occupy three large folios, on vellum paper, and are ornamented with an excellent portrait of the poet, engraven by Morghen. The Typographic Society at Milan has announced a new and superb edition of all the Italian classics from the year 1200 to 1700. The specimens exhibited are elegant and correct.

Fram-

Frammento di Polibio sulla Persia degli Antichi, tradotto ed illustrato de Onofrio Gargiulli, 8vo, Napoli, "Fragment of Polybius on the Pyrses or Fire-signals of the Antients; translated and illustrated by Onofrio Gargiulli." Several Italian literati have of late directed their attention to the fire-signals of the Greeks, in consequence of the invention of the modern telegraph: and the object of M. Gargiulli in the translation before us, is to compare the machine described by Polybius with some of the telegraphs now in use, and especially with some accounts of telegraphs which have been proposed to be employed during the darkness of midnight. Some advantage may be gleaned from his observations.

Porta Foglio Militaire, &c. "Military Portfolio: under the Patronage of the Government of the *Italian Republic*. Milan, 1805." For *Italian republic*, we must now read (if patronised at all) *Italian kingdom*: so fluctuating are the governments of the present day! The work before us is excellently designed, but badly executed. It is a monthly military journal, intended for circulation among the lower classes of the army, with a view of giving them necessary instruction, and a laudable ambition in their own profession. We notice it for imitation (not, however, in its mode of execution) in our own country.

Before we finally close our account of the literature of the year, we shall glance at the progress of letters in TURKEY; where we rejoice to find that some degree of attention on the part of the government itself, has at length been aroused to this important pursuit.

At the imperial press at Constantinople a Turkish and Arabic vocabulary, rather than dictionary, has been printed under the direction of Abdar Rahman Effendi, entitled "A Wreath for Youth." Like the Persian vocabulary of Shahidi, it is in rhyme, and intended for those Turkish schools in which the Arabic tongue is taught.

Hosein ben Ahmed, who, under the name of Zini Zadèt, composed, many years since, a commentary on the Arabic grammar, entitled Caphaniah, which was printed at Constantinople in 1785, has now published also a grammatical commentary on a work entitled Resalah, composed by the sheik Mohammed de Barea. This last commentary is printed by Hosein, at the Scudari press; and from the clearness of its type, which is small, and the elegant whiteness of the paper employed, does great credit to the Scudari typography. Its imprint runs thus: "The printing of this work was finished at the newly-established printing-office in the town of Scudari, by Aba al Rahman al Moderris, appointed director of the institution by the authority of the high Ottoman Porte, in the beginning of the month Dschomadi, the first month of the year 1218 of the Hegira;" equal to our own April 1803.

A very elaborate work upon agriculture, written at Seville in the sixth year of the Hegira, and in the Arabic tongue, by a learned Spaniard, who professed to have extracted every valuable agricultural observation from upwards of a hundred Arabic treatises, has of late re-acquired some considerable notice, and has actually been translated from the Arabic into

into Spanish under the patronage of the Spanish court itself. The original title of this work runs thus:

كتاب الفلاحة صولغه الشيخ ابن العوام "A Book of Agriculture, by the excellent Doctor Abu Zacaria Jahia Aben Mohammed Ben Ahmed *Ebn El Awam*," of Seville. Translated into Spanish, with Annotations by Don Joseph Antonio Banqueri, Librarian to His Most Catholic Majesty, and Member of the Royal Academy of History; by Order, and at the Charge of the Royal Library. Royal Press, Madrid, 1802. 2 Vols. small Folio."

FINIS.

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